THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. XII, No. 1

EDITED BY
NARENDRA NATH LAW

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EDITED BY
NARENDRA NATH LAW

The Indian Historical Quarterly

EDITED BY

DR. NAHENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., B.R.A., PH.D.

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Pre-Oriental Buddhism

From a cursory consideration of the facts of evidence suggest that it is most improbable that we shall ever attain any accurate knowledge of the doctrines actually taught by the Buddha. In such matters we are compelled to argue from analogy, and it is of course evident that, though we can fix the date of the founder of the Christian religion with no greater accuracy than we can that of the Buddha, there exists the difference of opinion as to the meaning and purpose of his teachings. In regard, though, we have more historical information about Buddha, the founder of the teaching given by Devadatta and Pūrṇa, [illegible] and from has preached, without any prospect of final settlement, a controversy as to what doctrine actually taught. Other founder left written records of considerable extent, and yet the criticisms which have obviously flooded upon him by scholarly are such as to render it very difficult to explain how they came to be made. It is hardly possible to assume instances of mere misunderstanding of his great predecessor, and it is impossible to assume that he did literally a [illegible] blunder. In some modern cases we are all familiar with the disputes which have arisen as to the interpretation of the philosophical works of Kant and Hegel.

In these circumstances it seems generally impossible to accept as analogy from the Buddha literally any special set of the remarkably varying doctrines which we find current here. It is true that it has been suggested that in the Pali Canon we have a record actually formed

which, perhaps a century after the death of the Buddha,[1] is a century of secrecy in a very long time, but it is very doubtful whether we can accept this evidence in terms of the view that the Pitakas are to be ordered to a period about half way between the death of the Buddha and the accession of Asoka, as suggested by the late Professor Rhys Davids. He adjudged that the evidence was sufficient that the Pitakas were put together out of pre-existing material, and that some of them have very claim to represent (merely the views of the Buddha. But his opinion as to their date was on slightly unsatisfactory evidence. He inferred the existence of the conception that the Kathavatthu was composed by Tissa at the time of the Council, alleged to have been held there in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign.[2] It is unfortunate that no information has yet been found to shift to the truth of this Council, and various explanations, some very interesting, have been advanced to prove that it was indeed. But apart from this we are perhaps well justified in saying that the Kathavatthu is just what we should expect the work to be if it was compiled in Asoka's time. It is extremely significant that a particular sect, expert in the Pali Dhamma, the Sri Dhaya Bhadra, had arisen in the Pitaka compilation of a later period, varying from the ways of Buddha of the 5th century B.C., and the attempt that was made to bring it into conformity with the Dhamma. It is indeed clear that, whatever view we take of the date of the compilation of the Pitakas, we have not, and we cannot have, the slightest certainty as to the actual of the Buddha's teaching. All that we can do is to indulge in the legitimate, if unscientific, pastime of conjecturing what part of the doctrine which goes under the Buddha is most likely to have been his own, having regard to the fact that there must have been something existing in his teaching to account for the success which he attained, and which made the Buddha's prestige while many other teachers, of whom sometimes the Buddha's own gives us sometimes, passed completely away. It is not impossible that we may see the doubtful service in his teaching of an attractive moral that which the

1 Oldenberg, Dawn of Buddhism, 1, 19, 2.
2 T.W. Rhys, Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 36, 37.
3 Buddhist Encyclopaedia, Tikaya, p. 38.

capacity of his hearers to understand and carry into practice. We have some idea of the difficulties of his contemporaries, the metaphysicians of Uttar Kosala[illegible], and the detail of the study of human activity which marked the views, otherwise divergent, of Pūraṇa Kassapa, Ajitaṭṭha Kesakaṃbala and Makkhali Gosāla were little calculated to attract a scientifically inclining, and these seem to be truth, in the tradition that the Buddha rejected the extreme attitudes which could, after all, have attractions only for a select few. We may believe, or at least wish to believe, that the Buddha did teach the doctrine which Mrs. Rhys Davids would wish to ascribe to him, of the possibilities of man's becoming something more and more. Disappointedly has neither in her remarkable [illegible]. If there were traces of such a doctrine in the texts of the Pāli Canon which merit a quite less attractive result, we might well argue that this is more concerning the texts. The difficulty in fact is that, despite such ingenuity, the evidence assembled is quite too inconclusive that it may be feared that the real teaching of the Buddha has escaped us for good. It is possible also that there were other elements in the Buddha's teaching. He may have combined a theme of his contemporaries in some manner, and have claimed that his teaching [illegible] from its inherent inconsistency[illegible]. We cannot say. We cannot say. All that we know of his supposed [illegible] lies in the figure of the Buddha.

Quite a different question presents itself, when we give up the comfortable attempt to ascribe any definite doctrine to the Buddha and realize ourselves to the perfectly legitimate question of the development of Buddhist doctrine, without concerning ourselves with the [illegible] question how far it may be carried back to the Buddha. Do we know a definite development at [illegible]? Was a system of [illegible] developed by the scholars of antiquity into a system, and then [illegible] gave some form thereto? Is there truth in the doctrine found in the Dīghanikāya of three [illegible] Dhammadhātu? Are Pubbantanānāyas, Sassatavādin, and [illegible] three [illegible]

1. Arnold, Buddhist Philosophy, pp. [illegible].
2. Dīghanikāya, DIII., X, [illegible].

origin of Buddhist thought? or are they those distinct developments of ideas which it incorporates from an early Buddhist circle?[1]

The system which we have now relatively left in data, and thus show very different appreciations of ideas which were no doubt strongly held in early Buddhism. The metaphysics is interpreted in very different ways, and is treated as perfectly consistent with the holding of opinions which might well be denied as irrelevant. Thus the Sarvāstivāda professed the doctrine of the imperishable pudgala, and the Sautrāntika believed the possibility of such an interpretation of the evidence therein, making it a doctrine asserting the principle of identity, but not a substantialistic one.[2] Thus such views should be held indicative that the Elders who adopted them were not very hostile to the idea of something which might be deemed some kind of soul. The Mahāyāna view, which recognises an originally unlimited and infinite consciousness (alayavijñāna, ālayavijñāna) capable of transmigration to be held to attach to Dharmas, though the conducts of the orthodox to the theory of Dharmadhātu generalising is decidedly strange. The Vaiśeṣikas, assigning the principle of individual cause and effect (Dharmadhātu) directly to atoms, the origin of being permanent in doctrine. What we have of that views differing to be compatible with the doctrine of continuity, of being, which accordingly to mention to the Buddha the belief in an infinite number of separate existences, and in a circle of beginningless connection but gradually tending to quiescence, and in an ultimate complete cessation of all life. It would be justifiable to do so only (i) if we could prove a priori that this view implies how the other doctrines came into being on logical developments thereon, and (ii) if we could establish that this was the only doctrine current when the Nikāyas were compiled. But to lack so much proof is possible. It is quite impossible to prove that the Mahāyāna phenomenalistic is derived as a further step from the polychromatistic of the Nikāyas. It may be urged that Mahāyāna merely applied the Dharmic exercise of the unreality of Ego self to

a Subject, Kathā Vatthu, VI, 2, 3, 4, 5, XXVIII, 1-11.
b Kyo. Bhas. Bonds, Ethics in Buddhist Origins, p. 58 ff.
c Keith, Die philosophische Strömung der Upaniṣadenzeit, pp. 31 ff.

the things of the outer world and thoughts also, but it is a fact
[illegible] that in the Hinayana also both things and thoughts were
[illegible] the idea of a church is [illegible] and that the church itself
We have a clothed doctrine which does not grow out of the Hinayana.

Moreover, we have direct evidence that a very different doctrine
was widely current when Buddhism arose, the conception of the
Dharma, of the final reality or reality. Rangit and Mar,
[Professor Rhys Davids?] has called attention to the interest of those passages
in which the elements are personified in an other living form. The same
point to the same conclusion. We find also that, in addition to those who
believed in the principles [illegible] earth, water, air, fire and ether,
the Jaina [illegible] of people who added the soul to the series, and in
[illegible] Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese sources
of the existence in Buddhist thought of a doctrine, the [illegible],
which made personality [illegible] and environment.
The value of this evidence is great, [illegible] the series will
not fit into the traditional scheme. Nevertheless has to work to with
it is by doubting that the living world [illegible] the fundamental
constituents of the individual [illegible], so that to prove
[illegible] and the [illegible]
mental phenomena [illegible]. Buddhism has to show that this
is impossible.[illegible] On the other hand, Buddhaghosa[illegible] holds that the
[illegible] is to be reached in the [illegible], earth, air and
fire being equal to the physical[illegible], water and ether to the
[illegible], and consciousness to the [illegible]. This
[illegible] of elementalism is most [illegible]. For Buddhaghosa
[illegible] the elementalism as comprising twenty elements,
three [illegible] elements, 10 [illegible] including among them value
and other, and the [illegible], while the Abhidhammapitaka includes as
elementalistic nothing but the [illegible] elements, which is the view of
the Sarvastivadin also. It is plain that the notion of the dharma as
[illegible] is older than the [illegible], and what is [illegible] is that it
points to a definite problem to which consciousness emerges in the

a. The Sarvastivadin [illegible] the Jaina, see [illegible], cf.
[illegible] [illegible]. b. Visuddhimagga [illegible] 407 f.

of six material elements, but some subtle than any other. This is clearly an earlier view than the Theravādin's as regards soul and consciousness but other. The Theravādin has advanced in the view that what belongs to derived matter, while the Sarvāstivādin takes it out of contingent reality into the sphere of pure or divine elements. But the six-fold (or eight-fold) we have a relic of a view which made consciousness the source whence the elements were derived, with less subtle than the prevailing.

There is, of course, other evidence in the PāLi records of the existence of such a view of the primacy of consciousness. The orthodox doctrine repudiates the idea that what should be taken by the adherent as the soul, does it is in a state of constant arising and passing away in comparison with the relatively enduring character of the body made of the four elements.[12] But the Upaniṣhadic (p. 104) tends to set a very different aspect of consciousness as the relatively abiding element which accompanies passing (into and out of) bodies (see section Jots as a soul, or light [illegible] [illegible] Lich by taking a step back to a time, as this which is precisely to be [illegible] with the [illegible] circle of the process of [illegible] of the Atman to the passage of a [illegible] [illegible] to another. We have further the Kaṭhopaniṣhad doctrine of a consciousness originally pure, defiled by adventitious impurities,[13] which is well known to Buddhist texts, and which, on [illegible] [illegible], is equally prior to the Vedānta, whose the Upaniṣhad (p. 18) has polemicised [illegible] on the Upaniṣhadic [illegible] [illegible]. Moreover, there are various [illegible] passages where we have expressions of Brahma which [illegible] the [illegible] of the Upaniṣhads regarding the ultimate reality. From these passages we gather, as Mr. Warren points out,[14] the conception of Brahma as the eternal reality of [illegible] [illegible] which cannot be expressed in positive terms, and must merely be indicated by negations. It is probably about this (or the early Buddhist circle) the idea of the ultimate reality, or something akin to the Nirvāṇa-ful conception of the

12. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Psychology, pp. 31 f.
13. Minaev, Pāli Grammar, Introduction, p. 26.
14. Origin of Buddhist Institutions, pp. 18 f.

[illegible] is revelation. From these early speculations in Buddhism [illegible] to trace out a natural development direct to the doctrine which is developed in the Mahāyāna, and to the consciousness theory of the Vijñānavāda. These two ideas are not obviously very deeply rooted; the latter emphasizes the distinct as consciousness, the former contends itself with an doctrine in relation to which it satisfies that all empirical things lack reality. The essential point is that it is quite unnecessary to attempt to show that the Mahāyāna and the Vijñānavāda develop from Buddhism.

In the same way it is easy to see that the doctrine of emptiness is not the whole doctrine of early Buddhism or even that we need move to the Buddha himself as the source of its universal acceptance. The fact is that the PSS Abhidhamma differs from the description of Tathāgatha in the Abhidhamma in that it treats as equivalences the four aspirations, which [illegible] are in the group of the [illegible] and thus neither is right the characteristic of [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] (illegible) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. There can be no doubt of the fairness of the doctrine been with the Pratyeka Buddha[illegible] [illegible] to pre-canonical Buddhism the doctrine of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. This view is confirmed by the Bodhi (in Mahāyāna), Bhagavatī, Lokottaravādin and Rāstrīya (Kāśyapīya) schools plus in the category of mental [illegible] [illegible] the four [illegible] belonging to the [illegible] together with the two forms of [illegible] recognized by them. As opposed to [illegible], Buddhism, we have the [illegible] as the mental [illegible], which like the [illegible] of the Tathāgatha[illegible] can be discovered by mind alone, while from another [illegible] it is the [illegible], which, beyond the knowledge of the [illegible], may yet be reached by the discoveries of the [illegible] Buddha.[illegible] In [illegible] that along these lines must be sought the origin of the use of discoveries in the Mahāyāna to explain the [illegible]. This same idea explains the Mahāyāna doctrine of the

11 [illegible], VII, 131.
12 [illegible], PSS Historia, p. 98.
13 [illegible], VI, a. 6.

dharmadhātu as one of the faces of the Buddha, the other, in the above [illegible] before the development of the Trikāya doctrine of the Yogācārins, being the nirmāṇa, the visible body with which he descended to earth as Śākyamuni. These two bodies correspond to the prajñāpāramitā and the samyak bodhi of knowledge. In the Trikāya doctrine we have the dharmadhātu corresponding to the prajñāpāramitā aspect of reality, the sambhogakāya corresponding to the prajñāpāramitā aspect, and the nirmāṇa to the prajñāpāramitā. Thus the further subdivisions of the Yogācāra are the Mādhyāmika in close.

We have therefore clear evidence of a distinction between rūpa and dharma, but such a distinction is not given in the scholastics of either Buddhaghosa or Vasubandhu, in which dharma is the primary term for elements, while rūpa is a category existing dharmas. But, as Professor Bolagar[20] points out, there is a trace of the old antithesis in the fact that in the commentaries of the Pali Nikāyas and the [illegible] Nikāya the Abhidhammas and the Abhidharmakośa rūpa only enumerates elements: material, simple, secondary, original, and analytical in Vasubandhu's version, while the Abhidhammapiṭaka omits the last two items. It is certainly tempting then to suppose that the distinction of Nāmā and rūpa was originally clearly drawn.

When that distinction was in fact made is hard to say. Professor Bolagar defends the view of considering dharma and rūpa as immaterial spiritual reality and material reality, on the ground that this version introduces into Indian thought a conception familiar since Descartes' critical formula *res cogitans* and *res extensa*, but foreign to India, a 'Europeanismus'. But the idea of a non-substantial being is neither universal nor necessary. From the Abhayakosa to the Tripiṭakamālā and the Pali Indian philosophy has never conceived the soul, consciousness, psychical phenomena, otherwise than spiritually. The true view is afforded by examination of the Buddhist doctrine of the three-aspects of the universe. The first two, the bhūtādhāra and the rūpadhāra are clearly recognized, the former being merely a lower and less perfect form of the latter. But the rūpadhāra is very different, it is composed of four elements: dhātvantaraṃ, rūpāvacaraṃ, ākāśaṃ, and

[20] *Studies Orientalist*, VII, 130 f.

[illegible] whose existence [illegible] is [illegible]; in contrast with the elements of matter etc., the dharma elements are all perceiving and conscious. Hence in the dharma world there are an infinite [illegible] [illegible] is without place ([illegible]), [illegible] that is without limitation in space, but yet without extension. Spirituality and materialism are not to be regarded as separated in Hindu thought. In the same way, we should not regard virtue as material, because it comes in the Abhidharma into things which cannot by any means be brought under the western notion of matter. The Vaibhāṣikas, though they have a simpler conception of virtue than the Pāli Abhidharma contributors, yet include under it not only the psychophysics but also the concepts which from the modern point of view belong rather to psychic than to physical phenomena. This argument, it must be pointed out, is not wholly convincing, for that something should be regarded as physical rather than psychic seems partially valid from the Buddhist standpoint and the Abhidharma [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] virtue is an entirely [illegible] [illegible]. It is very [illegible] to understand how virtue came to be used to signify [illegible] that is [illegible], whether we call it physical or physical. But we [illegible] [illegible] that the Buddhist view of matter and [illegible] and that of [illegible]. We are used to regard the belief of Bruno [illegible] the Higher Right of the Thought of the Upanishads from Kidney, who acquired all possible predicates of the absolute were grasping to express the idea that the absolute was yet be spirit as Unity.[28]

But early Buddhism recognized the importance of things both physical and psychical, comprehended within the term virtue (*[illegible]*). But the idea of purely mechanical existence was certainly not the first view. The theory of the four general functions (*[illegible]*) or [illegible] which are manifestations of elements always present in every moment of the stream of life (*prana*, *jīva*, *ākāśa*, *jyoti*, and *[illegible]*), held by the Sarvāstivādins is manifestly inconsistent with over mechanistic opinions.[29] In my talk to the Bandarikas in Hyp

[28] Ruth, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, II, 102, 107.
[29] Oldenberg, Buddhistische Studien von der Theosophie, pp. 58 ff.

the element of substance alone, and thus to make the doctrine of transmigration in its mature and least intelligible form. Here we have a clear example of the manner in which a single fact, the importance of physical and psychical things, which generally was regarded as in the first instance as a means of getting the attention of the hearers to the importance of that which is permanent, is developed by scholasticism into a metaphysical theory of pronounced difficulty.

In the same way we must expect to find that the *dharmas* of Buddhist speculation have arisen from some more less definite idea. In the developed scholasticism, it is explained by *svabhavalakshana*, a thing which supports its own *samana*. They are ultimate entities which have their own characteristics in their *samana*, and therefore are quite different from phenomena referred to ultimate substance. They are not to be understood as things in themselves, without attributes (*dharmas sva svavaha*). Clearly to say that a *dharma* is a quality, not a substance, but the signifier of a substance is a misleading use of words. A quality implies an existent some substance of which it is a quality, and the *dharmas* are forbidden the substance while the substance are the qualities. They are essentially simple things, pure reality. The differentiation into subjects is not effective, and the various efforts of the schools to produce lists of dharmas afford little satisfaction. We have the personal aggregate which are transcendental, universal, undetermined; the Thatnesses are restricted with one, Dhrukpa, the Immutable Law (*Dhrm*), the Tathagatas, etc. Between these and the complete *dharmas* there is a gulf fixed, which is impossible logically to cross. The scholastic *dharmas* themselves present great divergences of view. The earlier and later Abhidhamma schools, discussion which can for us neither material nor mental, though the Theravadins classify them under rupadandha, while the Sarvastivadins assign them to a group not connected with matter or mind. Thus Samgharakshita, *dharma*, reality and bliss figure as distinct *dharmas*.[1] Each *dharma* is ultimate; the metaphysic has resolved of atoms, but every subjectivity, perception is transgressive, so that all together they seem

[1] Nalinaksha, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 108 ff.

[illegible] first one (latter). The diverse elements in quite different from a composite thing like the human body, which contains the first world. Matter, and the mind-organ-entities and the mind-objects-atoms, for the Buddhist finds mind-objects as material in the same measure as the mind-organs. The idea of diverse elements seems to be always, conscious and constituency, to define attitude entities which however are subjectively very deep and mysterious. Nothing is said by, it means, was gained in clearness of understanding by dropping that diversity more relatively regarded as qualities which were the only reality. Thus remained wholly unintelligible just as much as substance.

The purely utilitarian character of the whole construction became apparent when the doctrine of atoms was taken over, presumably from the Vaiśeṣika school. The adaptation was late, for the early Sarvāstivādins Abhidharma does not accept it, and it appears only in the Abhidharmakośa and in works later than that. Atomism is printed paper lately replied, for the Abhidharmakośa, translated into Chinese in the 3rd century, applies the theory to a developed form, and it is prominent in Vasubandhu and accepted by the earlier Yogācārins, though it was rejected by Dignāga as inconsistent with idealism. The Sarvāstivādins also distinguished atoms, like the mind-organs, for the mind-objects and not for the mind-objects. But in a sense the mind-objects atoms are primary, for each of the atoms of the mind-organs and objects originates owing to atoms of the mind-objects and is sustained by them, each atom having with it one atom of each of the mind-objects. The atoms of the latter, however, are not permanent. The all-atoms, first pass through the cycle of origination, continuance, decay and destruction on which follows a like process. It is however only by grouping of the atoms that one formed the molecules of which the material universe consists.[27] All this speculation is without analysis. It lands and is entirely unedifying, leading merely to verbal ingenuity.

What lies at the back of these doctrines? If we are to accept the view of Professor Poussin[28] we are to suppose that the first disciples of Śākyamuni had little taste for pure speculation. The substance of the

27. Oldenberg, Buddha, Pilimoda, pp. 301 ff.
28. Journal of Theological Studies, XXXV, 300 ff.

Gustave *of Ribeyrolle* suggests that the spirit of the sons of the Rishyas was discussed by contact with Greek characteristics. But the Buddhist philosophy was essentially original. There seems to have existed some a system analogous to Pythagorean metaphysics. At first they believed in the reality of numbers, a belief which led them to deny all substances. Everything is to an incomplete form; only the number of elements is unchanged. In this way appearances go on arising. In this way the illusion of a potential age vanishes. There is no essential difference between spirit and matter. The mind and the objects of the senses are formed of elements joined by the law of numbers, a fixed number of which is necessary to form a material of a psychic molecule. A group of these aggregates gives the illusion of an ego and of a mortal living, but nothing is permanent. All the component parts are dissolved and recomposed again incessantly. There is neither an immortal soul, nor a personality, nor a mind. The only Buddha are not accepted; their living is illusory, temporary and varied.

The theme of Buddha's views is more interesting. Let the prominence given to the Bhikshu (order) seems not to be solve out by one mind. We doubt there are serious difficulties of the importance attached to numbers, and the constitutional organization of the Pali texts which the Pythagorean, Hippasus, resembled the early thought. But that the philosophy was really based on anything like the Pythagorean metaphysics must remain a speculation which, on the whole, seems to have little to recommend it.

Another view[1] generally held is the claim that the elements are interconnected dynamic entities of forces or elements whose interdependence permitting to extend form conditions the illusive objects of our phenomenal life. It is suggested that we may seek for their prototype in the Sankhya system, which before Buddhism held the idea of evolution. It is true that the Bhikshu regard Sankhya and Buddhism as closely connected. But this is known in the Sankhya all is eternal, there is separately the particulars of increasing number, though the individualities are constantly changing (impermanence), they remain not in their material cause (Samsaravikarya). In Buddhism, on the

1 VIII, 2, 58 ff.

other hand, there is an ethical system, but nowhere a Dharma system, nothing in Buddhist interdependence (pratītyasamutpāda). The attitude is emphatic, because here as always the history of philosophy evolves by contrasts. Every new departure starts in opposition to reigning ideas, but is evolved the next on the basis of the old. The Buddhists produce the new doctrine of pratītyasamutpāda, which negatives the substantialists of the Upaniṣads, but it builds up the doctrine of Karmaṇ on the basis of the Upaniṣadic psyche. The idea of the psyche-theory, whatever its origin, is to bridge the gulf between mind and matter. A physical phenomenon and a mental one are equally conceived out of minute infinitesimal particles of three different qualities or forms, the Intelligence (or mental stuff), Energy-stuff and Inertia-stuff. The first is predominant in a mental phenomenon, the last in a material one. Energy is being constantly liberated and absorbed; there is therefore no stability, all is interrupted. But, despite being constantly lacking of homogeneous substantial, permanent, unchanged self, some energy, the power and the phenomena conceived of these are said to be objective and eternal (nitya, dhruva), for they are eternally recast or potential conditions or identical in an unbroken psychological manner. When in this early period of Buddhist philosophy the psychic theory was being philosophically founded, it is most probable that the atomic conditions of matter was being discussed. It is probable that at that early period there was a division of opinion. The Ājīvas and some pre-Vaiśeṣika systems joined the materialists, and began to assume independent atoms, whereas the Sāṅkhyas and some pre-Buddhistic philosophers doubted the absolute divisibility. Although here in the Buddhist sources the existence of atoms, they deny their indivisibility. Their atoms, therefore, are not atoms at all, they are phenomena, qualities without any stuff. The character of the atoms differs from the nature of the substrata, which, though called earth, water, fire, and air, are really the four forms of negation, attraction, heat, and motion. The Buddhists indeed defined matter as merely the phenomena of resistance. All metaphysical ideas, the Dharmas and Samskārāṇāṁ of this early date hold, were either concrete data of mere intelligence or concrete data of bodily consciousness (pāṭigaṇṭhipadam). Both categories, the outward and the inward data, were called dharmas, non-substantiating, identity

[illegible]. This hypothesis aimed at bridging over the gulf between matter and mind, not by assuming an equal composition, but by assuming their parallelism, their equal status. This psycho-physical parallelism was natural, because orderliness in the Buddhist theory of causality leads to a general parallelism between all elements of existence.

The theory that the dharmas are constituted from the present does not appear to tend any anything more solid than their general composition, which comes really holding in suspense. The assertions regarding the nature of the Skandhas proper seem to hold very boundaries whatever as regards any possible really form of Skandhas, and only on early Skandhas in (1) point. The nature of the psyche can sufficient meaning that they do not represent to claim really stage anything of the total model, and the hypothesis that their purpose is to bridge the gulf between matter and mind seems to be wholly without foundation. To assumment Skandhas in a form which (at early Skandhas) were wholly ignorant and to claim that in the method of Buddhism is left a very surprising argument. The [illegible] interesting case of the non-[illegible]. We are told that it is more than probable that the atomic structure of matter could have been discovered at the period when the psychic was being philosophically founded. Dr. Thomas Smith, writing [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] of Skandhas on Buddhism[illegible] in close analysis of [illegible], was convinced that the Skandhas was not atomistic in its early days, and really [illegible] the [illegible] of the Pali Nikaya and the [illegible] of [illegible] by the Vaibhasika, the Sautrantika and the Sarvastivada. This doubt, it is said, is proved at the period when of the Sarvastiva and does not refer to those systems which have a dynamic or semi-dynamic theory of matter. The Sarvastiva can scarcely also some kind of atoms, or [illegible]. Neither of these assertions is supported by any evidence whatever. Atomism is a perfectly definite conception which is quite different from the transition. The effort to find in the pages a real predecessor of the dharmas seems to be wholly unnecessary, except in the

[illegible] Cf. Barth, Religions and Philosophy of India, [illegible].

[illegible] Cf. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Sphere Mind, etc., pp. [illegible]; Buddhist Philosophy, pp. 145 ff.

[illegible] very earlier philosophical idea, but some effort is needed to [illegible] the concepts of later philosophy.

The concept of *dharma*, it has been justly remarked,[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] that Vārṣagaṇya provided an answer to the question of the mode of being of the product. His opponent was Bhagavān Buddhaśrī. From the formulation of Sāṃkhya doctrine in the Yuktidīpikā given with Vārṣagaṇya's opinion, it is to be conjectured that Vārṣagaṇya criticized at that period as the typical Sāṃkhya master. A rare fragment of the discussion of origin is found in the Śālikanāthā and in Prajñākara. Here the issue is the likeness or nonlikeness of the product with its source. The Sāṃkhya is credited with the belief in the origin of like from like. This points to the nature of the artificial doctrine, which perhaps is first formulated in the Māṭharavṛtti, and which asserts that the product exists in substance (*vastutaḥ*), though unseen (*adṛṣṭa*) in the source. The parināmavāda, it is suggested, was not originally part of the Sāṃkhya doctrine. Apart from the testimonia, it plays in the Māṭharavṛtti only a minor role in the *prayojanas* and the *prayojanādhikārin*. If it is clear that if this view is correct, and although the yet a number of the other Sāṃkhyas, it is impossible to assign an earlier date to the Māṭha, that the Śālikanāthā adopted that doctrine from the original Sāṃkhya, and the supposition that the doctrine of momentary (*kṣaṇika*) origin originated in the Sāṃkhya sphere, indeed any other possibility is bad.

It remains to add that the philosophically early Buddhism of an extraordinarily important classification of mental phenomena in five groups: feeling, ideas, will, and pure sensation, is misleading. The first division criterion is that these four groups are placed side by side with sense, instead of being opposed as one whole group with four subdivisions to sense. If they had been clearly felt as mental as distinguished from physical, only a distinction would necessarily have been made, for it is far more fundamental than the distinction between the four other categories. Secondly, to hold that the early Buddhism distinguished in the modern style between feeling, ideas, will, and pure sensation is to read into what is said modern conceptions, just as the pious said the Aliyavāsa are misinterpreted in terms of modern scientific conceptions, which were not and could not be present in the minds of

form who used them. Perfect meditation is feeling, but here little importance was clearly understood to attach to the function of mental feeling which, it is said, has knowledge as pleasure, not knowing as painful.[1] Jhānā again includes in the Pali texts cognitive activities as aspects of sense and superior meditation by way of insight, in accordance with conceptual, aspirational in meaning. In the view of the Sarvāstivādins and the Vaibhāṣika, on the other hand, the conceptual aspect is more marked. Jhānā is not merely volitional cognition (cetanā) but includes 14 other factors which are either constituents in any situation that does presumably arise or constructive functions.[2] The nature of Vasubandhu's (Lamas) in pure psychology can be judged from his rejection of the effort aspect in the Jhānā-hypothesis in favour of the category of volitional aspects. The other factors must not be included, however, if this were done, the attention and the other cognitive elements would not fall under any of the classes, and would be independent of attention and the range of attention, and hence would not be at all and would not be there. Gangānāth analyses about effects of attention being brought to an end. Among the other factors must be included in the classes[3] Vitarka which is defined only as that which is cause of difference of mental objects, thus associating primarily with avitarka which, in the same text, figures as discriminating scholars. In the Abhidharma Pitaka we find a critique of representations of what is planned, partial and neither, several figures in the same functioning and which with other variations, and the Abhidharma declines to assert any essential difference between the three, despite the fact that they figure as distinct classes. More generally, vitarka appears to summarize, only a friendly critic admits that it is very difficult to understand how the generic term was felt to stand for as a feeling of equality with the preceding three classes.[4] The suggestion is made that we may explain this lack of proper classification by the absence of a Buddhist logic of division, and by the formerly gene-

[1] Abhidharma Pitaka, I, 166.
[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids, Buddhist Psychology, pp. 15, 16.
[3] McGovern, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 37.
[4] Mrs. Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 16.

[illegible] aim of his psychology to negate the image of the belief in a substantial consciousness. Later Buddhism recognised the illogical form of the doctrine, and accepted [illegible] as consciousness and called the other Dhātu or entirely material properties, formed up with [illegible] or [illegible]. The worst order of the identities shown here [illegible] early Buddhists was; Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla had to explain [illegible] immediately after [illegible] to make any intelligible scheme, and a glance at the quoted passages given in the Abhidhammattha[illegible] for the traditional order [illegible] any belief in soul [illegible] of Buddhist Thought or Religion, whatever be the value of their opinions. The [illegible] but a true Buddhism was essentially a [illegible], and purely scientific psychology is not to be expected [illegible] nor is it to be found. We may use modern philosophy to illustrate what [illegible] we should find in the Buddhist [illegible], but it must be remembered that modern views are the product of [illegible] scientific advances, and, while they may be [illegible] on Buddhist doctrine, they do not express what the Buddhists thought. It [illegible] to attempt Buddhist in modern guise, but it should be recognised that [illegible] the [illegible] Buddhism itself.

You can [illegible] the Buddhist standpoint very clearly. It [illegible] to understand the Buddhist doctrine of the world, but it is not fair to attribute to the Buddha the concept of [illegible], which is highly [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible] and modification, because that may be a serious misrepresentation of the [illegible]. The early Buddhist doctrine of the chain of causality[illegible] need not be ascribed to the Buddha, but is certainly very early [illegible], and it has no relation whatever to the philosophical doctrines suggested on him. What is essential is that it [illegible] among the early Buddhists thoughts of a type completely different from the theory now ascribed to the Buddha, but thoughts which, unlike the theory, are really intelligible in their relation to Indian thought both before and after. Nothing is more unhistorical than to read the whole

[illegible] Dialogues, [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Dialogues, [illegible], pp. [illegible]. [illegible] Vallée Poussin, [illegible] du Bouddhisme (1909); Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, pp. [illegible].

of early Indian thinkers as if they were products of the temporal tradition.

In the case of the yogas it is well to remember the actual facts as adduced by the actual philosophical literature, and to compare it with the description given of them as "heterodoxic systems of those different examples whose interplay produces the phenomenal world, both physical and mental."[14] The facts, of course, with regard to the yogas are summed up with his usual accuracy by Professor S. N. Dasgupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy*:[15] "An important change in the Sāṅkhya doctrine seems to have been introduced by Vārṣagaṇya (fifth century A.D.) by his treatment of yoga as a type of mind. I have myself accepted this interpretation of Sāṅkhya as the most rational and philosophical one, and have therefore followed it in giving a connected system of the accepted Kapila and the Pātañjala school of Sāṅkhya. But it seems, by parallelism, that originally the notion of gunas was applied to different types of good and bad mental states, and then they were supposed to exist separately, may by mental science and therefore to have the objective world on the one hand and the reality of human psychosis on the other."[16] This is undoubtedly a perfectly clear outline of the original sense of the gunas, and it completely destroys the attempt to make them into substantive systems of energies.

Between the Sāṅkhya and Buddhism there are many essential differences. Dr. Hadendra Dutt[17] has justly pointed out that the result of attaching too much importance to the influence of Sāṅkhya on Buddhism has been the misinterpretation of Nirvāṇa as an eternal state of death, a blissful reality corresponding to the oscillationless matter (prakṛti) of Sāṅkhya. Nirvāṇa then is the same as the five skandhas in their original oscillationless state. Dr. Dutt justly points out that this is unsupported by the canonical as well as the extra-canonical texts. Both the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins are emphatic in their statement that a being was constituted out of

[14] *Ibid.*, I, 7.
[15] *Op. cit.*, III, 30.
[16] *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 18, 19.

the twenty-two elements in the Upanisads passes through intermediate gradations until, by the removal of Avidyā, he enters into the Annihilation or Nirvāṇa, which is an element existing by itself. But in the Sāṅkhya the conscription of any living creature in the replication of the last Lord Prajāpati and Dhātṛi ceases until, and so in the passing from the constituted to the unconstituted state. In Sāṅkhya the unemployed being is one of the innumerable Puruṣas while in Buddhism he is after death indistinguishable from Nirvāṇa. The agreement between Sāṅkhya and early Buddhism lies in the fact that the multiplication matter of Sāṅkhya corresponds in its elementalized form to the five Skandhas and and to Nirvāṇa as interpreted by Prof. Oldenberg. If an analogue for Nirvāṇa be sought for in Sāṅkhya, we may say that it could have been found in Puruṣa if the innumerable Puruṣas were not Avyaktāvibhū.

A. Berriedale Keith

Religious Policy of Shah Jahan

With the accession of Shah Jahan, the Mughal empire entered upon a new phase. If Akbar was liberal in his religious views and Jahangir indifferent to close questions of religion and theology, Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim. Being of a Rajput mother, in a Indian whose mother was also a Rajput princess, Shah Jahan does not seem to have been much influenced by these factors. Born in 1592 he was 63 years old at the time of his accession and thus old enough to clearly set a policy for himself. He was a favourite of his grandfather, Akbar, and his early education was on short cuts of earlier liberal teachers of Sufi teachings.[1] But Akbar died while Shah Jahan was only twelve. We have to remember further that, though he was his grandfather's favourite, there did not seem to be much chance of his occupying the Mughal throne during his grandfather's life time. Naturally he must have been educated as an ordinary Mughal prince rather than a future emperor. But towards the end of Akbar's reign, Jahangir on behalf of Khusrau increased the ire of Khurram, and he had his appointed as the president of the council of regency formed by Jahangir when he left the capital in pursuit of his rebel son in April, 1606. This was followed by a more formal recognition of his over position in 1607. From that till his rebellion in 1623, Shah Jahan remained backing in his father's favour as a loyal prince. The years that followed did not bring the father and the son much together. Shah Jahan did not, however, raise the standard of 'Jihad in Hindu' against his father, and when he succeeded him in 1627, he had no religious convictions. There is one significant fact, however, to be noticed in Shah Jahan's early years. Lo, he, unlike his father and grandfather, married no Hindu princess, and thus that colouring influence was lacking in his home.

On his accession the court commentaries attributed his attractive first. The month of celebration in the court for Kifle had been renewed, though not completely, under Akbar; under Jahangir the religious

1. Sufi, I. Hall.

officers, the Qazis, the Mir Adils and the Muftis were exempted from paying respects to the emperor in Rajab Sadiqa. Shah Jahan entered the antiMuslim edict involves: Rajba was abolished because it is a cerebral practice which, according to the Islamic traditions, is due to God alone.[7] But this did not produce any change in the royal etiquette. The Darshan form of adoration (but was still allowed not in vogue. Shah Jahan's celebrity at last resulted in abolishing both these humiliating forms of adoration in 1003 A.H. (= 1595 A.D.)[8] and in their place 'Muslim salam' was made current. This involved bowing and touching one's forehead, eyes, and arms. Even this was against the Muslim usage. There seems to have arisen a conflict between imperial grandeur and orthodoxy. The former won, but in the latter a point was conceded. The royal ceremony of adoration resembled, viz., that of 'Muslim salam'. Yet an compromise was made in favour of the Sunnaghata of various dignitary. Shah Jahan disposed over 'Muslim salam' and seem to solve the religious by using the numerous Muslim formula of 'Allahu akbar'[9]. It is probable however that the anti-Muslim practice of seeing Jharoka is subjective was not discontinued even in Aurangzeb's time. The 'Muslim salam' however was assumed a shape when it was difficult to distinguish it from Hindu Pranam. Khafi Khan quotes the question in his Muntakhab Lubab-ul-Lubab, I, pp. 258-60: "I arose, stood quite erect, and bending my body very little until my hand was quite close to the ground, I placed my right hand with the back to the ground, then raising it, put it on my head, and stood up straight. This ceremonial I repeated three times." As Shorrat Ganadi notes on page 48, this had to be done four times. Aurangzeb prohibited the prevalent custom of salaming by raising hands early in 1079 (Rieu-catalogue, pp. 72, 82).

Shah Jahan was however anxious to give his nearer Muslim area. All the Muslim Jaghirs were regularly submitted to imperial grandeur. Rs. 10,000 a year was set apart for distribution in charities. Rs. 10,000 were given away during the month of

7 Ibbetson, I. 1. 19.
8 Khafi Khan, I. 280; Lahori, I. 1. 144.
9 Lahori, I. 1. 13; V. I. 88, 89.

Baramati, Rs. 10,000 were distributed among the monks of Brahmans, Bairāgī, Sādhus and Kalandarāns.[1] These festivals were much festivals, Hindus and Muslims alike attended them, made presents to the emperor who, in his turn, gave gifts to the dancers. The 15th and 16th of Bahman were occasions of great rejoicings. Rāja Jaswant Singh and Rāja Jai Singh were both given as elephants each on the occasion of the 15th in the 18th year.[2] Rupees five lacs were spent for being used in Hawa (a fortunate). Occasionally a royal Khil-i-Bāg was appointed to take from abroad and serve as the leader of the pilgrims going to Mecca.[3] When Sayyid Jalal Bukhari was appointed the Subedārship in 1028, he was raised to the rank of a Hazārdār of 1000. The same, however, became a commander of 4000.[4] This actually increased the influence of the theologians at court. Never before had such a high ecclesiastical honor combined with his secularly office. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that religious and poetic ring of Shah Jahan's glory and fame of Islam.

Otherwise as well, Shah Jahan acted as the champion of the cause of Islam. The Royal Gallery of Islam. When he [illegible] a mosque in honor of Shah of [illegible] in [illegible] he definitely proclaimed himself [illegible] to Allāh not only at the backs of the Mecca but as the [illegible] of Shamsabād. He was conform to his claim of Islam.[5] Once passed by the Royal avenue, [illegible] had to prostrate himself a Hindu, and when Shah Jahan his wife, before he was able to obtain respite from the imperial frown.[6] In 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) he suppressed what he considered heretical practices among the Afghans.[7] The Shiahs would not accept as the religious belonging had done the same from Khān Khānān, I, 361.

In certain other matters Shah Jahan continued the old practices. He set daily in the administer Jahanpāh, some thought to be some orthodoxy and economy. Jarīnpāh it consisted of worldly old pomp. In order to make it more comfortable for his subjects to see him down,

1 Badshah, II, 116; I, 1, 98, 101, 104, 108, 109.
2 Amal-i, II, 146.
3 Lahori, II, 720.
4 Ibid., I, 400.
5 Lahori, I, 1, 105, 107.
6 Khāfī Khān, I, 404.
7 Ibid., I, 400, 408.

he caused [illegible] to be set up in the market-place before the [illegible] Kalendar in Agra, Delhi and Lahore.[9] He [illegible] the customary [illegible] ceremony of Tula, thus weighing himself against different commodities and giving them away. He kept astrologers at court. He was a patron of painting; some of [illegible] painting, and many good paintings of his court have come down to us. But he discontinued the practice of allowing [illegible] within the houses of nobles for imperial Khanas in their [illegible] over. Though Aurangzeb [illegible] to that it led to religious disputes and mostly indicated particular royal favour.[10] He is said to have discontinued the use of the Ilahi calendar[11] but many documents of his reign are in existence bearing the Ilahi date.[12] The Ahadis-Sahib always gave both the Ilahi and the Hijri dates. The Bakhtawar of Lahore[13] [illegible] to use the Ilahi calendar. The custom of weighing the emperor twice according to the lunar and solar reckoning involved the use of the Ilahi calendar. The Sirr-i-Dil Aurangzeb had to discontinue the use of the Ilahi calendar in the internal correspondence[14] proves that under Shah Jahan it had been retained in use. It seems that Shah Jahan continued the practice of 'Ed'ing his official chronicles down up according to the Ilahi calendar and there was at his accession day parties according to the same calendar. But Shah Jahan introduced another innovation in the Ilahi calendar of his day. He changed the traditional division of day and night according to the civil and the setting of the sun to an equal division of time between the day and the night.[15]

The emperor had developed the custom of making the Ilahi sign on the forehead of his Hindu Rajas when they assembled to their tilak. Shah Jahan, though he would not discontinue it, changed this mark to his prime minister so that he may have nothing to do with this Hindu custom.[16] Music and dancing crowded in Fridays at the court and for emperor kept court sometimes also many daily at regular intervals.

[9] Manucci, I, 1, 222, 223.
[10] Khafi Khan, I, 7; Kalimat, 1, 108-109.
[11] Sarkar, 80.
[12] Sarkar, II, 390, 391.
[13] Ja'ffar, 19, 1.
[14] [illegible], V, 26.
[15] [illegible]
[16] Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, 2.3.

As far as the public services were concerned Shah Jahan started by issuing certain a bill order. It was decided that only Muslims were to be recruited in the public services.[17] But this order does not seem to have been enforced. In the year thirty first there were 34 Hindus serving as Bakshiahs of from 1000 to 1500 in a total of 236.[18] At the end of the tenth year there were 108 living Bakshiahs of 1000 and above, 93 (86 percent) of were Hindus.[19] At the end of the 20th year out of a total of 202 living Bakshiahs of 1000 and above, 43 were Hindus.[20] The total increase in three 10 years was 66 of which the number of the Hindus was sixteen. Thus whereas the percentage of the Hindus at the end of the tenth year was only 14.4 of the total strength, they secured 80% of the new vacancies. Towards the end of the reign, however, the percentage of the Hindus seems to have gone down. Though the strength of the cadre rose from 202 at the end of the 20th year to 241 at the end of the twenty first year, the number of the Hindus rose to 43. Thus despite the percentage of Not Muslim could rise to 18.1 instead of 14.4 as at the end of the tenth year. If we include the number of the Bakshiahs of 500 and above, the position remained unchanged. At the end of the 15th year, the number of the Hindu Bakshiahs of 500 and above was 31 out of a total of 140.[21] At the end of the 20th year there were 37 Hindus out of a total of 206.[22] The Hindus thus secured 31 out of 36 new appointments.

An examination of the list of the Hindu Bakshiahs at the end of the 20th year yields very interesting results. Here are the names of the Bakshiahs of 1000 and above.

Muslims of 1000	Hindus of 1000
1. Raja Rashid Singh of Kishtwar	1. Raja Bir Singh, son of the late Bundela Bihar Singh (of the house of the rulers of Orchha)
2. Raja Jagat Singh of Chamba	
3. Raja Jai Singh of Kangra	
4. Raja Nihal Chand Jasrotia	

(17) Bakshi-ul-mulk, Tuzuk.
(18) Lahori, I, 1, 416-420.
(19) Ibid., I, 1, 386-392.
(20) Bakshi-ul-Mulk, Tuzuk.
(21) Lahori, II, 717-22.
(22) Ibid., II, 914-20.

Commanders of 2000

6. Raja Todar Mal, Revenue at Cambay.
7. Sha Mirzad Shah of Rewa.
8. Rasha Singh Bhati (sent to the chase).

9. Chaj Bai.
10. Pirzada Bhoraja.
11. Jaila Bai.
12. Bhakta Sridhadas.
13. Kawar Sen.
14. [illegible]

all being the sons

Commander of 1500

15. Raja Bir Singh Bundela.

Commanders of 1000

16. Raja Gopal of Jaigarh (in the Punjab).
17. Rao Kara Bhatiya of Bikaner.
18. Raja Kesowdas Bhartiya.
19. Pir Qoli Beg [illegible].
20. Raja Singh Kachhwa.
21. Rao Bhoja Bhi Deo (a vassal of the Rind).

22. Dhaja
23. Ajab
24. Sabalja

all being the sons

Commanders of 500

25. Sayid Ponja of Gwaliyar.
26. Rodha Sankra.
27. Sen Raja Singh Thanadarwala.
28. Chand Sonra Bundela.
29. Salim Singh Bundela.
30. Rai Todar Mal Dewan.

31. Jawala
32. Dharma

sons of Raja Birbal Dhar

33. Karna Dalpatawat.

Commanders of 200

34. Sayid Sadiqu of Bhakkar.
35. Raja Rupsi of Bhadawar Kalinjar.
36. Raja Partab Chand of Orcha.
37. Rao Bidar Singh Bhadauriya.
38. K. Rati Singh son of Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur.
39. Bhoj Singh Kachhwa.
40. Bhaja.
41. Sudha Dhar Sisu.
42. Rai Singh, sister of Jaimal Singh of Chitaur.
43. Nizam son of Sidi Sun.
44. Sal Singh Gaur.
45. Raja Gaur Singh.
46. Bhaja Sudhari.
47. Rai Sunil Sun in particular Dewal.
48. Rai Dhanji Sun (sister Dharmsati).
49. Rai Bhar Sal in particular Bhoraj.
50. Jhalaja Sun Bidaja.
51. Rai Tulsi Chand Kachhwaha.

Out of these 51, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 16, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, and 38 (in all 13) were rolling chiefs. Raja Birbal Dhar Kaul was raised a Commander of 2000. Four of his sons was a Commander of 1000 and two Commanders of 500. Probably these first represented the total strength of the Bhadauriya in the higher ranks. Bal Todar Mal, Rai Sunil Sun, Rai Dharmsi Dhi and Rai Bhar Sal represented the Revenue and Judicial departments. A very interesting element is the strength of the Dawarsan officers who held always inter-

[illegible] [illegible] Very [illegible] particularly the [illegible] of the policy of repression to the evils which Hindu Princes had been promoting for several years. The rest are mostly Rajputs belonging to the various ruling houses in Rajputana and elsewhere. The Dewans came in large [illegible] from the ranks.

In the Revenue department besides the four provincial Diwans ranking as Commanders of 3000 as above, there were other occupying less exalted stations, yet discharging equally responsible duties. Hari Rahim (Dard) was the Diwan of Lahore in the 12th year.[30] Hari Mukund Bhan served as the Diwan-i-Aza and Diwan-i-Biyutat. He served for some time as the officiating revenue minister for the whole of India in the 19th year.[31] Rai Bayanat Rai who was a commander of 3000 became the Diwan of all the Khalsa territories in the Deccan.[32] Dhani Das served as the Diwan of Bihar.[33] Hari Raghu Nath Dass officiated for some time as the Imperial Diwan,[34] whereas Hari Chander Dhar was in charge of the Diwan-i-Kulla, or treasury.[35] Probably the most interesting appointment of this kind was that of Shah[illegible] whose Hindu father occupied very important service in [illegible] the highest command of 3000.[36] He does not seem to have actually joined the Mughals. Yet his appointment is also [illegible] to be very significant in a much higher than [illegible] office [illegible] Moreover. We notice [illegible] that on the outbreak of the war of succession, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was the principal stalwart of the empire[37] holding the rank of a commander of 3000. Thus some Hindu Indian Rajahs occupied a higher status in the government than that occupied by the Indians today. They received orders from the sovereign and the highest public servants, the imperial Dewan, governor and several provincial ministers of Finance holding several military commanders of great fame.

30 [illegible], II, 304; [illegible], II, 175. 36 [illegible], II, 126, 190.
31 [illegible], II, 326. 37 [illegible], II, 68.
32 Chander Bhan, Chahar Chamen, consisted of the prime ministers of the Mughal emperors.
33 Chander Bhan, Chahar Chamen his autobiography.
34 [illegible], I, 304. 35 Khafi Khan, I, 175.

When Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan, Shah Jahan sharply reprimanded him for his anti-Hindu bias.[illegible] In one case the Governor-General of the adjacent office, Rai Maya Das was replaced, by a Hindu on account of his religion though the court annals would have us believe it was old age which necessitated the removal of Rai Maya Das.[illegible] In the style, however, you may hold that an attitude of Hindu in the public service seems to have taken place.

Shah Jahan did not compare the Hindu but tried to stop some out of the religious exercises of the Hindus otherwise. The pilgrimage tax was revived.[illegible] It was a heavy burden, and an obstacle in the ways of the Hindus who wished to fulfil their religious injunctions. On the impertinence of a Hindu envoy of Deccan, Kavindrachary, who had a deputation to the emperor against the hateful impositions, the emperor remitted it and thus allowed the Hindu religious liberty.[illegible]

Shah Jahan changed the spirit of religious toleration that had informed the Mughal government so far in several other ways as well. To begin with, the emperor forbade putting the thinking creatures to torture (that had been, till during his predecessor's reign.[illegible] The injunction to old temples was also published and the building of new temples was forbidden. But Shah Jahan's orthodoxy was not satisfied with this order that concerned the Future alone. He pacified on a campaign of destroying the new temples of the Hindus. A general order came to Jaipur have issued ordering the destruction of new temples. As a result of this order three temples were destroyed in Mathura, seventy-two temples in Benares and its neighbourhood, and probably five temples elsewhere in the province of Allahabad.[illegible] Three temples in Badaun were also sacrificed to the religious fury of the emperor. The Hindu temple of Ahmadabad was

[illegible] Khafi Khan, [illegible]
[illegible] Kavindrachary's [illegible]
[illegible] Lahori, I, i, 486; Qanungo, [illegible]
[illegible] Lahori, I, i, 439; Saki, I, 99; Sarkar, Mughal Wars in Hindu Wars, I, 179; Qanungo, 187, 188; Shukhlian, 71.
[illegible] Sahabuddin, 71; Lahori, I, 439.
[illegible] Ibid.

destroyed and converted into a mosque.[29] This introduced a rather serious bit of religious frenzy which Akbar's reign caused to have made impossible. The materials of some of these temples were used for building mosques.[30] In the third year a magnificent temple built by Rai Bhagwan Das at Tribhin was destroyed during the course of the military operations against Vijayarajji Bundela.[31] Several other temples suffered the same fate as were converted into mosques. When the fort of Khaja Khan was conquered from the Bil-i Jahu (Bhagwan) in 1030, Khafi Khan says performed here[32] as in the temple of Bhagwan at its conquest by Salangir. The fort of Bhawani under Jujhar Singh was similarly destroyed in 1101 A.H. (=1689-91 A.D.).[33] Kirdar in 1040 A.H. (=1630-31 A.D.) when dead, the Bhoja chief of Bhojpur in the province of Allahabad, had rebelled, most of the temples in the state were either demolished or converted into mosques, and idols were burnt. Prince Aurangzeb while Viceroy of Gujarat (February, 1645, to January, 1647) was responsible for the demolition of several temples. To Abundhad and Dabhoi many temples were destroyed. The temple of Khandela Dev at Jaipur, and the temple of Chintamani close to Sawai-ki were among them. Probably after Aurangzeb's departure to Delhi, many of these temples were taken possession of by the Hindus.[34]

Shah Jahan then resorted to his pre-Akbar practice of destroying systematically the religious shrines of other sects and creeds. He also tried to enforce the Hindu injunction against new places of worship being built by worshippers. But it seems this Fatwa did not last long. Though in general terms none of the chronicles of the reign remember the prohibition to be destroyed of temples, no more specific cases find mention in the latter part of the reign. Something seems to have suffered the emperor and the fit of religious frenzy soon passed away.

[29] Lahauri, II, 30; Bad., II, 4.
[30] Sadiq Khan in Elliot Dowl., I, 97.
[31] Bad., I, 326.
[32] Sadiq Khan in Elliot Dowl., I, 100.
[33] Sadiq Khan in Elliot Dowl., I, 48.
[34] Lahauri, I, 1, 33.

Probably due to Dara's increasing influence on Shah Shah Jahan reversing this policy constitutes often. The prince presented a stone ceiling to the temple of Rama Rai at Kalyan,[illegible] A letter written during the year [illegible] 1 to Jai Singh, Raja of Jaipur, remarks on his full liberty to appoint the presiding priest of the temple of Brindaban built by Man Singh.[illegible] Man Singh's mother had died in Bengal and by a letter dated 11th of August 1646, Shah Jahan granted two hundred bighas of land to be attached to her memorial in order to ensure the perpetual upkeep.[illegible] The inscription of this temple in the Window of Bujjal, however, must be placed after 1647.

The Christian domination brought about destruction of some of their religious privileges. The Jesuits of the Mughal court had been ruling politics with religion and they had little to complain when on the outbreak of hostilities with the Portuguese of Hugli Shah Jahan ordered the dismantling of their church at Agra and destruction of their church images. He allowed them, however, the right of holding their religious ceremonies in the houses they were permitted to reside.[illegible] Thus Shah Jahan interfered with some public worship after the Christian fashion by his Christian allowing them, however, to hold their religious ceremonies in the privacy of their own houses. We have to remember that while the Portuguese and Dutch governments of Europe during the religious wars had after, the Mughals neither tried to interfere with the privacy of their religious in religious matters. The rights enjoyed by the Roman Catholics even after this empire for secluded from enjoyed by their religious brethren in prominent Baghdad about this time and even later.

Shah Jahan also stopped the prevailing practice of allowing the Hindus and the Christians to make converts to their religions. The persecution practised to Christians was withdrawn as the result of the war against the Portuguese of Hugli. Christians had never been able to con-

[illegible] Bailey Khan to Khan Khan, [illegible], Bath, [illegible], Bibliotheca Indica, [illegible], 1866; Kalendar Bagdad, Ny Dowlay Gazetteer, vol. [illegible] part [illegible], 1886.

[illegible] Stone Lecture [illegible] in, Bath. [illegible] Jaipur Records.

[illegible] Jaipur Records, letter dated 7th August, 1646.

[illegible] Shah Jahan's Firman to [illegible], 7, 16, 18.

[illegible] a large number of Hindus and Muslims to Christ's faith. These efforts had actually been confined to keeping within their Christian faith such Armenians, Portuguese and others who happened to take service at the Mughal court. This they were even now allowed to do. Before the establishment of the Jesuit Mission, or even soon before, the Christians attending the Mughal service usually adopted non-Christian modes of life from which they were cut off by the Papal anathemas. Now that the missionaries were established at Agra, and Jahan cared some because [illegible]. The refusal of the pontiffs, however, was simply the result of a principle and implied Shah Jahan's anxiety to conform to the Muslim theological injunctions which have never practised abstinence in the pride of the Christian calendar. In the case of the Hindus, however, it was otherwise. They had been actually absorbing a large number of Muslims by conversion to Hinduism. In the 9th year of his reign when Shah Jahan was returning from Kashmir via Jammu, he discovered, to his great bitterness, that the Rajahs of Bhadrawar and Bhandar imagined daughters of Muslim parents and converted them to their own faith. They had converted on their death. Jahangir had tried to stop this practice but in vain. Shah Jahan was only [illegible] nothing were [illegible] to the future but [illegible] Muslim girls be taken from their husbands, who should be Muslim. The Hindus however could keep their wives and escape the fate if they accepted Islam. Such [illegible] was this practice of converting Muslim girls to Christianity that these [illegible] more than 400 such women.[40]

During the course of the same journey Shah Jahan discovered [illegible] in Gujrat the same [illegible] of conversion to his religion. Here again some wealthy such converts were discovered. This gave the emperor some cause for anxiety. Sometimes orders were issued in some the Punjab and put down by force such practices. Some have hundred such cases were reported to emperor.[41]

40 Sharma, op. cit., Letters, 1, 11, 18; Study Khan in Shah Alam, 1, 184; Bell, II, 56.

Bell: They say that the Muslim were converted, whereas other historians mention either a fine or a thrashing to the polygamists.

41 Sahnawi, 1, 11, 18, Sharma, op. cit., 18, II, 56.

In his book, [illegible] Abul Fazlan discovered that his orders had not completely stopped conversions by force. Dalpat, a Hindu of Mehkoal, had converted a Muslim girl Hindu, given her the Hindu name, Dalpati, and brought up Gati's offspring as Hindus. He had also converted two Muslim boy and six Muslim girls to Hinduism. The emperor was now too much overpowered by this Hindu persistence. To put a stop to this practice and warn all future transgressors against the Islamic law, Dalpati's wife and children were taken from him. He was sentenced to death by disembowelment with the option that he could save himself by becoming a Muslim. Dalpat however was made of the stuff of which martyrs are made and he fully refused the offer. He was cruelly done to death by disembowelment.[7]

Another probable source of conversion to Hinduism was also stopped. Though Akbar had disapproved the practice of selling slaves of the prisoners of war, it seems to have been not disapproved to dispose of them. It did not prevent. Many slaves were to have been publicly sold in Delhi or selected by Jaziadhars. Abul Fazlan was issued an order that Muslim prisoners of war should not be sold to the Hindus as slaves. Which Jaziadhars keep also forbidden from selling Muslims.[8]

Abul Fazlan wrote it little for the general living activities of the Hindus about after his twelfth year. Having the case of his religion on the one hand of any attempts to put down his efforts of the Hindus to make converts to their religion. But that case activities were very finally crushed. We cause some several cases of conversion of Muslims by the Hindus. Kalyan Mal was a Hindu saint living in Kanpur in the year 1000. He was a Brahmin, had travelled to far off Panda where he was converted to Islam. When he returned to India, he became a Hindu and was accepted as a religious leader by the Hindus. It is said that the Lamentable life of Abul Allmi Fazlu Ilmi in 1001 (A.D.) had disgusted him with the religious that prescribed such punishment.[9]

7. Nizamuddin, II, 148, 167; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 3, 6, 17; Beveridge, 108.
8. Mawlai, 108. 9. Badaoni-i-Muntakhab, 108, 109.

A large number of Sheikhs was converted to Hinduism by the Tabaqat. The author of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* speaks of them as revelling in Hindu religious knowledge. Two Kinjar scholars are mentioned among these converts, Bhim Sahi and Kirat Jhinjar.[16]

When Guru Gobind took up his mission as Kinjar he succeeded in converting a large number of Hindus, amongst them Sahi. In the words of the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, not a Hindu was left between the hills near Kinjar and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan.[17] The Mughals conquered Kinjar in 1663 and it is possible they may have made some efforts at reconverting them. But the Hindus themselves are silent about the fate of any such attempts.

Though persecution for such 'backsliding' may have made it an evil, a concerted proselytising activity seems to have continued throughout his reign. Early in his reign Abul Fazal appointed a organisation of converts to Islam Bud (Hindu) for a department for the special purpose of making converts.[18] This special solicitude for increasing the number of the Muslims was accompanied by various measures calculated to effect this purpose. The first measure enough granted was to enjoin halves with the converts. Any crime could be expiated if a man was willing enough to become a Muslim. The Hindus of the Punjab, Bikaner, Dhulnagar, and Mirkand, who were guilty of the offence of shaving (qatal), were all offered conversion of Gabi religion provided they accepted the 'New faith'. When for wars with the Portuguese started, many of them were made prisoners and condemned to slavery or death. Yet they were offered their freedom and life both if they accepted the 'New faith'.[19] All the four hundred who were brought before the emperor, very few however accepted the offer, the rest were imprisoned but orders were issued that whenever they would express their willingness to be converted they should be liberated and given daily allowance.[20] The Hindu law conferred rights in the property of a joint family to the Hindus alone. Naturally if a Hindu was converted to Islam he lost his rights in the joint property. Like

[16] *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, 261.
[17] *Ibid.*, 268.
[18] *Ain*
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Tabqat*, I, 3, 30.
[21] *Mah*, I, 233.

[and] Bullocks was contrary later; Shah Jahan could not tolerate this accident; obtaining in the spread of the true faith and so order was issued in the seventh year of his reign that if a Hindu wished to be accepted into Islam, his family should not place any obstacle in his way.[1] Most probably this refers to the former of depriving the 'escapees' of his share of the joint property. But Shah Jahan's order differed from Lord Dalhousie's legislation widely. Dalhousie, by allowing Christian converts to claim their share of the joint property, brought converts to and from Christianity to the same level. He has entitled the conversion of his property on a Christian if he became a Hindu. This Dalhousie's order established no inequalities. Yet under Shah Jahan, apostacy from Islam was still a capital crime. His orders, therefore, made conversions from among the Hindus easier, while retaining all the power of the state for keeping Muslims true to their faith.

He resorted to jihad in his hostile relations in times of war. When Hirja was appointed the Governor of Kalpi, his campaigns of office was accomplished by a revolting war in the Hindu territory beyond the Indus. Hamdan was the ruler of those tribes. During the war 30 men and dependents of the Delhi Sultanate were captured by force. The record of Khan Jahan yielded a strip of 3000 men captives. Their temples were converted into mosques. Any one showing signs of reverting to the faith of his forefathers was executed.[2] The rebellion of Rajdar Bhagi yielded a rich crop of Muslim converts mostly minors. The minor sons Bhaga and his grandson Dhaga Bai were both converted to become Imam Qoli and Ali Qoli.[3] Tilchhan, his allied son, when captured preferred death to Islam. Another minor was not however converted. Most of his women had found themselves in death but such as were captured—probably those girls or maids—were converted and distributed among Muslim Shurfahan.[4] When Pratap Rajdeva rebelled in the tenth year, one of his women was captured, converted to

[1] Dabistan, I, 2, 1, 108; Qanun, 40, 44, 46.
[2] Padshahnama, Inner Bk. 8. [3] Dabistan, I, 2, 108.
[4] Ibid., I, 2, 108; Mirza Khan in Wadi Khan, I, 32, 33.

Islam, and married to a grandson of Divan Beg.[70] The mayyat of Raghun was followed by the conversion of Mehrji's son and numerous other boyars were forcibly converted.[71] Durga Das contrived a Rajput boy to Islam who however seems to have resented this and killed his 'conductor' dressed as a Muslim.[72] Dalaq, a descendant of the ancient Jesalmir, abolished. In the course of the military operations against him he was killed. Many of his women were captured, however, and converted to Islam.[73] There was a severe famine in the Punjab in 1001 A.H., i.e. 1591-92 A.D. when people began to sell their children. Shah Jahan ordered that six rupees be paid by the state and the Muslim children be restored to their parents.[74] Hindu children thus bought by the state were probably brought up as Muslims.

It is not surprising therefore that some extraordinary converts were made during this reign. Raja Raj Singh's son, Sukhdeo Singh and his grandson were converted.[75] Nila Dhari Bhilwa of Jaunpur, however, does not seem to have been actively interested in his conversion and had to remind the emperor of his promise by knocking a Hindu and solicit a Kazali, in order that this may prove an inducement to others.[76] But Raja III of Gujarat was rebuked by Aziz Khan. Treated as a boy of eighteen seeking to be reconverted to his religion and convention to Islam. This prince enlisted the aid of the emperor to disengage, who was in addition the chief in the Deccan, promised to be old.[77]

Raj Jaisingh discovered another means of swelling the ranks of the Muslims. When Hindu prisoners were marched to the Mughal kings and princes, they do not seem to have been forcibly converted to the true faith. It is true that Dara's marriage to Jiwa[1] contributed an air of conversion. But Aliya seems to have allowed these prisoners a good deal of religious liberty and Jahangir then can appear to have

[70] Lahori, I, ii, 254.
[71] Amin Ram to Khafi Khan, I, 391; Lahori, II, 310.
[72] Lahori, II, 300.
[73] Sadiq Khan to Khafi Khan, I, 440; Sadiq, I, 440.
[74] Sadiq Khan to Khafi Khan, I, 518.
[75] Ignoto, 48. [76] Lahori, Abdul, Amal, II.
[77] Jahangir's Memoirs, 10-30.

[illegible] the practice of his father very much. Under Shah Jahan, however, the Hindu law was more strictly followed. The prisoner was first formally converted to Islam, the emperor himself touching from the elements of the Hindu religion on their entry into the palace.[77] Marriage was celebrated after this formal conversion.

Thus Shah Jahan took care in ways not only by stopping the conversion of the Muslims to other faiths but by enrolling their number by all possible means as well. Thirdly, he served the prince of almost all the Hindus qualified of his reign and more so he expected on a great Muslim king who was anxious to restore the lost privileges of Islam.

As Shah Jahan made apostacy criminal, he took similar measures to achieve the Muslim penal code in consistency with other religious values as well. Blasphemy was more again made a criminal offence. A Hindu who was alleged to have behaved disrespectfully towards the Quran was converted.[78] Finally, a Brahmin and provincial Qazi of Rewa, for his hard intrusion he was similarly accused of disrespectful language towards the prophet.[79] Thus, a Sayyid holding heretic views, was first expelled from Ahmadabad and subsequently killed on his opposing the imperial officer who had to strike to intercede and further his departure during the necessity of Aurangzeb.[80]

The Muslim traditions further have shown that it was the duty of a Muslim king to see that the Hindus were not allowed to look like the Muslims. This naturally demanded the promulgation of sumptuary laws. Shah Jahan took a step towards realizing this by ordering that the Hindus be not allowed to dress like the Muslims.[81] He various attempts seems to have been made to enforce the regulations as the Muhtasibs were appointed to look after the enforcement of these orders.

Shah Jahan in his sixth year prohibited the sale, public or private, of wine.[82] Aurangzeb had only prohibited public sales. This order therefore either involved the extension of the prohibition to private sales as well or the fact evidence that Jahangir's order had not been fully enforced. In other case we have little about the occasion with

77. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, 79.
78. Khafi-Khan, 101.
79. Qazvini, 109.
80. Sarkar, 108.
81. Muqtabis-ul-Lubab, I, 180, 181.
82. Ibid., 186.

which this order was extended. Christians, however, were allowed to sacrifice their own kinds.[77]

Akbar's attitude towards the prohibition of the slaughter of animals as practised by Abbar and Jahangir was upon that of an orthodox King. He himself had no leanings towards Hindu Dharma and Bura was a Bud. Naturally the prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain days of the week as ordained by Abbar and Jahangir was discontinued. But the respect Abbar and Jahangir had shown towards Hindu feelings by prohibiting the slaughter of certain animals considered to cows sacred in certain areas. Manrique discovered that in Bengal killing of animals held sacred by Gaus was a crime punished by imprisoned. He was also, however, to compound for it by paying a fine and spirit away the culprit after he had been whipped. Hindus had real patriotic reference for sacrificing this creature.[78] It is reasonable to suppose that these prohibitions were not confined to the districts visited by Manrique alone and that elsewhere as well such respect was shown to Hindu feelings.

Thanks probably to Bura, Shah Jahan pursued the policy of his predecessors in religious important fact. Bura's Sufi teachings led him to explore the depths of Hindu religious and enlight his patronage and purity by his own efforts upon Hindu work were translated into Persian. Those included the Ramayana 'many selected', Bhagavad Gita, Yoga Vasishta, and Prabodha Gandhodaya. He literally translated the Upanishads and declared them to be the 'the book' referred to in the Quran. He further wrote a tract comparing the Vedantic tenets with Sufi expositions proving thereby that both came 'NOT' and such other. He definitely set out to prove by these efforts of his that the Hindus desired toleration not because it was politic even for the Hindus majority of India to show them this consideration but because Islam enjoined such toleration to Hindusing as a religious tenet.[79] A translation of the Bhagavat was also made by a Hindu scholar.

Bura important lessons was the patronage of Hindu poets by

77 Memoirs, I, 100. 78 Manrique, II, 100-110.

79 Cf. Dara Shikoh by Qanungo; "Prince Dara Shikoh" by Dr. Taraf Chand in the Journal of the Bombay University, August, vol. I, pp. 360-90.

Shah Jahan. Sundar Das and Chintamani were two great Hindi poets of the age who received royal patronage.[illegible] Wise words on various themes particularly on religious topics.

Shah Jahan's reign is famous for the quality and the quantity of the Sanskrit writings that it produced. The great jyotiṣ, Kavalchhar Bhatta, author of the Sanskrit Vaiyaqaranlila, was alive. Pan of Shah Jahan's protégés, Kavindrachārya, wrote a commentary on the Jyotiṣa. Jagannāth, who was a court poet, besides composing poetic works to sing the praises of Dara and Jahānārā Begam, wrote religious works in praise of the Ganges, the Yamunā and the Sun. Nāgeshbhaṭṭa who was patronized by Asaf Khan wrote two works on Bhakti philosophy. Vedāntapañchānana, another protégé of Shah Jahan compiled in Sanskrit a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic words used in Indian astronomy and astrology. Bhānudatta, the famous jyotiṣ whose interpretations of the Bhakti Sūtra is still upheld by the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay, was also living during Shah Jahan's reign. The Sūt of the Sanskrit version of the epic gives in the epilogue some the persons of the work does and proves that Shah Jahan did not interfere with the literary activities of the Hindus. The fact that some of the great writers of the age were patronized by the state shows that it had no intention of suppressing them.

To sum up, then, Shah Jahan was a more orthodox king than his two predecessors. During the years such as cards of his reign he was herbal upon an entire system of a great Hindu king protecting the Hindus and trying to convert them. Several orders were issued, during some years with the purpose of subjecting Hindu rule. Non-Muslim were forbidden, conversions were stopped, several Hindus were prosecuted for religious reasons, and probably the pilgrimage tax imposed. Dara however his religious and seems to have spared Jodh. Probably as Dara's influence at court increased, Shah Jahan's action as a great proselytizing king could down when he discovered in the Intriguement and his dignity to many non-Muslim a religious tolerance equalling that of his grandfather Akbar. Of course the disappearance of certain court ceremonies which smacked of Hindu practices

[illegible] Bhakti Vinodh.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

APPENDIX

Biographical Sketches of Members Mentioned in Chapters

1. **Amanda Blakely.**

   She made Thirlmereshire for the pottery Indian Radio.

2. **Amanda Peppiatt.**

   She collaborated on *Greyscliffe Hospital*, and then *Dishes of Wilton Debris* (1968 A.N.), and wrote a prize essay of Rachel Whipple.

3. **Amanda Ross.**

   She wrote a commentary on Kirkhaven's Armadillos.

4. **Bartholomew Blaine**, the cameo pirate.

5. **Bookbinders.**

   He was a Trolls scholar, and wrote a commentary on the Big Folio, of which only a fragment is now available.

6. **Brandybucks.**

   He was an scholarship, and wrote various works on the subject.

7. **Brandybucks.**

   He was a pottemaking, [illegible] pottemaker on a pottemaker's house.

8. **Bunce.**

   He wrote an [illegible] book of pottery in [illegible].

9. **Bunnbrook Kilns.**

   In mid-[illegible] he [illegible] a [illegible] on the [illegible] phase of Pottemaker.

10. **Bilbo.**

    [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible].

11. **Chingfiftees.**

    He was [illegible] on [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

12. **Chingfiftees.**

    He [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] on [illegible].

13. **Dorbella.**

    He wrote a [illegible] on [illegible] in 1968 [illegible] relationship the [illegible] of [illegible] from the [illegible] [illegible].

14. **Dulwight.**

    He was an [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible].

15. **Fairfax.**

    He collaborated on [illegible] of [illegible] in [illegible].

16. **Fitzhenry.**

    He was [illegible] in [illegible], and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible].

17. **Augustine.**

    He was the [illegible] [illegible] in their [illegible], and wrote various works in [illegible] [illegible]. He [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible]. He [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]. He wrote [illegible] several works on [illegible], [illegible], and in the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible].

(7) [illegible]
(8) [illegible]
(9) [illegible]

He was a resident of Bhagavatpur, the ancient home of the Bhatta school during this period. Some of his numerous works on Advaita were have been written during this period.

(7) Bhatt Bhavadi.

A collection of sacred Bhatta studies in Deva in 1000 is attributed to him.

(8) Bhagat Rama.

He wrote a very fine on grammar in 1000.

(9) Sarvajnapada.

A grammarian, he was interested in chronology and wrote a treatise therein in 1000.

(10) Dharmadhya

(11) Vamsa Pradeva.

Another great savant

(12) Gokulanatha.

Sahu Jagannatha he was also a philosopher at Kul Mewa and wrote two works on astronomy dated 1000 and 1000.

(1) Gopinatha Sarvasa.

He was a grammarian and wrote two fine works on [illegible] in 1000 from his name.

(2) Gopinatha Bhatta.

He was attached to Bhagavatpur Deva's Bhatta school. Also his name of his grandfather Bhagavatpur Bhatta or [illegible] is recognized as an authority on Bhatta and he the high Guru to [illegible]

(3) Gopinatha Gokula.

He was a vidyadhara author and he wrote several [illegible] works on grammar and Advaita, several of which have been printed.

(4) Vasudeva.

In 1000, he wrote a commentary on the religious duties of the pilgrims to Kapatadhya.

(5) Sadananda.

He was a vidyadhara, and wrote several works on astronomy and mathematics.

(6) Bhavadeva Misra.

He belonged to Deva, and wrote several works on Yoga, Vedanta, and devotion.

(7) Bhavadeva.

In 1000 he wrote a commentary on the Vedantadhara.

(8) Bhagiya Bhatta.

This famous grammarian and [illegible] was still alive.

(9) Bhavdhara.

He was a [illegible], and wrote a very fine work on medicine in 1000.

40. **Maulana Hilala.**
    He was another protégé of Arifja Bisha.
41. **Kulla-a Kala.**
    His work Bandanapadavar volume in 1861 has been printed.
42. **Kulla-a Jyotirdi.**
43. **Kulla-a.**
    He was a Pandita interested in the analysis of Jiva, and wrote a work explaining the contradictory of vaishnavi Bagdala.
44. **Mitanidin.**
    The known poet whose works are well recognized, as an authority by the High Courts of Dandag and Gilmitra.
45. **Bagbandhu.**
    Another poetic style wrote a work on Dharmbhakta in 1864.
46. **Bodga Bisha.**
    He contributed on Pitamaravali in 1880.
47. **Dhanakarta.**
    He discussed the religious doctrine of Jiva Bisha.
48. **Nipuni.**
    He was an astrologer and wrote a work on astrology in 1860.
49. **Sanandrika Vijjabhanapati.**
    He was a great scholar, and wrote various works on law, politics, astronomy, ethnology and mythology. He succeeded at Ambabhati.
50. **Kalakhanna.**
    He wrote a commentary on the Kala program of Dev Bisha.
51. **Kalla.**
52. **Vijaykanda.**
    He classified the heroine and religious adventures of Bisaya in 1841.
53. **Nilakanda.**
    He was a geometrician, and wrote a work on astrology.
54. **Nalakhana.**
    His patron was Raja Vijaykanda of Raghu. He wrote several works on the religious stories of the Bisha in 1880 and 1881.
55. **Naga Pati.**
    He admitted verses on the Sanatan from the various Puranas, and wrote two independent works in Sanskrit.
56. **Nana.**
57. **Nimadhar.**
58. **Nirantiya.**
59. **Nirmalya Sarvajña.**
60. **Tilmadhba Pathkhana Bhaskarrao.**
    He was a great philosopher, and wrote on various schools of Bisha philosophy.
61. **Pahlagardja.**
    He was a protégé of Bisha Palace. He wrote **Pital Prabhakar**, a

(embodied) of Pushtu and Arabic books used in Dilkusa seminary and corrected in 1568.

(6) Tawhidia.

He wrote a commentary in 1581 and a biography of Thanadara.

(7) Siya Bhata.

He was a Hindu scholar, and wrote on dressing of Pushtu models, in poetry, and Dharmadhara.

(8) Ali Shahnagari Bahrain.

He compiled a commentary in Prabhakaranandaviliyas.

(9) Sohaudhiya.

He was a Jain, and wrote two works in Arjuna.

(10) Gaurisena Bhatya.

Of the 36 cases of the person, Bibi Angin Kaiki, he wrote Gopalkhanna in 1585.

(11) In 1588 an unknown scholar wrote a commentary on Jalamana Prabhakiya.

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The Eastern Chālukyas

VII

The period of anarchy in the kingdom of Vengi is marked from the date of the death of the reign of Dānārṇava. An inscription[1] of Jaṭāchōḍa's reign shows that after the death of this reign of Dānārṇava, the Jaṭāchōḍas had ruled a rule for twenty seven years in the night of the sacred foresight to relieve the earth. The Bezwada pond, grant[2] of Vijaṇḍēva records that "after Dānārṇava, through the evil action of him, the country of Vengi was without a ruler for twenty-seven years. At this point the son of king Bhīma, that glorious Jaṭāchōḍa, who resembled Indra the king of the gods, having overcome the enemies by the force of his valour, protected the earth for twelve years."[3] Many other inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas support this statement.[4]

Somewhere during the latter part of the Dānārṇava, the Cola Rājarāja took possession of the Āndhra country and Rāṭṭaṇa, probably defeating Vikramāditya III. An inscription[5] dated in the twelfth year (1088 A.D.) of the reign of Rājarāja I, states that the king conquered Vengīmaṇḍala (Pengimaṇḍa), Gangapāḍi and other places. An inscription of the twenty-first year (1097 A.D.) of this king also that he conquered Kaliṅga. But the Cola supremacy in Vengi was put an end to by Jaṭāchōḍa. Jaṭāchōḍa's inscription[6] reports that "Jaṭāchōḍa came to have even in his youth by his valour in a battle with the Colas, and he put to flight a certain Rājarāja-nṛipati and others."[7] It is further stated that "Kulōttuṅga met his death the Kaṭaga in the hands of his Jaṭāchōḍa-Bhīmaṇṇa."[8] Rājarāja and Jaṭā-Bhīma were apparently allies under Rājarāja I. It has been suggested above that Vikramāditya III was overthrown by Jaṭāchōḍa.

1. Contained here vol. II, p. 91.
2. SII., 1894, p. 108.
3. SII., vol. IV, p. 1[illegible]; see Bezwada Bhīma's Pillar Inscription, p. 79.
4. SII., vol. III, p. 1.
5. SII., vol. IV, p. 1[illegible].
6. Ibid., vol. I, p. 9[illegible].
7. SII., 1913, p. 18.

It is equally possible that Vishṇuvardhana's power was broken from by the Cōlas, who were again ousted from Andhra by Saṅkramaṇa.

Saṅkramaṇa (A.D. 1070-1121), Vikraṃa-Pāṇḍya, Vijayādityan.

Saṅkramaṇa was also known as Saṅkramaṇa Vijayādityan and Vikraṃa. He assumed the titles of Vikrama-Cōla, and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.[1] An inscription[2] of his reign has been discovered. It is mutilated and illegible. It records the gift of land to the Tōmbūrū (Tōmbūrū) Vīrapa.

Saṅkramaṇa deprived the brahmans of the village Pālakūrū, a dependency of an official of Anantā VI, of all his properties, and expelled him from his kingdom. The properties seized were given to Dāmōdara, a faithful servant of Saṅkramaṇa. Dāmōdara was also given the hand of Pālakūrū.[3]

Saṅkramaṇa ruled for twelve years i.e. from 1070 to 1082 A.D. to 1121 A.D., and was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Vīrachōḍa. Rāja-ṇāma of Vikrama-Cōḍa in Saṅkramaṇa was discovered in the village of Bandar, Gudāla, situated off the coast of British Burma, and in Rome.[4]

Vīrachōḍa (1121-1128 A.D.), Jāyasiṃha-Pāṇḍya, Jāyasiṃha-Pāṇḍya, Vijayādityan, Cōḍa-Rāyaṇa, Rāja-Rāyaṇa.

Vīrachōḍa assumed the epithets of Rāja-Rāja-Rāyaṇa, Bhāmaṇḍa-Rāyaṇa, Rāja-Rāja-Cōḍa, Cōḍa-Rāyaṇa, Vijayādityan.[5] Two inscriptions of his reign have been brought to light.

(1) *Bhāmaṇḍapuṇḍi grant.*[6]

The inscription was found in the Amalapuram Tāluka of the Godāvarī District. It records that the Rāja-Rāja-Rāyaṇa Vīrachōḍa granted the village of Bhāmaṇḍapuṇḍi and Pāvuṇḍi, in the Bhāmaṇḍapuṇḍi Vīṇṇa, to his brahmana minister Vāgha. In connection with the boun-

1 EI., IX., vol. XII, p. 70.
2 ASR., vol. IV, p. 216.
3 EI., vol. VI, p. 190 ff.; Vīrra Bhāmaṇḍapuṇḍi, inscription, Adma 31, V. 100.
4 EI., vol. VI, p. 20.
5 IB., 1911, p. 146.
6 IA., vol XIX, p. 70.

they (or of Gundavva village) in place Elmangūru, Pālūru, Kōṭṭūru, Ēdugūru, Bāgūru, Kōḍūru, Bōrūru, Bōgavvūru, and Ūrlu are mentioned. The minister Tōjiya who is described as 'śrīmaṭṭa-gōlkaṇḍa' (śrīmaṭṭa-gōlkaṇḍa-[illegible]) was a resident of Elmangūru, apparently the modern village of Elmalkunda, nine miles east of Rapāka Tālūka, in the Kistna District. The record was executed in the eighth year of the king's reign by the Dēṅgiṭṭigaṇḍa Nāgavāma. The author of the name was Śrīmaṭṭa, and the writer of the inscription was Jaddāriya.

(4) Elmadibāma inscription[1]

The inscription is on the wall of the Dēgavāmba shrine in the hill of the village of Elmadibāma, in the Nāgapāṭṭam Tālūka. The inscription does not mention the name of the king. It states that it belongs to Śrī-Vijāyāditya Vijayabhaṭṭāraka, who had the epithet of Rājarājendra and Rājamārtaṇḍa Bōdha. The inscription is badly damaged. It reports that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa [illegible], a teacher of Dēṅgaṭṭi school of Śaivas, and a [illegible] teacher of the king Vijayāditya, paid a visit, evidently to his holy place of Elmadibāma. Elmadibāma is identified with [illegible].

The Pālkuruṅkī inscription[2] of Bālādityaṇ states that Vimalāditya granted the gift (Śrī-Vi[illegible]) [illegible].

It is reported in the Bommarpuram grant that Vimalāditya was formally crowned in Saka 1011 A.D. 1089.[3] The early years of Vimalāditya's reign were not passed in the Eastern Chālukya kingdom, which might have been an efficient cause for Śrīpāla's power. Śrīpāla's power was curtailed the Southern country and forced Vimalāditya to submit. An inscription[4] of Rājarāja the Great's reign, dated Saka 1044 A.D. 1122, records that "having first captured the land of Vengī (and), [illegible], and [illegible], the territories of Kalinga and others, the rulers of Bhōja, Kōśala, and Pāṇḍya, the king ruling over all other countries in such a way that they were called the Uttarādi, the lord of the divisions of the world, Śrī-Rājarāja (who has the dignity of emperor)."

1. SII., VIII, p. 100.
2. Ibid., vol. VI, p. 108, v. 10.
3. Kielhorn's List, No. 11, vol. IV, p. 16.
4. SII., vol. II, p. 364.

"When the Kerala, Pāṇḍaiyarkonan, Rajaraja, married across, the son of his own sister, Vānavan-Mahādēvi, having slain the rank of Mala-Pandaiyaka of Tolgi-Mandala and Ottaiyan-Mangala (replaced the origin of his name" etc. The Tiruvalangadu plates[17] of Rājendra-Chola I records Rājarāja's victory over Bhima, the king of the Kalinga country, who killed certain Rājarāja. Bhima, referred to, is identified with Bhima-II, Bhima, which was an epithet of Vimaladitya. Rājendra-Chola's two inscriptions[18] in the Bālasubrahmanya, in the Guntur District, state that the general defeated the Kalinga chief Vimaladitya, captured the Kalinga-elephants, and caused a pillar of victory to be set upon the hill. It has rightly been suggested by Mr. Venkayya[19] that "as this fact is not mentioned in the usual historical introductory of Rājendra-Chola's Tamil inscriptions, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his reign" when his father Rājarāja I was still living[20]. Vimaladitya, referred to above, is identified with the Eastern king of the same name, though he is wrongly called a Pallava chief.

A treaty appears to have eventually been concluded between the Eastern and the Western Chālukyas. Vijayāditya-II, who succeeded to Vimaladitya, who married Mādhava, daughter of Rājarāja I.[21] The marriage ceremony seems to have taken place in the 24th century in the twenty-second year (= 1018-19 A.D.) of Rājarāja I's reign, as which records Vimaladitya only succeeded to the Eastern-Pallava throne in Tirumalpura.[22] Hence then the Chālukya of Vengi ended as the prestige of the Eastern of Empire.

The Pālampetta inscription[23] of Pulakesin reports that Kadaiyaman (?), a chief of Velanadu, helped Vijayāditya-II to drive back the Kalinga-army.

Vimaladitya had two sons. The elder Rājarāja was born of his queen Kāmalāvati, and the younger was born of his second queen Kāmarāsa, who was a Chola princess[24]. The Chālukya records assign to Vimaladitya

17 SII., [illegible], p. 31.
18 [illegible], vol. VI, p. 350.
19 [illegible], [illegible], No. 213.
20 [illegible], [illegible], p. 79; [illegible], vol. V, p. 40.
21 Ibid., No. 20; [illegible] p. [illegible].
22 [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. 302, l. 33.
23 [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. 40.

a reign of seven years. The Lakshmipuri grant was issued in the eighth year of his reign. It may be that he died before he completed the eighth year of his reign. He closed his reign in 1089 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Bijjala. In the inscription of Vinaditya's younger brother Vijayaditya, A.D. 942 has been mentioned as the twelfth year of the former's reign.

Bijjala (A.D. 1089-1100), Vijayanandana

Bijjala had a second name Vijayanandana.[14] The battle of his stepbrother Vijayaditya delayed his coronation ceremony for four years, which took place in Hoysala 1089 A.D. The regnal years, given in his inscriptions, are counted from this date. Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) The Kuvemalli inscription.[15]

The inscription was found in the village of Kuvemalli, in the Kolamba Hobli, it records that the king granted the village of Kuvemalli, in the Gubbalnad Vishaya, to a Brahmin. The Dutaka was Bittana, son of Bhojja Pedduvi. The composer of the inscription was Devadhaya, and the writer was Bandhiraya.

(ii) Nandimangalam grant.[16]

The object of the inscription is to record that the king granted the village of Nandimangalam, in the Bankayahonda-Vishaya to the god Kesava-Bhattaraya. While describing the boundary of the village granted, reference is made to the villages Kilimangalakkapalli, Nengalli, Mundakanam, Bajjalur. The inscription was issued in the thirty-second year of the king's reign. The date corresponds to 1094 A.D. The inscription was composed by Nagaladeva, and the engraver was Bappiraya.

(iii) Pandavapura inscription.[17]

The inscription is found engraved on the roof of a Siva temple at Pandavapura, in the Nagar Taluka of the Mysore District. It records the gift of some sheep for keeping the cost of a perpetual lamp in the

[14] EC., [illegible], p. [illegible]
[15] EC., vol. IV, p. [illegible]
[16] EC., vol. XII, p. [illegible]
[17] EC., [illegible], p. [illegible], No. [illegible]

temple at Gōkarṇa in Tulu[illegible]. The record was issued in S. [illegible] = A.D. [illegible], in the [illegible] year of the king's reign.

(iv) Tulava inscription[illegible]

The stone slab bearing the inscription is lying before Śrī Bhūvarāha-Mayūraśarma temple at Tulava, in the Tumkūr Tāluka of the Bangalore District. It registers the gift of [illegible] dōṇa was made for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tribhuvana-Kēśāśrayā at Tulava. The grant was made by a private individual in Śaka [illegible] = A.D. [illegible], in the [illegible] year of the king's reign. The regnal year given above appears to be incorrect. The inscription mentions Rājarāja as Tribhuvanāśraya.

Rājarāja maintained friendly relations with the Cōḷas. Kuṭṭaṇa and Kuṭṭaṇa are not mentioned in the list of the countries conquered by Rājendracōḷa[illegible]. But Rājarāja had to suffer severe misfortune due to the revolt of his step-brother Vijayādityā. In the twelfth year of his reign, in Śaka [illegible] = A.D. [illegible], he was utterly defeated by Vijayādityā.[illegible]

An inscription[illegible] of Vijayādityā's reign has been discovered at the village of Pennāḍaṭṭa, in the Nuṇṇambāḍu Hōbli of the Vēṅgipura District. It indicates the king was crowned in Śaka [illegible] = A.D. [illegible], and the twenty-first regnal year of his reign. The object of the inscription is to record that he long granted the village of Kōṅgāṭṭagrā along with twelve other villages to Dēvaśarma, the son of Dāmōdara, in recognition of his service. The writer of the inscription was Śrī Kōṅkāṭṭāyya.

The inscriptions of Rājarāja, the dates of which correspond to A.D. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], prove that Rājarāja succeeded in regaining his throne from Vijayādityā. Rājarāja was a great patron of learning. The poets Nāgavarmā, Vīranandin, and [illegible] Pāvalūri Mallāna flourished in his court. He issued gold coins.

The tradition runs that Rājarāja had two wives Bōddagi and [illegible]. Śīlabaṭṭāraka, the son of the chief queen Śīlabaṭṭagi, was a

[illegible] III., [illegible], p. [illegible], No. [illegible]. [illegible] III., vol. [illegible], p. [illegible].

[illegible] Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, [illegible] [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. [illegible].

[illegible] Ibid.

power of overhearing people. Rājoriyā appointed him his heir apparent, and looked for a suitable bride for him. He selected one Bandi (Sa) girl named Chhāgā as the bride of the prince, but eventually he himself married her. But Chhāgā cherished a love for the palace and was looking for an opportunity to meet him. Once a pigeon belonging to the prince happened to perch on the terrace of the queen's palace. The queen captured it expecting that the prince might come to look for his tribesman. The trap was, luckily for the queen, at that time away from the capital. The prince, as it was expected, entered into the queen's palace in order to inquire for his private tribesman. The queen prepared her bow to kill. But he saved her life. In his hurry to free himself from the grip of the queen the prince left his upper garment in the queen's chamber.

On the return of the king the queen reported to him that the prince entered into her chamber with drawn sword and produced before him as a testimony the upper garment of the prince in order to prove the veracity of the report. The king in his rage ordered for the execution of the prince. Later on the king discovered the real truth, and forbidden ordered his release. But the prince was executed before the royal order reached the executioner. The king, however, avenged himself for the wrong by putting the queen to death in a brutal manner. The people, being annoyed with the conduct of the king, expelled him from his kingdom, and placed on the throne the prince, who was rescued in life by a saint. A revised in Bhojanavaṃśa is still extant the descendants of Bhojāgadhera.

The above story, which was recorded by Rāhulapādā Jogpaṭṭā in the middle of the seventeenth century, appears to be a myth.[1] The inscriptions of Rudrasena II, and Rudradāmā Gupta II[2] assign Rājādhirāja a reign-period of forty-one years, while the Pālampur inscription of Rudrapālādevā[3] records that the king ruled for forty years. Neither of them is correct. The king closed his reign in the early part of Śaka 955 = 1033 A.D.

[1] JASB., vol. IV, p. 376.
[2] JASB., vol. V, p. 66; Id., vol. XIV, p. 16.
[3] EI., vol. IV, p. 30.

The last years of Rājarāja's reign were not peaceful. His son Rājendradeva, who was still very young, was at that time living in the Eāla country with his grandmother, the wife of Rājendradeva the Great, Rājarāja's step-brother. Vijayādītya, who was deprived by his [illegible], made fresh attempts to take possession of the kingdom of Vengi. In the year A.D. 1011 when Rājarāja was away from his capital Vijayādītya seized the throne and declared himself king. Two inscriptions[30] of Vijayādītya report that he succeeded on the throne after the death of his brother. But the inscription of Vijayādītya's son Rājendra states that[31] "Rājarāja governed the earth with great ability for full thirty-one years. Vijayādītya, who is a step-brother of Rājarāja, being born of different mother, enjoyed the great kingdom of his brother with great valour, in his absence." Vijayādītya appears to have abdicated his throne shortly after his accession in favour of his son Rājendradeva II.

Rājendradeva II, Saktivarman, Vijayādītya, Rājarāja—(A.D. 1018-61).

Rājendradeva assumed the titles of Śrīmadrājendradeva, Vīrapurvadeva, Satyāśraya. His earliest inscriptions[32] that place in Śaka 1040—A.D. 1018. No inscription of his reign has been discovered. It records that he granted the village of Tāmalgāmāḍi to his officer Ādityaḥ Āyyaṇa. While defining the boundary of the village granted, reference is made to the villages Rāchamarāḍi, Nāṭapāyaṇa, Pādāgāvi, Kāchāvi, and the mandala's center of Nīrvaṇa Dhāmmāḍi. The inscription was composed by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The king granted the village in the presence of the Yuvarāja. The king ruled only for a year. After his death his father Vijayādītya again assumed the royalty. The Nagali plates of Vijayādītya reports that[33] "the king's son Rājendradeva (II), who was overcome in the rule by his father, reigned only for one year, and then passed away, and that Vijayādītya, the father, assumed authority out of regard for Dharma."

R. G. Bhandarkar

30 EI., vol. IV, p. 341.
31 [illegible], vol. V, p. 48.
32 [illegible], [illegible], p. 17.
33 Ibid., p. 11; EI., [illegible], p. 75.

Sanskrit: Non-Inflection

In the field of Morphology the last thing that strikes us is, the Rgveda language is the considerable amount of Sandhi by which the endings and suffixes which scientists produce the illusion of phonetically the very process of agglutination by which the Indo-European Revised system is granted here been developed. In quite a considerable set of cases in the Rgveda the ending of stem can evidently be to be applied from a form standing in opposition to it. Thus nominal stems the original stem, nya stem for nya nominative, etc. In these cases the ending has been actually created like the second in order of [illegible]. A similar state of things is indicated by a number of stems in the Pali dialect in which a corresponding alternation with no phonetical suffix [illegible] [illegible]. Even the locative suffix [illegible] evidently [illegible] the locative ending [illegible] Sakyo. In the same way in passages like the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the adjective suffix [illegible] Dhaṇṭi's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. These and other for example in Rig Veda [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

very different modes of forming locatives (given the only and -ākā) within the particular relations of two different cases which were combined in the historical period into the Sanskrit locative).

For a comparative and historical study of Sanskrit morphology clearly reveals the process by which this apparently fixed and rigid Sanskrit system was developed. Let us begin with the ending -ve (i.e. loc. pl.). This ending is undoubtedly of Indo-European origin, as is proved by the corresponding Avestan ending -ōu and Old Ch. Sl. ending -chy.[1] But we know to take this ancient form the ending -ve is that pl. in Greek, by it is ending but is original. Another ending Proto-Greek is the dative. The ending -vi in Greek shows that the original Indo-European ending was -i alone, which was later strengthened by different dative particles in different languages, by -i in Greek and by -ve in Sanskrit, Avestan and Old Ch. Sl. Thieme[2] ingeniously suggested that the dative particle -ve is a verb and is strengthen. An original ending -ve is certainly attested and Avestan ōu-pati-ōu, [illegible] the particle -ve seems to be used also in a similar way as verb, and is another the particle is merged (in Sanskrit of -i). There can be hardly any doubt that Thieme has given the right explanation of the origin of the Indo-European ending in loc. pl. It is worthy to the case particles in which an anaphoric dative particle may be separated, and to whom we have to the Indo-European dative also shows that a similar strengthening particle or postpositions had been actually added to the endings. In RV. the postposition -ā is often used after locatives in expressions like "dwelling in" "in the house". But in RV. this postposition had never become an original part of the ending. This ending had however been adopted in Avestan, where the ending is loc. pl. is not only -ōu, -ōu, but also -āu, -āi sometimes. In Old Persian this ending is loc. pl. is never without the postposition -ā.

The important connections of Hit. with regard to the ending for gen. pl., mostly in common with Avestan, have been already discussed elsewhere.[3] But here too the Egyptian language shows some peculiarities which distinguish it not only from other Indo-European languages, but also from classical Hit. In several passages of the RV. Nomi in -ā, -āu, -āi have been written by -ānā in gen. pl.

1. It is important to note however that both these two languages belong to the Balto-group.

2. See Journal of the Oriental Institute Bombay, vol. 18.

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already, but there is no trace as yet of Type II. In fact, so far as the other languages are concerned, the forms in question must be divided into two broad groups: (1) Consonantal stems ending the endings *-s*, *-n*, e.g. *ambhrs*, *vāc*, *śvānas*, *dhātar*, etc., and (2) Vocalic stems merely lengthening the final vowel without letting any endings at all (*-a*, *-i*, *-u*), though however the final vowel may also appear in the original short form (*-a*, *-u*). Now in the forms in *-i*, *-u*, *-a*, we find already in the other languages those in *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ā*; these vocalic-stem-cases only seem unknown in Hittite. But the latter are doubtless later analogic formations; for no trace of them can be found in the allied languages.

The ending *-i* in Skt. *gír*, etc. of consonantal stems is not with also in Avestan: cf. *vāstrō.fšuyantō*, *aēnaēs*. In other Indo-European languages the corresponding ending is *-i*, *-ī*: Hit. *ankuši*, Lat. *nominis*, Osk. *nesimei*. This shows that the original Indo-European ending was *-i*. The characteristic vocal ending associated with *-i*, resulting in *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ā* forms, may be derived from those cases where a vocal that already preceded Skt. *-i* disappeared, e.g. *-ai* and *-oi* vocalic. Thus the participial form *-ānt* may originally be *-ai-ent* (*-oi-ent*) in, e.g., Ved. *ā-śvānt-*, and in other words, perhaps *-ānt* (*-ōnt*) in, e.g., Ved. *ā-śvānt-*, Hit. *ankuši*, Lat. *nominis*, *pōnōnt-*, *pōnōnt-*, *pōnōnt-*. On the other hand, some forms in *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ā* vocal stems in Sanskrit may be regarded as so-called Narten-cases of *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ā*, e.g. *gír*, *vāc*, *śvānas*, and gradually it was generalized also in vocalic stems (*gnā-gnās*, *vāc-vācas*, etc.) in post-Rigvedic language, although here such a usage has no etymological justification.

As for nominatives, the ending *-ōs* of nouns, unknown in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian periods, is derived from *-ōn* stems. The evidence recently from other cases also that *-ōs* and *-ōn* stems not gave rise to the endings *-ōs* and *-ōn*. But the element *-ōs* is anything but constant in these endings in the Rigvedic language. In fact, forms in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū* are here far more frequent than those in *-ōs*, *-ōn*, and the evidence of cognate languages proves that these shorter endings are the old and original ones.

[1] These forms with long penultimate vowel (*-ā*, for *-ōs*, *-ī*, *-ū*) are cases usually to be regarded as contractions. In the Rigvedic literature they are represented as only phonetically, metrically, etc. But the length of the penultimate was retained also in the Rigvedic verses for particularly, owing to the corresponding vocalic forms, they vocalized also in Pg. as the endings of monosyllabic forms.

What is the origin of the endings *-ā, -ōt*? They may be the result of contraction of the Indo-European endings *-ōnā* followed by the consonant-stems (see above) with the final vowel *i, u* of the stem. That part in *Pan.* (see p). some, is derived from *panīyas* and *sunīt* is some position in ending but *sunīyas*. In this way, the various shorter endings are brought into harmony with the original Indo-European on the one hand, and on the other, forms like *sunīt-i* are followed here contrary *indicline* in the mode of forms (e.g. N. *dim.* pl. *sunīta*).

But the explanation of the short endings *-i, -u* in N.-Acc. *sunī, pl.* (*ā*) *ā* is to be sought elsewhere. These forms are only without any ending at all, and they are previous relics of much earlier times when the infection of neuter stems had not yet been fully developed. Formally they are of course identical with the corresponding singular forms, and that genetically too they are to be traced to the same source is proved by the fact that in *dim.* discussed here in Sanskrit (*ā*) can be found in those cases where the singular terminate with a long vowel (e.g. *nadī, vidī*). The same phenomena moreover indicate for granted that the short-vowel forms (*ā*) *ā* origin is *ā*-stems (forming of the long-vowel stem, in which be otherwise signed in the ground of instances the end vowel [RV. 10, 98, 7] *ā* and *ā* [RV. 8, 58, 2]—long vowel) before a simple enclitic, but short vowel before a monosyllabic group. Neither are these forms to regarded merely as collective singulars, for that would be to ignore the difficulty of the Sanskrit singulars also found elsewhere without any linguistic tradition regarding most of these neuter stems. What would be the plural of *dhur* for instance? The fact in *Gram.* cases did not hesitate to use the singular form also in plural, cf. *Aitar-śāpāt* [RV. 1, 96, 3]. Yet it need not be denied that the analogy of collective singulars might have helped in setting down these singular forms also in plural, as is strongly suggested by the frequent juxtaposition of collect-(sing.) and collective plural, as in RV. 5, 85, 11: *mahīnāṃ* (collective-singular) *vṛṣṇyā dhārā* (*mahīnāṃ* plural).

The ending *-i* in *sunī-t* is evidently without also in the *singular* of neuter monosyllabic stems, cf. *Ādhā-t* from *Ādhā*. This *-i* however is not derived from Indo-European *-i*. But the same ending is plural, for in the non-Indo-Iranian languages in *-i* (*-ī*) corresponds to Ch. *-ā*, *Ādhā-t*: Ch. *Ādhā*, Lith. *dirbi*. *Ādhā-t* is a very early form this light ending seems to be regarded as part of stem; thus the

[illegible]

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this country, for there would nothing of the kind, e.g. as opposed to -ak, -wak, -ma etc. in other cases presented a convenient model for the growth of similar final endings of nouns in -s, -n, -ma.

For the third time the element appears as ending in the loc. sg. of a large number of both vowel and consonant stems. There can be hardly any doubt that this -s loc is a final pronominal particle originally intended as integral part of the case-form.

The survivors of Ski. know only the ending -s in loc. sg., which is, of course, -ni-s, not to prevent this by other languages, cf. e.g. Gr. οἴκοι (= οἴκοις). For other nominatives, however, that -s is omitting [sic] certain, and the same applies to the nominatives-stems. There is, first of all, the important group of Nomina in loc. sg. without any proper ending at all. These forms are attested by the system and the Tyddewian (see below) of Lukonia, but more plainly by Ulmo-Lukonia, in whose case other languages prove their literary antiquity. Besides, there are some isolated forms of other consonant-stems, which look like indeclinable locatives, but their evidence is neither unequivocal.

There is, no doubt, some uncertainty (Erdmann) as also on ending in loc. sg., but Old Ulmo is conclusive, e.g. «Ind. Ulmo[1]» may be regarded as simple stems like -nak. In fact, all these indeclinable locatives are very primitive originally, and in an elementary form in different Ski. many dialects. It is not for years to come Ski. will [illegible] more medieval. The post-positive -i, however, cannot be used as it is in a very early date to obtain these unaffected forms, but combined to be distinguished with by those stems which contained distinctive forms in the primitive pal. -ni-s and -i-ma-ni. The Ulmo-stems too could dispense with an ending in loc. sg., because they had a distinctive signatic form in -ama sg. which the Tyddewian lacked. Only the evidence which attested no ending form in loc. sg. (-ni-s) or without any ending at all is comparatively late period. It is tempting to suppose that the disuse of -ni-s nominative had been the cause of the mentioned indeclinableness of locatives of nominatives. The Lukonian -i in loc. sg. was so specially distinguished from other (Nom. Acc. sg.) that it could do without any specific ending at all, and therefore came to be recognized as loc. sg. (= naturally) from [illegible] in other stems, different etc. which had no distinctive ending in Nom. Acc. As for the existence of indec-

[1] Mostly which the Ski. form [illegible] is known.

European origin, the analogical [illegible] of vocalism in other languages (cf. Fr. *[illegible]*, Ger. *[illegible]*, Sp. *[illegible]*) may also be explained in this way.

Besides the vowels in -ra there are -ri very frequently, which exclusively forms in Ion. sg., cf. *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*. The extra Indian parallels to these forms can be found, where Ion. *[illegible]* is regarded as an old analogical formation. It is therefore permissible to regard these as secondary (analogy-formations after the analogy -ri : -ra) of a stem; in other words, after *dawn* : *dawnya* was formed a *cowl* to *cowdon*. The same explanation may be resorted to also in the case of analogical formations singular of i stems of the Ved. type, e.g. *gnrd* *vatl*, though here the Indo-Iranian like old might be adduced to prove they Indo-European antiquity.

Already in the earliest stage Skt. had *gnrs* for the Gen. sg. other Indo-European languages in distinguishing between the infinitive of immediate and particular events of similar categories by providing personal ends by the Indo, and Iran. [illegible] has been [illegible] in clearly adjoined in, again, in Ion. gl. Here we find in Gaulish the same analogy -ŋ -ŋ -ŋ at the side of the other analogy -n, -ni, -ni,' which, on the evidence of other Indo-European languages, were originally and also in Sanskrit. As in so many other similar cases, the [illegible] of [illegible], which got the preponderance in Skt. as the result of Indo-European *r* and *n* coalescing with *n*, is the result of the same development in Skt. Moreover and besides analogy with Gen. actually (Dhana) in the case of a stem (*vrkis*, *vrkinas* (*n* stem, and *dawna* in Ion.) in the original Indo-European. The Indo-European nominative stem the analogy -ni in Ion. gl., as is proved by -ney (Dardic form of -ni of Skt., -ni of Ossetic (Digor) and -ney of Shina. In the Indo-European epoch the corresponding ending of their feminine counterparts, the *dawna*, was however without any final element. Skt. clearly distinguishing the nominative forms from the corresponding feminine-case (cf. Skt. -as, Goth. -ô). But there was no Indo. separate feminine ending for -i, -u, -r-stems, and the endings -ni(i), -nu(i), (-ni) is to be applied (here also to feminine. It was reserved for Skt. alone to replace them by -ŋ, -ŋ, -ŋ in feminine on the analogy of -ni, -ŋ of Indo-European *n* and *dawna* respectively.

* While in model here not to have been originally *-ny*, *-ny* and *-ny* respectively.

It is a remarkable coincidence of fact, that a special ending -ám is adopted in OCy. various feminine stems in ā-, -ī-: Already in the RV. it is the normal ending of d.mf. Latvian (Lettish, Lettgal) as well as of Lithuanian and Slavonic. The Iranian counterpart of this also is of which appear there in strongform the Indo-European ending -ā(i̯)ā, i.e. -ā+i̯ā (cf. PGRAMM., Gen. giving rise to the Avestan -āṅ, and it is intimately connected with the -n of Lithuanian Gen. sg. ending -ìos of Indo-European nouns. The Iranian -ā Lit. the Lithuanian -n is evidently nothing but a locative postposition. The Iranian -āṅ was further extended by the particle -ca in Old., which therefore (and not in -āṅ) is found in Avestan, just as Iranian -āṅ strengthened by the same particle gave rise to Old. -āṅcam. Other -āṅcam was formed analogically -āṅcam in Ion. sg., and eventually -āṅcam, which however appears for the first time in AT. Instead of the latter the RV. shows the ending -ām (cf. ubhayā, dyāvā, Dual ubhayā, dyāvā). In Adjectives forms are to be expected in Ion. sg. Wh. and (Indo-European *-ā-i̯ām) to be regarded as the original ending of -ā-stems. Yet in complete disuse in Iranian might suggest that it was presented independently in Old.

The locative in -āsu are remarkable for their lack of variety, for generally only these different forms are found for the eight cases. Even from the forms the not yet seem to have been permanently fixed in particular cases in the other languages. The dual ending -āv is generally established in gen.-loc., but in the other parts of the RV. it appears also in the ablative. In accordance, the ending -āṅām appears in the ablative for the first time in the tenth Maṇḍala. The position of the ablative dual is extremely uncertain. It is not now possible to say whether it originally coincided with nom.-acc. or gen.-loc. (Wackernagel III § 104). The ending in nom.-acc. is generally -ve, which is all Indo-European origin, cf. Gr. ἀλόν-ε, Old. Ch.-Sl. ženy-ve. They frequently however the ending is simply -ā, which is but a phonetic variant of -ve. Linguistically important is the ending -ā in dual genitive, as it is the first component of the compound ending -āṅām, which has its counterpart in the Greek dual gen.-ν, (Wackernagel III § 104). The ending -āṅām usually comes not after the stem, but after the formant. Form in nom.-acc. dual, cf. -āṅāṅām of -ā-stem, -ṅāṅām from -ṅā-. This is (historically) a relic from the past, for in other languages (as the ending corresponding to Old. -āṅām is attached to the form in nom.-acc. dual (Wackernagel, III § 11.)

[illegible] p. [illegible]). It may be mentioned therefore that in the Indo-European speech the dual had not yet been given the full status of a distinct grammatical number. The plural has a distinct sign (a [illegible] [illegible] extended to numerals in plural), but the dual is in principle indistinguishable from the singular.

Before concluding our treatment of the nominal flexion, it is necessary to bring forward some of the important characteristics which, again, essentially unclose the Indo-European tradition.

Theoretically, cases should manage different [illegible] according as the overall meaning calls for a clause to the ending. This is however contrary to fact,[1] but it is quite understandable that various cases could, not be allowed within one and the same system of privileges. The fact however that of the cases in question, also underwent far-reaching changes as the result of the shifting of accent, and this is neither in clear as in the case of the accent alternations, cf. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

dual verbal forms. It is no wonder therefore that it *should* act as a very early form. Only the best of poets contrived to follow the *Kharoṣṭhī* to some extent till late classical Skt.

A *vital* or *living* form is found also in the use of *iwam* in the Vedic. However, the origin of this duality is having to be sought in the difference in accent, and hence two basic types are derived from the Indo-European period. The *enclitic* forms have connections to *dhi*? Or rather from a previous syllable (*yáthā-yáth*), but where the original accentuation from the two enclitics and clitics were necessary (*ávat* : *ávat*). Now according to the accent of Gmd. -i had been identical to it from a previous syllable or not, the Indic or Iranian subject two very different modes of function which are called *cyclotropic* and *dextrotropic* respectively after the two types mentioned above. In the Dg-vedic language these two functions are still clearly distinguished from each other, but the general tendency of the language has been, naturally, to add more and more functions between them, thereby hitting absolute identity of the two functions and some time obtained in the language. A clearly in the RV, we find *yáthā-yáth*, where the *yáthā* is origin, ought to have adopted the dextrotropic, then *yáthā-yáth* like *vidyáyam*, and vice versa.

The analogy of *dhi-iwam* is *tam*, and also the contrasting *tam-tam* is those of *dhi-iwam*. This *tam* is indeed really a form of the *dhi-iwam*. Thus

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Nom.	*dhi-i*	*dhi-i*	*dhi-ih*
Acc.	*dhi-im*	*dhi-i*	*dhi-ih*

However, unpronounceable *-ih* is Proto-Indic *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi*, being *-ōbhi* specific forms in so many cases, it is an Indo-Iranian origin, for these particles are found in other languages. They (*ōbhi*) forms to *-i* may be found in Avestan *hauvōbhi*, Lith. *-ùbi* and Old Ch. Sl. *-ьmi*. The *-ōbhi* form is *-i* origin *-ōbhyam* in *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi* and *-ōbhi*. In other *-ōbhyam* may be this *-ōbhi* form in perpendicular, but in the singular of *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi* but, the *-ōbhi* appears in *-ōbhi* Old-grade form in *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi*, *-ōbhi*. Other cognate languages have shown similar strong forms in similar positions. To *-ōbhi* corresponds Avestan *-ōbhyō* to *-ōbhi* Avestan *-ōbhyō*, Gr. *-ōbhi*, Lith. *-ùbi*, *-ùbi* to *-ōbhi* Avestan *-ōbhyō*, Gr. *-ōbhi*, Goth. *-ōbhi*, Avestan *-ōbhi* *-ōbhi* has no exact parallel in Old Persian. *-ōbhi* origin. In the oral and plural of other *-ōbhi* cases to again found

the main distinction is, not only in this but also in other Indo-European languages.

The fifth of sounds is the characteristic feature of Vrddhi-forms. The second is, it (more correctly the first) of the forms. This is however often however p.e.m.ndh with the non-nasalized, with the result that the form, to question gets the accentuation. In fact, the accentuation is a really indicative of vrddhi-forms. The endings too are here more like those of consonantal stems. Thus in *Ass.* sg. a vrddhi-form takes the ending *-ans* (instead of *-a* of distributive), e.g. *vrksáns*. Nominatives *vrksás*, *vrksás* etc. Unlike Dativ-forms the sing. sg. in *-ayanti*, e.g. *vrksáy*. But the most curious thing about it is the Ins. sg. which is without any ending at all, e.g. *pnnd*, *nnd*, *nnd*. Accusative plurals in *-ayanti* are rare and uncertain. A signatic form, sg. is at all events attested by the Vrddhi *-ayi-vrksáyi*.

In the post-Epic Sanskrit, Dual, and Vrddhi-forms get mixed up more and more, until in the classical language one sees only single homogeneous paradigm (either non-vrddhi, or of a mixture of the two). In the whole, the Distributive gets the lion's share in this new homogeneous system, the Vrddhi-forms being supplemented by regular only (conditions which were not discernible enough in the Distributive, e.g. *jā* (*jā*) Ins. *jnā*, *jnāā* not *Vrddhi*, *jā*. The Ins. *jā* preserved a trace of the previous history, the Ins. *jnā* (*jnāā*) also in some, and some, Pāṇini and his commentators were at a loss to know always (*jnāā*) is regular and when not.

Sanskrit pronominal forms, especially the forms of personal pronouns—the personal pronouns, in distinction different from nominal forms. In the nominal forms, as we have seen, there, the stems as the stem means, nominatives, the varying elements being the endings. In the forms of personal pronouns however endings proper are hardly in evidence, and from one to another stem to another is the rule, and which rules. From the viewpoint of modern of form, this is however as it should be, for here the conception of fluidity of phonetic in distinction different from that of nominal pronoun pronouns. It depends here, of course, form-a-forms. But similar separation cannot be applied to personal pronouns; *abhavat*, but *dvāvāvāyam* or *I-a-ha*, *mitra I-a-I*. There is therefore nothing to wonder at, if distinction different stems are used in the inflection of these personal pronouns.

Another chief characteristic of the pronominal forms is to be found in the Ablaut use of the particle *-ang* which plays an under-

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and the corresponding Avestaic form is [illegible] to suggest that some [illegible] honey. In [illegible] is well attested in RV., but not in [illegible], for which is usually found [illegible]. The relation between [illegible] might be the same as between [illegible] and [illegible].

In short, just as in nominal flexion, the number of specific forms is greatly restricted. Yet, even with reference to those few forms, with frequency in [illegible] between the Veda and the classical language. The tendency of the latter has been to progressively substitute forms of [illegible] type. Thus the older [illegible] [illegible] were gradually supplanted by [illegible] [illegible]. Finally, [illegible] were confined to [illegible] only in the oldest texts, the corresponding forms in [illegible] being [illegible]. Yet in the classical language the [illegible] have been completely supplanted by those in [illegible].

In plural all the forms of these personal pronouns, excepting those of [illegible], are characterized by the upheld use, of [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]. The use is [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] are apparent also in the [illegible] of other pronouns, [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] etc., and [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the original [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] etc. More interesting of all are the forms in [illegible], which are characterized not only by [illegible] but also further distinguished by the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. On the evidence of Avestaic [illegible] [illegible] they must be of Indo-Iranian antiquity. They are evidently connected with the adjective [illegible] [illegible], but it is yet uncertain how they are [illegible] because the [illegible] pronominal forms in plural.

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South-Eastern Bengal in Ancient Times

Vanga, Samatata, Vaṅgāla, Harikela and Chandradvīpa are the ancient countries that are generally located in south-eastern Bengal. There is every probability that some of these are geographically identical with varied[1] in names only but our present knowledge of ancient geography does not permit us to state as attempt to locate them with definite boundaries. Discussing the geographical position of these countries, Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri[2] comes to the important conclusion that the term Vanga was used both in a broader and narrower sense. In Purāṇic textbook anti-modern Bengal, Vanga is the broader geographical appellation and generally embraced the whole of south-eastern Bengal. Dr. B. C. Law[3] supposes that Vanga is roughly represented by modern Barisal and Dhaka districts but it seems that the modern boundary unfolded will follow. It is a known fact that different systems of local government are responsible. Different parts of Bengal in the final period and the spheres of administration were generally known by the name of the locality concerned.[4] In the Dhanaidaha plate of Vijayasena it is stated that in the Bhāṭṭaśālī of the Pañchavardhanaviṣhayī land was donated according to the Kāṇvaśākhā purohita in Sonāgiri.[5] Bhāṭṭa is at present the name of a pargana in Dhaqqa Barisal subdivision and it can be reasonably assumed that this part of the district of Dhaqqa was included in ancient Samatata. The recent exploration[6] of this part of the Dhaqqa by Sri Nirmalji Bosu's Boring Team revealed the fact that this region was in the Hindu period a flourishing and populous locality. Vanga is the broader usual compound Samatata and it seems that Harikela, Tamra and some portions of Vaṅgāla were included in the Vanga country.

1. Bhārat-Prabhāsa, 1934 B.S., p. 180.
2. Indian Culture, vol. 1, p. 41.
3. B. C. Bhattacharya, Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 4.
4. This point has been first emphasized by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, 1944, p. 31.
5. Epigraphia Indica, 1936, Epigraphy of Rashtrakuta Dynasties.

The medical epigraphic reference to Pataliputra is in one of the Bhitari-pillar Gupta inscriptions in the list of remedies which were distributed by the teachers of Theravada Buddhism. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions Samatata as a border (pratyanta) kingdom paying tribute to the Gupta empire. It is known from the Bhitari (one pillar inscription that a king named Hastin ruled over Lat country who gave a medal from to Pataliputra and he also inflicted a defeat on the Saka-Huna by crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. The identification of king Hastin has led to much discussion among scholars and the subject needs fresh treatment in the light of recent discoveries about the imperial Gupta history. Fleet[6] emphasized the early character of this inscription but it must be observed that being a record on an iron pillar, it is not probable and does not have much parallels with other contemporary records. These are of opinions have been not from previous discussion.

(c) Mm. H. P. Shastri[7] appeared the inscription (Ins) Gondry of the Bhitari-pillar (Ins) not belong to the Gupta dynasty but was a king of Pushkara in Bajpuriana who died in South (at Lokha capital before Sunchuyagiri). The Geographical issues of the A.D. Jawaha Pattanam or a powerful king of Pushkara and son of Kaphavatana and grandson of Vyaghrabala. The Bamdda Rock inscription in the Bankura District of Bengal records that a wheel of Vijaya was set up by Sri Sridharvarman, son of Kaphavarman and king of Pushkara. Mm. H. P. Shastri on the identity of the same Kaphavarman of the Bangalore record and Bamdda inscription made Conjectures and Kaphavarman brothers and identified Sridharvarman with Gondry of the Bhitari pillar. But Pushkara is the name of a place not far off from the Indrapur of the Bamdda Rock. It may be regarded almost certain after what Mr. K. N. Dikshit[8] has written about the earlier

[6] CII, pp. 156-58. For fresh palaeographical consideration of the record and all other notices on the palaeography of the inscriptions in this paper, see the forthcoming paper on the development of the Bengali Script.

[7] Bamdda inscription and Bangalore inscription published in IA, vol. XVI, p. 19 and XX, pp. 156 ff. and the inscriptions discussed there. Also see vol. XIV, pp. 366-71.

[8] ASIR, 1927-28, pp. 204.

[illegible] of the phrase [illegible] Dandaraniyam was the king of Pithunagara (modern Samantkot) being in Pithunagara, and as such he has been regarded as a local king.[9] It is not known whether Bhaskaravarman, father of Harsavarman of the Gangadhar record, had any son of the name Chandravarman. The identification of Chandravarman of the Rajauli Rock inscription with a name of unknown antiquity is hardly tenable and there is no difficulty also whatsoever in identifying Chandravarman of the Rajauli inscription with Chandra of the Rajauli pillar.[10]

(3) Then supposed the opinion that Chandra of the Rajauli pillar might be Chandragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and this has been supported by Dr. R. G. Basak and Prof. S. K. Aiyangar. Dr. Basak[11] accepts the identity of Bhaskaravarman of the Rajauli Rock inscription and the Gangadhar record but would not concede that Chandravarman came to Tamluk as a conqueror of conquests and would prefer that Chandravarman might have gone to the Rajauli hill as a pilgrimage.[12] But this presumption is contradicted by Dr. Basak himself when he brings Chandravarman in [illegible] putting to the political vicissitudes of the Varman family of Bhitari. "Bhaskaravarman and Jayavarman might have ruled independently and when Samudragupta defeated the Kadam power, it is not improbable that the elder brother was driven away from Kalika Samudra to the north. This may explain in a way why he came to Rajauli."[13] Prof. S. K. Aiyangar argues the case of the identification with greater power,[14] and lays down three conditions which should be satisfied in solving the controversy regarding Candra of the Mehrauli pillar.

9 Dr. D. C. Sen Chaudhuri, *C.H.I.*, (ed. ed.), p. 106.

10 Dr. N. K. Bhattasali regards this identification as providing not a solitary reference to our Dandaraniyam whose Wife we have found the benefaction of the land granted to a Brahmin by Bhaskaravarman in the 6th century A.D. mentioned near Kumilla in the Tripura district (Dt.), vide *EI*XX, p. 98; but it is very difficult to see why our Dandaraniyam whom he is referred to in the inscription of Bhaskaravarman. The night in identification of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Harishenna and the Rajauli inscription.

11 *History of Pre-Muhammadan India*, p. 14.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16. 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

14 *Journal of Indian History*, vol. VI, *Studies in Gupta History*, pp. 1-19; the Vakataka and their place in Indian history, pp. 1-14.

(1) The person Gopāla must have been a man of achievement, having by his own efforts acquired a vast kingdom, and held rule over it for a length of time.

(2) He must have fought two actions against invaders within the wide stretch of India, such as the modern Assam of Bengal and western frontier of India on the western side.

(3) The mountain that overlooked along the western frontier of India (more properly on the other side of the Indus) was stated to be Hindūkuṣa.[27]

But Prof. Jayaswal has failed to cite any definite evidence and known course of Gaudrāgupta I's reign to unduly say one of these four conditions. Gaudrāgupta I, founder of the Gupta dynasty, does not seem to have ruled over such a wide territory from Bengal to the Punjab. The Pulindas were his vile over Mālavā, Bihār and Punjab,[28] according to the *Harshacharitamu*[29] his activities were confined to Magadha and, in [illegible], and the geographical of his newly acquired kingdom were Kālinga, Pulinda on the frontier of Magadha and he was called by his ancestor. His name is omitted from the list of legendary Gupta kings in the *Dhanvantarī-Nighaṇṭu*.[30] The above mentioned data conditions are found in complete agreement with certain events of Gaudrāgupta II's reign. To explain the identification of Gaudra of the Mahābhārata, after with Gaudrāgupta I is to ignore some definitely known events of the reign of Gaudrāgupta II.

(c) The identification with Gaudrāgupta II was proposed by Bonerjee[31] and V. A. Smith[32] but the latter gave up his own proposition and accepted Mm. H. P. Shastri's identification.[33] The existence of Gaudra unknown king Bhāsagupta, other brother of Gaudrāgupta II,

27 The Bhāṭṭas are known as ruling in the Punjab with Sākala (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab as their capital in the *Mahābhārata Rāmāyaṇa*, ch. 10.40. Furthermore mention Bhāṭṭas as a martial people.

28 Vaughan, Preface of the Bell Art, Intro., p. 40.

29 Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. 3.2, p. 93; Harsha-Bhāṭṭaṇa edited by S. Kint and S. R. S. Shastri, p. 12 and Ad. V.

30 K. P. Jayaswal, An Imperial History of India, Intro. 30a.

31 Id., vol. XIII, p. 40. 32 JASB, 1907, pp. 1-20.

33 PHIL, 1906 ed.), p. 100 fn. 1.

proved by the Gupta Imperial Gaudavijaya inscription in which a hard and keen struggle between Gaudarājaprabhu II and the Guptas. Prof. R. D. Banerjee[29] has adduced good grounds for identifying the Gupta with the Northern Bhāraṣa rather than with the Western Bhāraṣa as suggested by Dr. Altekar[30]. Allan's remark[31] that "the remarks who had carried spoils (i.e. Gaudas of the Rāmaṭhī pillar) in the Vaṅga country were probably people who had taken the opportunity of his absence in the west to cast off the yoke under which his father had held them" is only applicable to Gaudarājaprabhu II. It seems that paramountcy established by virtue of Śaśāṅkarājaprabhu was going to be lost during the rule of Bhāsvarājaprabhu but was reestablished by the prowess of Gaudarājaprabhu II. It is quite clear from the epigraphic, literary and numismatic evidence of his reign that Gaudarājaprabhu II came into conflict with Śrīna Bhāraṣa.

If the identification of the Gāṅkha of the Rāmaṭhī pillar with Gaudarājaprabhu II is to be accepted, it seems certain that Vaṅga tried to shake off the Gupta yoke imposed by Śaśāṅkarājaprabhu but the attempt was frustrated by the valour of Gaudarājaprabhu II. Whatever the Gāṅkha might be, it is quite certain that the people of Vaṅga had to fight with a king whose military coupling and administrative extended from Bengal to the other side of the Indus. Building in particularly known of Vaṅga up to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. The Gunaigarh plate states that Vaiyāghrapāda ruled over eastern Bengal in 588 A.D. Whether Vaiyāghrapāda belonged to the imperial Gupta dynasty or not, his name suggests that he was concerned with the Gupta[32] The testimony of this plate read along with the Śālabanḍī plate indicates that eastern Bengal was included within the Gupta empire up to the first decade of the 6th century. The name Śīlā of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa denotes a King of Śrīlā whose hybrid was Īśānā who was of Prākrāṭ Śrī's family i.e. of the imperial Gupta

[29] Bānglār Itihās (Nāmakāṇḍa), Calcutta, 1936, pp. 108 ff.

[30] JNSI, vol. III, pp. 30-33.

[31] Indian Coins, Gupta dynasty, Intro. p. xxvii; Allan rejected the identification with Gaudarājaprabhu II.

[32] CII, 1888, p. 48; vol. III, pp. 76 and 80; vol. V, p. 196.

dynasty. Mr. R. P. Dyson[illegible] identifies this king with the unknown king of the 27th Samvatsara given at Mahā A.D. It is stated that he was very brave and an expert of fine arts. In his military campaign he had a large army and great power. If the proposed identification is to be accepted, it means that Vajra was defeated in eastern Bengal about the middle of ninth century A.D.

Somewhere about the middle of the ninth century southeastern Bengal emerged from the Vajra empire. Three independent inscriptions, Bhavadēvā, Ānandadēva and Śrīchandradēva (see Genealogical Table from the four Paṭṭōlī plates). From a very accurate and careful palaeographical examination of these plates it has been shown by Mr. R. P. Dyson[illegible] that these three kings ruled one after another. Their known regnal periods are 28 years, and it may be presumed that their rule extended over half a century.

The political history of Vaṅga in the last half of the seventh century is very obscure. It is extremely doubtful whether the authority of Śaśāṅka, mighty king of Karṇasuvarṇa, extended over south-eastern Bengal, as there is no evidence to prove it. Attention may be drawn to a hitherto unnoticed ruling family of Samataṭa. While speaking of Khaḍgadēva, the famous Buddhist pilgrim, of Tāmralipti, and his own preceptor, Hiuen-Chwang says that he was a scion of the Brāhmaṇical royal family of Samataṭa.[illegible] Khaḍgadēva was the hero of the Nālandā University in about the second quarter of the seventh century and he must have been sufficiently advanced in age before he was raised to this exalted position. It becomes clear that the family to which Khaḍgadēva belonged ruled in Samataṭa in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. If Khaḍgadēva had not changed his name after his initiation into Buddhism, this royal family may be called the Khaḍga dynasty of Samataṭa.[illegible]

A Brāhmaṇa family ruling in some parts of the Tippera District is known from the Tippera grant of Lokanātha of about the middle of

[illegible] Imperial History of India, pp. 81, 91.
[illegible] JA., 1905, pp. 189 ff., 241, vol. XVIII, p. 74.
[illegible] Watters on Yuan Chwang, vol. II, p. 183.
[illegible] For detailed discussion of the Khaḍga dynasty see my forthcoming paper "Was there a Khaḍga dynasty in Eastern Bengal?"

the seventh century.[38] This Pāla family ruled for three or four generations in that locality. Lokanātha fought with two other chiefs Śrīdhāraṇa and Dvādāśaṇa who have not been satisfactorily identified.[39] The latter took over his kingdom to Lokanātha and this was confirmed by a charter probably by the common.

The date of the Khadga family is a matter of controversy among scholars but palaeographically Jaydevpur plates have been assigned in detail[40] and these plates cannot be assigned to a period posterior to the beginning of the eighth century. Khadgodyama, Jātakhadga, Devakhadga and the seventh prince, Rāja Rājārāja are known from these records. Rājārāja may be now safely identified with Rāja-Bhaṭṭa, King of Samataṭa, whose the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang found ruling during the last part of the seventh century. It seems that this family ruled in Samataṭa in the last half of that century.[41]

The Khadgas, Pālas and Rātas all appear to be local rulers. The first is only known to be mentioned whereas Deva Pāla Deva. The Rātas were identified and Lokanātha a contemporary. The Khadgas had no high political pretensions, as their titles do not even suggest. The question naturally arises as to what power ruling Bengal was politically subordinate. On the strength of the statement of some Chinese pilgrims that Śīlabhadra was the king of Eastern India[42] and of the fact that Hiuen-tsang's place was visited from Karṇa-suvarṇa[43] a family has been advanced that Bengal was occupied by the Bhaumaras kings after the death of Śaśāṅka.[44] Against this it may be pointed out that the king of Eastern India is a vague term and

38 EI., vol. XV, p. 81.

39 Ibid., vol. VI, p. 180. The identification proposed seems to complete, as one of the archipelago Lokanātha is placed in the middle of the 9th century and other in the middle of the 8th century A.D.

40 Dacca University Studies, vol. I, No. I, p. 16.

41 Chavannes, Histoire du Bouddhisme indienne, p. 199, 1.1010, 1008, pp. 176-78.

42 I.A., 1908, p. 56.

43 BL., vol. XIX, p. 56, vol. XIX, pp. 1.1010. The actual location of the land granted by the Khadgas plate is far from being settled.

44 R. G. Basak, History of Bengal, pt. ii Mahābhārata and other Indian Culture, vol. II, no. I, p. 56.

the moving of plants from a certain place by a king (two are always connectedly cases) that he was the permanent resident of that place. It is known from the Life of Vasu Bandhu that Bālāditya-Narasimha (Narasimha-Gupta) with a vast army of 20,000 elephants and 10,000 ships in number.[37] Kumāra-Gupta or Bālāditya-Narasimha was always present at the great assembly on Buddhist with a large army and the Yellāpur plates might have been issued in one of his journeys to Pundravardhana's capital viz. Kotipurnagara. Thus, if it be accepted that Bālāditya-Narasimha accepted Bengal after Baladitya's death, it does not seem that the Kāmarūpa conquerors levied long as he been asserted by some writers. The later Gupta Deva Lokanātha Jayavarmā seems to have some political hold at least over some portions of Bengal. Lokanātha has been described in his own records as an conqueror with his Kāmarūpa authorities in Gauḍa-deśa. Rural Law, the Gauḍa scholiast, must have visited South-Bengal and Mālanchi after 670 A.D.[38] as he described Lokanātha as a Mālava king and the Jaiṣṭha begun by him was not yet finished when the pilgrim visited the Gauḍa place.[39] In the time Mālanchi belonged to Devaparvat, city of Western India. It has been suggested that this Devaparvat (?) or be identified with the ancient monastery of Dhānya-Mālanchi in Western India.[40] The identification of Devaparvat with a king whose name is not known from any other source is hardly possible. In all contemporaneous Bengal is to be identified with Lokanātha's son, Bhāgapāta of the later Gupta dynasty.[41] It is possible that Bālādityaraja or Bhāgapāta-Rāja might have over-

37. Bagchi, *Life etc.*, pp. 132, 133. A close study of this book shows that in the alliance between Bālādityaraja and Bālādityaraja the position of the latter was considerably inferior to 670. In Bālādityaraja worship Aparājita the name of Kāmarūpa and the Mālanchi Dhānyaka, the Mālanchi and of the other does not seem to have had any political significance.

38. Bhash, 67., p. 133.

39. Bagchi, *Life etc.*, Intro., p. xxxi.

40. Indian Antiquary, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 37 ff.

41. Aparājita was in succession of Mālanchi in 670 A.D. and also of Bālādityaraja. If Bālādityaraja and the Dhānyaka being (Bhāgapāta) are to be regarded King of Mālanchi and Dhānyaka, it is to be remarked that Bālādityaraja the Dhānyaka King of the date of Aparājita and Jayavarmā again invaded it after 670. The identification of Devaparvat with Dhānyaka seems the difficulty.

[illegible] Bengal after Rajendra's death, but some time but it seems to be noted that Tam Chwang does not refer to any king in his description of Eastern [illegible], Pundravardhana, Samatata and Dhanyakata. It is also quite possible that some portion of Bengal was included in the kingdom of the later Gupta in the latter half of the 7th century. It might also have been the fact that Bengal was divided into many small independent kingdoms, as there is no definite evidence to prove its occupation by the Harshadeva kings and the later Guptas.

The history of south-eastern Bengal in the eight century is almost dark and very few things are known. The undated Chittagong plate of Khadgadeva[37] does not throw much light on the political conditions. From palaeographical considerations Khadgadeva may be placed in the period 750-800 A.D. After the Rajatagiri grant of Srichandra, it is a particular grant in which the object of the lower law and land mentioned. It was issued from Vikramapura which cannot be properly identified. Khadgadeva's grandfather Srichandra have become powerful by victories in battles. The title is [illegible] and he is mentioned as a devotee of the Buddha. It does show by its address to the Brown Kings of Harikelanadesa.[38] It does therefore seem that his power was confined to a small principality.

In case of his father Jatakhadga on the palaeographic of Rajatagiri plate of Srichandra,[39] R. D. Banerjee suggested the opinion that eastern Bengal did not possibly form a part of the Pala kingdom before the days of Rampala I. This remark seems to be correct because as Tam is

37. Epigraphia Indica, 1908, p. 183.

38. Harikela has generally been taken to be identical with Tripura on the authority of Hemachandra's Parisista by Bühler. But from the reference of Hemachandra in the Chittagong plate it seems that Harikela was a small principality. In the dual when Hemachandra wrote, it might have become a province for Tripura but in earlier days it might not have been the case. According to Liang and Hsuanfang, Harikela was the eastern part of Eastern India (Takakusu, I-tsing, p. xlvi and Takakusu, op. cit., p. 195). According to Sylvain, Harikela was in fact an province from Tarhet, with 100 pagodas (see Hobson-Jobson, p. 340). We could suggest that Harikela should be located somewhere in eastern Chittagong district. It was a coastal country and there was direct communication between Harikela and Ceylon.

39. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XII, p. 183.

as direct and indirect evidence of the Pālas politically ruled eastern Bengal in the 8th and 9th centuries. But some indirect references tend to show that Samāta and Vaṅga were politically united and under one king during the reign of Dharmapāla. In the Nālā and Kalikupa[37] grants it is stated that Yuvarāja had seen the two sons of the master of Samāta. N. D. Banerjee thinks[38] supposed that one was the royal rebellion of Samāta and the other of Vaṅga.[39] In the Bodhi-Gaya inscription of Rājyapāla[40] Dharmapāla has been described as Vaṅgapati in connection with Rāgadāsa (?)'s victories. According to the same event Dharmapāla has been described both as Gauḍādhipa and Vaṅgapati in the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla.[41] The terms Samāta and Vaṅga have been somewhat loosely used in the contemporary Pālāṅka and Rājyapāla grants but it seems clear that by Vaṅgapati and Gauḍādhipa the same person was meant. It may therefore be concluded that eastern Bengal was included within Dharmapāla's empire. If the extension of Pāla power in the 8th and 9th centuries is somewhat problematical, it is certain that during the latter part of the tenth century eastern Bengal was under an independent line of kings.

The Bhāgalpur Nālandā image inscription[42] associates us with a king named Jayapālaṅka who is to be palaeographically assigned to the beginning of the 10th century. The only things known about him is that his capital was at Kumārāmāṭṭa which has been identified with modern Dhākādakṣiṇa in the Tippera district.[43] It is known from the Nangal, Rakarpur, Bhāṭera and Idilpur plates of Bhojavarman that a line of kings with names ending in Varman ruled in eastern Bengal. The names of Hariverman, Syāmalavarman and Vaidyadeva are known only for palaeographical reasons they are to be assigned to the 11th century. The title vaidyādhipatirāja has been first applied to Vaidyadeva-vaidya who had been at first a ruler of Harikela and became king of Gauḍadeśa.[44] It is stated in the Edilpur plate that the Gauḍas origin-

37. Ib., vol. XII, p. 187; EI., vol. IV, p. 248.
38. Bengal Gaḍam, p. 140.
39. Ib., vol. XII, p. 180.
40. Ib.
41. Ib.
42. EI., 1922-23, p. 304.
43. Ib., vol. XVII, p. 308.
44. Mr. N. G. Majumdar takes Vaidyādhipatirāja as the king of Harikela mentioned Vaidyadeva (Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 3). This mendicant is found as

only were rulers of the Khadgas. Messrs. R. D. Banerji[27] and N. G. Majumdar[28] are inclined to identify it with Dhekapati in the Dhulorbad District of Bihar. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali suggests its identification with the Sabhar tribe in Tippera[29] and Mr. R. D. Kisa with Bangaon in the 24 Tippera.[30] The existence of a line of Candra kings for 19 generations in Arakan[31] and the extension of the Arakan power over Chittagong[32] in the 9th century go to support the eastern origin of the family of Srihandra. Though no final conclusion can yet be established between Jayabaladeva, the family of Srihandra and the Arakan Candra dynasty, the probability of such a connection is strong.[33] Srihandra's grants were issued from Vikramapura which was undoubtedly in Vanga.[34] The authority of the Khadgas over Harikela, Chandradvipa and Vanga shows that Srihandra must probably rule over Vanga in the broader sense i.e. the whole of south-eastern Bengal. Not eastern Bengal was certainly included in the Pala kingdom in the 3rd year of Mahipala I, as the evidence of the Jaigram image inscription[35] considerably shows. This event takes place during the first half of the 10th century. It is known from the Tirumalaya inscription that somewhere about 1020 A.D. the Cola king Rajendra I granted of Rajendracola Ashtadikpalas Sri-Sankaradik of Vaigalaikkolu.[36] To take Vikrampur and Vangala as identical and identify as the king of the whole of

the following passage:—"Adhim Dandaka-dhi-Kharga-mandalikaka-vajra-yuvarajendra-lankara-vijaya-Dhipanandi." But in this Tachikamandala originally a king of Dhanda from which position he became king of Dandadripa seems to be a better association. The inscriptions of the Dhanda have been published by Dr. N. N. Vasu, in his book.

27 Bangalar Itihas, p. 132.
28 IHQ, vol. IX, p. 446.
29 JASB., 1908-09, pp. 94-95; 1912, 191, p. 9.
30 Bikrampur Patrika, p. 35.
31 Bengal place of Sovereignty, p. 19.
32 EI., vol. XVII, pp. 304 ff.
33 It is difficult to accept the opinion of Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury that Vaisa and Tripura are two separate countries and the latter was probably identical with Chandradvipa. Chandradvipa is still a paragana in the Backergunj
34 Bangalar Itihas, p. 32.
35 Nalinikanta Bhattasali, in his book.
36 Journal of Bengal, p. 3.
37 IHQ, vol. II, pp. 464, 465.

north-eastern Bengal would support the opinion[29] of R. D. Banerjee that if the Eda army proceeded from Dantan-Midna to Uttar-Midna, there would have been the danger of an outflanking movement by the Chandanaika from the south. The Dighawapa inscription and along with the movement of the Eda army from the Tilandaga inscription suggests that Chandanaika was most probably a vassal of Mahipala I and fought for his overlord.

Another Lokapaladas power was established in south-eastern Bengal about the middle of the eleventh century. The Varmans were subjects and it seems quite probable that they came to Bengal in the train of a foreign invasion.[30] It is stated in the Pithi plate that the Varmans originally belonged to Kishkinda, which has identified by some scholars with Kishkinda in Kalinga and by R. D. Banerjee with Kishkinda of the Lokanath inscription.[31] The real founder of the political importance of the Varmans in Bengal was Chhanasa who is said to have gained his paramount sovereignty "by conquering Vrishi, Kaulitha of Kalinga, by subduing his rivals even the Angas, by crippling the power of the Khagarya king, Hiriya and Gauriksha." Hiriya is to be identified with Hayaka, the leader of the Kalachuri revolution in northern Bengal. It seems that Chhanasa came into conflict with the Senapati of the Pala throne. The Bilhari

(Mirzapur) and there is no evidence to suggest that Vangalas and Pushkaranas were identical. The only evidence which goes to support the association of Vanga and Vangala are two separate citations in the Aphsad inscription of Pujana of about 680 A.D. (EI., vol. V, p. 195). It may mean either that the prefecture (vanaka) of Bengal by the Kalachuryas king had an Governor here or (Ibid., vol. 14, No. 4: "Some conjectural statements in regards to Governor of Bengal"). Pujana is said to have humbled Gaud, Vanga and killed the king of Vangala, Kalinga, Magadha and Kosala. The poet might have meant to repeat the same location by referring to the conquest of Vanga and by alluding to Vanga of the Vangala king. These are mere generalisations and poetic exaggerations. Vanga and Vangala seems to regarded as two separate countries on the strength of this evidence. Vangala seems to be an etymological modification of Vanga probably owing to the confusion and transposition.

29 (JBORS., 1921, pp. 4).

30 This point and the Varman history has been admirably discussed in my forthcoming paper "The Varmans of Eastern Bengal".

31 N. N. Dhandar: Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 30.

[illegible] of Vijayasena refers to the invasion of southern Bengal by a king of Vangala in terms of which the house of a Buddhist monastery named Kuvaṇḍala[illegible] was set on fire and the monks were taken to death.[97]

R. D. K. Ghosal[98] proposes to identify this invading king of Vangala with a Gauḍa king of eastern Bengal. His invasion of southern Bengal by any Gauḍa king is known from any reliable source. The Gauḍas were, according to the testimony of their own records, Saivas; Buddhist said it is highly improbable that the army of a Buddhist king would act so as to burn the house of a distinguished Buddhist teacher of a great vihāra, whose memory was honoured even generations after him. Very kings of this family are known from their own records. The problem of Ramacarita is its chronology and genealogy of the Varmans was so long environmental but the newly discovered Indian Vijayagarh grant of Kumāravarman[99] shows that he is to be placed between Vāgīśvarasena and Madanavarman and was most probably the son of the former. Though he might have revolted in the Rāḍhā plain. The founder is of that Varman period by name Bengal [illegible] not go unchallenged by the Pālas. It is known from the Monastery [illegible]

96. [illegible], op. cit., [illegible]

97. [illegible] op. cit. [illegible] Some have [illegible] conclusion on the [illegible] account from Sarvadānandasūri published in [illegible], 1919, p. 300: "Manipala, [illegible] of Bihārā, ruled for 32 years. His son Rāmapāla reigned 42 years and was defeated by his younger brother Madanapāla who reigned 38 years. Then Madanapāla's son Govindapāla ruled for 8 years. At his death his son who was only seven years old, his maternal uncle Dharma was raised to the throne and ruled for 36 years. He made war with the Vīrādhas and in the end was victorious. The people of Bengal then received against him and raised Govindapāla to be crowned king. In course of time he raised Rāmapāla to the throne and retired to the kingdom of Vāṭa, and there was the mouth of the Ganges where after 8 years he died. Rāmapāla ruled 38 years and he was succeeded by his son Madanapāla." It is very difficult to see how such other kings is to be reported. The people of Bengal invited Rāmapāla but the Bihārā inscription refers to the invasion of southern Bengal by a Vangala king. Rāmapāla refers to unfortunately the Pālas's attention to southern Bengal. Lastly, we cannot take Mr. R. D. Banerjee's view that the Bihārā inscription of Vijayasena is to be assigned paleographically to the first half of the 10th century and not about 1100 A.D. as Mr. Hirā suggests.

98. Hirā[illegible], 1940, [illegible]

Bhaugalla after the recovery of his paternal Kingdom tried to extend his power over Kalinga, Utkala and Khandesha. In memory of the conquest of his conquests it is stated that a Turanian king of the race propitiated Bhaugalla by presenting an elephant and a chariot.[29] The Turanian king who made his submission to Bhaugalla was either Kublai Khan or Hindu-Kush. When the strong arm of Bhaugalla was no more, and Bhaugalla's Bengal was soon rendered to the edge of Kanauj, but this was suppressed by the general Vidyadhara by winning a royal battle.[30] Thus it seems that the Turanians were successfully compelled to acknowledge the superiority of the Hindu. The last known Turanian king is Bhojavarman.

The Turanians were most probably ousted by the Sena. The Bhaugalla-gaud was bound from Vijaynagar where Vibudhari, grandson of Vijaysena, performed the sulapurusha ceremony. Therefore the conquest of Vijaynagar by Vijaysena must have occurred some time before this, i.e. in the third regnal year, and the date of the death of Vijaysena would fall, according the evidence of Bhaugalla and Adhikaripara, somewhere about the middle of the 12th century.[31] Vijaynagar continued to be one of the capitals of the Sena under Vallalsena and Lakshmanasena. After the complete defeat of Dhalak by Bakhtiyar Lakshmanasena's capital fell to Lakshmanasena[32] (Pusaga) and his successors continued to rule over eastern Bengal which retained its independence at least a century after the establishment of the Muslim power in Delhi. According to the *Dabistan*[33] Tughlaq Bey was succeeded by his son Mallu Bey who ruled for 18 years. The Sahitya-Kaustubha refers to a verse of Bhaskaracharya. Mallu Bey's rule is known only from Abul Fazal whose account of the Dhaka kings cannot be always relied upon. If it is not considered from other evidence.[34] Two sons of Independence, Vikrampanda and Bikrampanda

29 Bhaugalla, vol. V, ch. II, p. 18.

30 Bhaugalla plate of Vaidyadeva, A. S. Bipin, Sonde Lakhanadi.

31 Journal of the Department of Letters, vol. XVI, Study Bhaugalla of Bengal (the date, partly).

32 Bhaugalla-Pusaga, p. 188. 33 Vol. II, p. 146.

34 according to Mr. H. B. Vasu, no original plate of Bhaktiyar Khan has been found in the Dacca district and the reference given in Bhaugalla by Adhikaripara, p. 110. But as I cannot easily find, nothing can be said definitely on this point.

[illegible], who ruled, after him, are known from their own records[9] and the known periods of their reigns are 27 years.

It is therefore almost certain that in the first quarter of the 13th century there two Deva kings could hold Gaudadesa against Muslim aggression. Both of them assume the proud title of Gaudeśvara and the epithet "Uruga-Vaiśvānara-prodgata-kula-vaṃśa"[10] is applied to them. This does not seem to be empty brag and both the brothers boast that they were liked by the Yavanas and it seems that they successfully repulsed some Muslim invasions.

The author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri did not directly record any invasion of east Bengal by the Muslim governors and rulers of Lakhnauti but that does not cannot such attempts in view they were incidental references by Minhaj. It is therefore quite possible that there had been some other attempts to conquer Deog which was not recorded at all. Kiyamuddin was the independent Hindu Adhipati (1211-1227 A.D.). The rulers of Sripur, Tippera, Kamarupa and Rarha[11] paid tribute to him. Just before his end of his reign, he appears to have invaded Tippera and Vanga[12]. The actual conditions seems to be that there was practically no Muslim against these two countries and because they refused to pay tribute to the Muslim, rulers, another expedition was undertaken against them. Hence, their [illegible] account of Minaj that infidels (Kiyamuddin) would achieve something substantial, has led to misconceptions of the conquest of Lakhnauti by Dmitri-Mitra. Brief reference to the creation of east Bengal is made in connection with the rule of Rajah Rachhabi, who sent some elephants to the court of Delhi which were captured in Bengal[13] (1231-32 A.D.). It is not known who was the ruling Deva king at this time. Abul Fazal mentions a king of the name of Rachmia or Rakhma. Five princes of the Deva dynasty, Sripurna and Parapurnanana, are known from the Sidhya Gachal plate of Vikramapurna and it is quite possible that Sripurna of Abul Fazal is Sripurna of this plate. Another member of such

9. R. D. Banerjee, Inscriptions of Bengal, No. XXI, XIV, XV.
10. Sunyapurana, pp. 105-106. 11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 106.

Bengal took place in the reign of [illegible] Balban[illegible] in or about 1280 A.D. [illegible] Balban's accession in 1265 A.D. and makes the statement that at that time the Independent state ruling in eastern Bengal.[illegible]

Another Hindu king is known from Bandar Bari[illegible] and the Ashrafi plate.[illegible] His real name was Rajabidyadhara, and Dasarajabidyadhara was his title, according to the genealogical lists of Ramchandra, he flourished after the Sena rule.[illegible] When Sultan Shihab-ud-din Bahram came to suppress the rebellion of the Bengal governor, Tughril Khan, an agreement was reached between Bir Sulkan and this Hindu king of Sonargaon that the latter would provide the troops of Tughril Khan by water. The Muslim occupation of eastern Bengal must have been completed by the close of the 13th century.[illegible]

It cannot be properly ascertained whether the eastern states (viz.the Deokot and Dhingsing seals [illegible]) to the Pala and Sena kingdoms. The Bagbazar image inscription shows that Ramapala and some parts of eastern Bengal were conquered by the successors of Mahipala I. [illegible] The Mahiyara plate[illegible] speaks of Govindachandra of Gahadavala dynasty as Pala-lord which is a synonym of Mahipala. The name of the king of Bangladesha, whose seventh in Bhuvanesvaripalli, he went to the Sonar in 1084 A.D. If he was the true king of the family and his principality was included in the Sena kingdom, it seems that with the fall of the Sonar in Dacca a kingdom arose in eastern Bengal. Another Hindu kingdom was founded about this time. It is known from the Dhingsing plate of Dhanadatta[illegible] who was ruling in 1083 A.D. He set forth [illegible] ancestor as Pratapdhara whose son was Madhavdhara. The title rajaa occurs before his name and it may be that the

[illegible] Bengal, [illegible], pp. 98-99.
[illegible] Bhuyan, vol. 18, p. 20.
[illegible] Bhattacharya, JBR R.S., pp. [illegible].
[illegible] Sarkar, Orissa, vol. 2, pp. [illegible].
[illegible] JBRS., vol. 15, p. 80.
[illegible] Inscriptions of Bengal, No. [illegible].
[illegible] Ibid., pp. 98, 99.
[illegible] Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 14.

[illegible] of the family to political power began from him. His son was Shankara and his son Dhankara assumed the proud title "[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]". Nothing more is known of these two kinglets.

The conquest of north-western Bengal by the Muslims and the establishment of independence by eastern Bengal in spite of repeated attempts of the Muslims to conquer it suggests one important conclusion. A million cavalry said was sufficient to break the power of the Sena kings in north-eastern Bengal and the whole of it passed into Muslim hands within a short time. But the physical features of eastern Bengal presented such an invincibility. It is the country of big rivers and loose soil; cavalry was practically useless. Even for a permanent occupied the naval power was the most important factor. A fort might have been carried in a certain part but it could not produce a lasting effect. The making of the fort of Dhaniyaddikan by Sultan Ghyasuddin Balban to prevent the incursion of the rebellious governor Tughril Khan by boats clearly illustrates the weakness of the power in eastern Bengal—a power strong in every other property except the navy. This also answers for the fact why the descendants of Lakshmanasena fought the Muslims from east Bengal and why the part of the country south Barisal offered for almost a century while the great kingdoms of northern India surrendered to Muslim arms quickly. Before the final conquest of eastern Bengal, the Muslims must have realized this difficulty and perhaps built a navy equal to the occasion.

Pramatha Lal Pain.

Some unpublished Papers relating to the Mutiny of 1857-59

The Mutiny was a highly significant event in the history of India. "I wish", remarked the late Lord Cromer, "the young generation of the English world could read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the history of the Indian Mutiny; it contains in lessons and warnings."[1] It was indeed the last and the most appalling test of the growing British supremacy in India. Though it broke out as a military rising, it was caused by a resistance of Indian living simply rooted in the changing conditions of the times. Its consequences were felt in different spheres—political, administrative, social and economic.[2]

A few months back while sorting volumes of unpublished historical records in the office of the District Judge at Pabna, I discovered the following important papers relating to it.

A. List of some Mutiny cases.

1. Government versus Jawahir Singh and Ramadin (or Dwarkad Sing, subaltern of the 65th Regiment N.I., "charged with Mutiny and Desertion at Bhagpore".

2. Government versus Tamasada Sing, Bhawanidin and Tinaki Sing, sepoys of the Bakal Brahm Guards "charged with Mutiny and Desertion at Arrah and Oyah."

Letter from Mr. A. Dick, officiating Magistrate of Patna, to R. J. Reid, Session Judge of Patna, dated 30th May, 1860.

3. Government versus Gopal Sing, late Havildar of the 40th Regiment N.I., charged with "Mutiny and Desertion."

"This is one of the men of this district who contended with the rest of his Regiment at Bhagpore on the 25th July 1857 and his name appears

1. Quoted in History of India, VI, p. 140.

2. Different parts of Bihar were affected by this movement. We have accounts of the Bihar outbreak in works like 'The Indian Mutiny of 1857' (1911) by Col. G. B. Malleson, (ed), vol. I; Rudy 175, ch. IX, 'History of the Indian Mutiny' (by ch. 1866, 1911), pp. 19-80; and 'Ethnographic pages in India', 4 vols, 1886 by William Taylor (ed.), vol. II, pp. 197-201.

in the List of Rebels forwarded from the Regiment but [illegible] were not submitted to the Judge on 4th 7th May 1858 along with the others, as his property was not found. Property belonging to him having now been found and attached and as he has not been apprehended as being apprehended, I beg to submit the papers of his case, together with an Nominal List of the same to the Deputy Judge of Etawah, Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857 for the conviction of the absconded offender, on a charge of Rioting and Dacoity and consequent confiscation of his property under Act XIV of 1857."

Letter from J. H. Green, Captain Commanding Detachment 11th Regiment N.I., to Magistrate of Etawah, dated camp Bhadohkhal, 20th June, 1858.

4. Government versus Dhoom (Mohun) Sahay [Sahay] and David (Jaun) Singh' late sepoys of the 11th Regiment N.I., charged with "Mutiny and Dacoities." (Charges same as in No. 1 above).

5. Government versus Jugdhur Singh, Jugnee Lal Singh, and Lakarwin Singh, late Sepoys of the 11th Regiment N.I., "charged with Mutiny and Dacoities."

"These men are members of the Dawn[illegible] who [illegible] along with other sepoys at Dilkusha and Shahmahagh on the 30th and 29th July 1857 and accordingly the other [illegible] Sepoys [illegible] to work in the aforementioned Descriptive Roll. This property has been attached and I have taken every measure to apprehend them but without success. I beg therefore to submit the papers of their case to the Honorable Judge of Etawah, Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857, together with Nominal Roll of their property for the conviction of the absconded offenders and the consequent confiscation of their property under Act XIV of 1857.

An enquiry is being made for the property of the other men Bhojchobey [Bhojchobey] named in the Descriptive Roll."

Letter from same to same, dated 20th August, 1858.

6. (a) Government versus Wilhamun Singh and eight others charged with "Mutiny and Dacoities."

1. Dhoom Sahay and David Singh were members of 11th, sepoyes Bhojchobey, [illegible] Dawan. William Wyler was then Commissioner of Etawah.

(5) Horizontal cross Regulator Stop and two others charged with "Rubig and Demerlac."

Letter from A. Rigo, Meeting Regulator of Dress, to R. A. Scott, Station Judge of Poles, Solar Ruins, the 27th November, 1868.

B. *A Petition from a Rubig sufferer.*

Apart from the above cases I came across a petition relating to the Rubigs:—

"When I attended you on the 30th instant I begged to plead in your kindly feelings of humanity and charity in behalf of a unfortunate husband's widow.

I am a singularly miserable sufferer from the innovation caused by the mechanic wages of the 9th Regiment on the 9th of June at Gladsfield. My husband was indignantly murdered and all our property to an immense amount (a fortune, dear) in trunks, panels, china plates, carriages, horses, was burnt, plundered, done up.—I was saved by means of a servant who (at risk) tied his bridge which has ruined me partially for life. Having received certificates from Mr. Christian, Gunmakerson, and Revd. A. B. Rigg, Chaplain at Gladsfield, I proceeded down on a pension of Shillingsmore having been relieved from offensive to perform passing duty, distinguished was prevented by severe suffering from going down Cuthbert Sixty Pence being relieved by the kind and charitable medical attention of Dr. Bourjois.... I came to lay my most urgent case among reflection or work of them have some affection, they have either Husbands in charitable State, or property or positions to keep them respectable but I, unhappy being, have been deprived of both and below the Dominions of Relief Fund and the kind rest of a friend shelters me.

Having thought it expedient to explain this for I intend you, sir, to consider that I have not money to substitute a volume (? volume). I only beg in a form that you would kindly insert the copy of the Lessons of obedience which you have already granted me without making the paragraph respecting Government Pen. Scheme. All the merits of my husband have been found so that from the honesty and charity alone of individuals that I can hope Poor Hope to close be encouraged sighing. The title with Messrs Blackline & Co., in Div. 1861 at 1200 of the Public

Wahir Jang 1854-55, and another of 1861-62 No. 8005—Regiment 108 was based in my district at Allahabad on the night of 6th June 1857. Of my other, I solemnly declare I have no idea—but should Gunga be a person made for these ulters, a Dhgaden would also which would oblige me to trouble you again, should hereafter others may be discovered.

Apologizing for temporarily long on your time I beseech you more over to view my case as one of much need and charity and graciously to relieve all things and expenses which I have just been paid for this very paper by Mr. Alexander Bristol of Patna, and which I am not at all able to bear, and may the Almighty grant that you may receive my petition in a favourable light."

Letter from Rta. Ali. [illegible] Dated to R. Aert, Esq., Judge of Patna, dated 8, Pali Bazar, Sadatna, the 6th November, 1857.

Mr. Aert permit refers for issuing up a certificate as required by Rta. Ballard.

E. E. Dunn.

The Mawlid: Political Ideas of the Eighteenth Century

The Mawlid: "Glorious" of Hindustan (1770)

A document known as *Mawlid*[1] *Jahangiru yalu'ly*[2] was issued on November 11, 1770 by Ghulam II of Bahapur (1732-1770). The writer is believed to have been Hindustani Akhtar. The work is generally classified as *Ain Bahapur*. This royal edict is dated as have been prepared "in accordance with the Secret" (p. 19).

The work begins with a short historical survey of the Jawaher, the Marathas state, from Sivaji, the founder, down to 1770, the year of the promulgation of the edict by Saadatyar II, one of Bahapur who began to rule at Bahapur in 1732. In the course of this survey the author has tried to bring in general mention of Wahabiya by way of illustration. The intended public is thus to a certain extent cast as a common embodiment of Hindu political philosophy.

In one passage the edict said that many Hindus firmly believed that "the sovereign whose lives are lost in the name of their country, which state which, over the upper and pagan is not much and seem to become widely Bahapur in the name of their country in accordance with the notion of a Hindus" (p. 3). Brahmin of Indonesia and other Wahabiya like Guru of Kiai-Hidup and Vishwajagatra will be interested to see how powerfully the Marathas mind was influenced by the traditional Hindu political speculation.

The achievements of Sivaji are described in very general terms. In regard to the state established by him the processes are described in the following manner: "Upon order to create public affairs, Jawaher were his historical original generals. Dhamma sense in secret branches of friendship. By enjoying the term of sense he fought with them. By powerful tactics he defeated enemy in single-handed. With sense he made alliances. Of his own accord he sent to their sense. Sense he failed to sense and with him. He expatriated the lives of

1. Available in English translation by R. V. Bhandarkar as *A Royal Edict on the Principles of State Policy and Organization* (Madras 1888).

[illegible] by creating material liberties. [illegible] is conquered [illegible] another by making other kinds of affairs without God's knowledge" (p. 7). The Sunni Hanafiyya claim to regard to the four caliphs and six popes can be [illegible] as exercising power over the Rashidi Jahiliyyah. "We are not interested for the present in Sunni's religious and political but only in the manner in which they are being controlled by Khwarazmiyyah in Marwah.

In connection with prevailing political conditions there is no conversion in the following effect :—"A place of security when invaded by atheistic opinions to which with outside help. Therefore at first this doubt be not all. Thus efforts should be made against it directly. This is proper policy" (p. 11).

Bismillahiyyat is here translating as a proof of the Rosaliya-Khwarizmi-Sufism concepts in regard to the application of the doctrine of complete (phase of divinity) Eighteenth injection.

The category distinct opinion very often in this Jaragnawa (pp. 10, 16, 18, 22). While discussing some of the general principles of politics Khwarazmiyyah is virtually paraphrasing all that the Sunni and the Wahhabi have to say about Ummah in relation to the social order (pp. 14-15). The value of this peripheral criticism is the fact that the author is not [illegible] like, say, Nizamiyyah, Shiraz, Dehlawi etc. with abstract notions called the state. The author is every moment conscious that he is writing of a particular place, and that is his "this kingdom" (pp. 5, 7, 8, 15), "Hindu Kingdom" (p. 18), everything (p. 9) etc. In this Marwari valley we see in means and ends of nature social consciousness of the great reality that the Hindu Foundation of Sivaji the Great, the greatest Hindu of all ages, and one of the particularist revolters of mankind, is the "Kingdom of God" and that this Kingdom is being governed according to the principles of the Shrutis. "Use of computing for the people," we are told, "God is his full Power has granted at this Kingdom" (p. 18). The patriotic cing is ever spoil but in this treatise and the author is conscious of the noble mission of the Hindu state as the bulwark of dharma against the hordes of the Turan (Raghab) or Turana and Sufis allies (pp. 5, 111). This mission is not conceived in a fanatical manner but as something already fulfilled, as an achievement.

For the revision of Hindu political speculations from Kautilya to Shukra Nitisar[1] and Sukra to a [illegible] to observe that even up into the second decade of the eighteenth century an envoy of a [illegible] Hindu empire [illegible] Sri proved to contain the multiple tactics, strategy and general policies of the state moved by Lok Niti, and [illegible] that, in the light of, the [illegible] abandoned by the "old masters" of political philosophy. The virility, vacuity and progressive utility of the Hindu and Philosophers of the Rishis are thus brought home to us in a remarkable manner. Simultaneously also the deeper foundations of Marathi political thinking and constructive statesmanship are laid bare. The diplomacies of Marathi diplomacy and statecraft as well as the advocate of the Marathi Citizen by affiliation to the [illegible] tradition of Sukra[illegible] or Hindu [illegible] are [illegible] most powerfully. Truly, in the eighteenth century the Marathi [illegible] and [illegible] were accompanied in their daily life with the same ideas and principles of philosophers, poets, and preachers as the Kavis, Dharis, Tarkhans, Ghalyas, Pilas and Eshas of yore.

Hindu [illegible] in the eighteenth century, or the [illegible], or even the nineteenth century. It was living phenomena in the eighteenth century and came down to the nineteenth century for instance, in Bhiku Ram Ram (Sarsa's Diwan), the Marathi [illegible] Sri a Philosopher on the Peninsula.

In regard to the actual achievements of the Hindu Strategy of [illegible] and the Revolution can should not be [illegible]. It would be desirable to get oriented to the military methods, national policies, diplomatic measures, [illegible] policy as well as social and economic legislation as prevalent in contemporary Europe, say, the Europe of Louis XIV and Frederick the Great in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[2]

1 S. K. Sarkar: "Philosophy and Literature: Two Hindu Political Philosophers of the Seventeenth Century" in the Calcutta Review for August 1928.

2 Cambridge Modern History, vol. VIII (1904), p. 40; P. G. F. Philippson: Three Centuries of Prussia or Prussia and France (Boston 1915), pp. 1848; Fisher: The Political Geography of Europe (1916).

There is a tendency among historiographers of today to err in judgement on the Marathas with the canons of modern nationalism, democracy, social justice, "economic planning", and what not. This is an entirely fallacious method, and ought by all means to be avoided. On the other hand, it is necessary also to be more critical and objective in regard to the achievements of the "golden age" of Hindu history, such, for instance, as those for which the Hindu claim even those of the Harappa in times of the Vedas and Rama are responsible. The contributions of the Marathas of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries to the politics and culture of the Indian people would appear to be more or less on a par with, and the significant continuation of, those of the pre-Muslim Hindu times.

The malaise of multiculturalism, one who is so much at loose to the contradiction and chaotic of the Orient, one who knows of the economic, political, and social conditions of Europe from the seventh to the eighteenth century, should be in a position to appreciate the Marathas as having made substantial contributions to Indian freedom and progress. We cannot afford to withhold from giving the devil his due. In sociological explanation, apart from the question of comparative culture-history, the Marathas inadvertently deserve the glorious credit of being "a people that gave the Muslim power, that for long resisted the British advance in all parts of India, that conquered and civilized the Hindu and other tribes in the Deccan north and south, that have left plentiful permanent marks of their influence in a triangular tract, of which the three corners may roughly be put down as Nagpur, Goa and Sanjan, and were vital for order, peace and culture, and that finally saved the soil of India and civilization in India on a near lapse."[1]

In Bhandarkar's Reports we are furnished with an analysis of *Marathas Beauty as indicated in Drama contents* (pp. 9, 11, 70-80). And this should throw some light also on the function of Bhakti-drama as introduced by Eknath.[2]

1. R. G. Bhandarkar: *The Main Currents of Maratha History* (Bombay 1933, pp. 97-98).
2. R. D. Ranade: *Mysticism in Maharashtra* (Poona 1933), pp. 59-60.

We understand, indeed, that the practices and customs which we say, generally speaking, date to the Hindu based are recognized in the category *dharma*. Thus considered, *dharma* would be virtually identical with the lawful duties as analyzed by Hegel's, Eliot and others. It would therefore be more comprehensive than the more or less exclusively democratic and rationalistic technicalities of religious thought and life as viewed by Rosenzweig. Indeed, Rosenzweig's, at any rate, is fundamentally orthodox in his conception and his view of *dharma* gives hardly any support to Rosenzweig's and can be cited in the main in favour of Hegel's. But in Rosenzweig's analysis it is possible to come into contact with something which is wider even than the lawful duties of Hindu life. We must observe, however, that he is not willing to subscribe digest as *dharma*. The treatment of the topic is incidental and merely suggestive.

There is a concept of some individual and worldwide order of thought as well as practice—"that which is traditionally the best and which his ancestors had followed" (p. 33)—mentioning names and chants recognizes such as go beyond the accounts which actually in time and are associated with the equally superior religions, Greek, quiet, Greek, culture etc. of a people. We are led to feel that anything and everything, positive or negative, defined as established, which distinguishes the Hindus from those who are known to be non-Hindus is encapsulated in the category *dharma*. Rosenzweig's law not coherent in Hindu's established rule which is known to be as follows: *Hindus* who do welcome, *Mlechchas* whom he knows, "Hindu all the Mlechchas propagate the *dharma* of Mlechchas." Not only is it patent to us that in Hegel's Lectures, theology as in Rosenzweig's analysis of post enlightenment the *dharma* of the Mlechchas has to something which distinguishes the Hindu people from the non-Hindu and anti-Hindu peoples. Hindu the practice or morals and Rosenzweig's the Lectures or philosophy of religion are talking the same language, and they mean the same thing, namely, that the Mlechchas state, the Hindu Europeanite organization of the Hindus and by the Hindus for the separation of Hindu culture and the eradication of everything related to the Hindus and their dharma and non-dharma.

Bismarckiqnot is interpreting Bismarck in terms of the political philosophy of the Nibelungen. To a certain extent, he is not a writer of political philosophy, strictly speaking. His *Reflections* is rather a philosophical exploration of political history. Its basic idea, as Meinecke said, is a work appears to be somewhere at a crossroads to the philosophy of history. But, on the whole, the general philosophical or speculative character of the work cannot be missed.

In this World, treatise the general principles of the Reader's Nibelungen are to be found, further, in the role of persons, strongly, perseverance, individualism, everyone etc. (p. 6), the policy of foresight in international diplomacy (p. 10), the qualitativeness of the ruler and its relations with officials etc. (pp. 10-18, 35-40).

The Nibelungen says, for instance, in the right Pitt-style that "while avoiding what is clearly unjustly, new achievements should always be attempted; and this should particularly remain the aim of the king." Even concretely, we can call that "it is rightly the glory which he has achieved in satisfaction, that he does not feel tempted for further acquisition. As a result the enemy would feel the superiority of an Germanic, and the kingdom would suffer. This should not be allowed to happen" (p. 11). Problems of the Nibelungen (Book VI, ch. 1) will not fail to remember here the Reader's adoption of the ideas of "moderation" and "increasing upward and wing."[6]

And here we may result with interest that about a century after Bismarckiqnot's the German philosopher, Fichte, lecturing at Königsberg in 1807, declared his international principles in the following words:[7]

"1. The neighbour is always ready to usurpe himself at your cost as the first opportunity if he can do it safely. He never (as we if he is clever enough, and natural could it seem if he were your brother (Brown or low and Jones or with Smith, and were or Jack Reader said).

"2. It is not at all enough that you are defending your own territory. Keep your open open on everything that can have an influence on

6. 'The Theory of International Relations' in Barker: The Political Ideas, Ideas and Theories of the Modern Society 1908, p. 110.

7. Meinecke: Die Idee der Staatsräson (Munich 1925), pp. 405-406.

your position. Do not, by any means, submit to the fact that anything within the boundaries of your influence should be changed to your disadvantage. Displace no servant when you can use the old one to your advantage. Don't conceal that the neighbor will do it as soon as he can. If you neglect it or your gain you will remain behind him. Pay who does not grow damp with others are growing (Wer nicht vorwärts geht, kommt immer mehr zurück).[17]

In Rhaumadrapavi's lengthy discourse about the functions of the king we have a good summary of Pali Literature on the subject (p. 18). In the statement that "a king alone cannot, even if he wishes, perform all these functions" and that "it behoves he (sic) to appoint an intermediaries Ministers (advisers) in order to conduct the affairs of the kingdom" we see, again, the examples of the Wilithma (pp. 19-20). But the society he was another (advisers) of the Bawdha state. He has introduces a good deal of adjudicating and Bodhisattva into the analysis of the position of administrator, the article, a interesting observation were to the effect that "advisers are the pillars of the house whose roof is kingship" (p. 22). It is the Bodhi that "when one is appointed a minister, one should not go at all be disinterested and involved at every way" (p. 24). He the just right is to quit a different matter, what from disloyalty or some other, but a child of the mother's own mind. With Bawdha average The many Bodhi ministers of Kinds states, say, like the ministers of many royal dynasties of Europe,—keep from other acquaintance that it is to serve a king. In the capacity of a minister an Pulowati Bhaumadrapavi is chosen but pleading the cause of his own profession throughout the world with offering the advice as to how the ruler should behave with the ministers. This piece of advice might be administered, he is observed so powerful, so much to the Bhaumadrapavi, Ministers and the Bodhi dispute of the "Star Romantic" as to the Bawdha.

With dealing with the Bawdha Bhaumadrapavi (TTS) of Dhammachakkapavattana, he so shows more more what we are always aware of in the discussion of Kinds political theories, namely, that the ideal of a king is the Dhamma of the Bawdhan tradition. With Bhaumadrapavi (mind-regard), again, is more other than the philosophizing of Dhaka. To offer a

[illegible] contemporary parallel from Europe,[1] we should try a certain extent arrange the values of the *Ideas of a Patriot King* (1738) by Bolingbroke (1678-1751), in which the Bolingbroke contemporaries of the Marathas used to live. For general comparison is regard to political ideas it is necessary likewise to consider some of the contemporaries like Rousseau's *Les Contrat Sociale* (1762) and Mirabeau's *Considérations* (1811) as well as the treatises of Burke and Paine.

The economic interests of the sovereign organism are well taken care of in the categories, land and rights, of the *Pratinidhi*. The Marathi Rajaniti likewise devotes considerable attention to these considerations. Certain characteristics and richer new principles, enunciated by Ramachandrapant, however, deserve to be singled out. "Merchants are the ornaments of the kingdom and the glory of the king," says he, "Your are the crown of the prosperity of the Kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available must take the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich" (p. 14.) In a practical exhortation he warns, therefore, that the merchants be encouraged, for "Quarrels of [illegible]" are furnished by the merchants chiefly. "The issue of [illegible] debts is necessary is available. With the help [illegible] it is [illegible]. There is a great advantage to the prosperity of merchants."

In Ramachandrapant's Rajaniti the prosperity of merchants is considered to extend to include foreign traders. Freedom of transitance in trade should be given to encouraging merchants at various ports by providing the protection of safety, says he. In short like these we realize that the Marathi treatise on politics is not a mere paraphrase or adaptation of the Sanskrit *Arthas* and *Dharmas*. The protection of foreign merchants is not unknown in Europe. But the language and tone in which the doctrine is enunciated by the Marathi writer are original. The fact that it is the commercial and diplomatic contacts,—the traders of European nations and successful leaders, to travel upon us to life

1. J. H. Figgis: From Gerson to Grotius (Cambridge 1916), The Divine Right of Kings (Cambridge 1914), P. J. G. Ramaswami (editor): The Social and Political Ideas of Some Thinkers of the Seventeen Age (Madras 1930), ch. on Bolingbroke.

2. F. Rand: Molière as a Source (Chicago 1918), vol. 13, 14, on Rousseau and Freedom.

[illegible] of the subject. Rhamanthropos has enriched the map of Rivalry political science by introducing the Papistes (the Portuguese, Europeans) as merchants and the subjects of the state will then dealing peace and war. For instance, we are told that the priesthood which is inflicted on the servants of the country is not to be model on to the European merchants who happen to live in country territory. They may, however, be fined but discharged with the support (p. 8).

Among the Papistes (Portuguese) Rhamanthropos mentions the Firmaple (Portuguese), the Angry (the English), the Filthed (the Dutch), the Pentow (the French), and the Dingaw's (the Dane) by name. It is interesting that they are described according to their countries and that there is no reference to them as Europeans or as Christians. The common name for them, however, is that of Papistes (heretics).

The special functions of these non-Hindu foreigners have concerned Rhamanthropos's attention. They are not the other worldly's ways he (p. 10). Their leaders, whom they call Chiefs, are known to be ruling kings. Rhamanthropos knows that it is to make royal orders and marvel that some Portuguese merchants come to trade and other. "How can it happen that others have no gifts for strangers?" The other and [illegible] of these Papistes are described by him as follows:—"They have full authority to enter into these provinces, to fortress their territories and to establish their own ruling (religion)." Further, his therefore there as "Abrahamic" and it seems that "some a place falls into their hands they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives" (p. 10).

Rhamanthropos would, therefore, restrict the movement of the Ishmaelites to the extent of their coming and going for trade purposes only. He is positively against giving them places to settle. By no means are they to be given factory lands as the needs of so that or on the shores of the sea. For they might become dangerous by building forts. The corresponding forts (for the strongholds of the Europeans) for to carry, guns and ammunition is cancelled by the author as a positive reality. He should like by all means to avoid them. "It is enough" he also said, "If they occasionally come and go and do not trouble any but could we to visible them."

Ethnocentrism never uses the category, religion or the sense-limited organism. But he virtually describes all the seven ministers of the Politicians in his own way. The author deals with the seven [blog] and the energy [minister] at some length. The triple of [power] and [right [illegible]] are discussed in accordance with the commercial interests of the state. This subject has not, however, been discussed, it should be observed, in an adequate manner. Public finance has virtually been neglected. The slight reference to income and expenditure, salaries and gifts (pp. 29-32), [illegible] grants etc. and [illegible] or certain (pp. 33-35) do not enable us to feel that the hypothesis of the financial considerations has been grasped by the author.

"Finance is the life of the state," says he in the manner of the writers of Politicians. The practical aspect of this consideration in times of war is outlined by him. He advises that the state treasury should be filled and well-looked after, but does not go much further in analysis or prescriptions.

The problem of foreign policy, one of the main categories, should seem to be resolved upon incidentally at [illegible] place where the problem of foreign relations has been discussed (pp. 9-1). The topic may be said to have been well-taken normally dealt with in the section on the treatment of conquerors, i.e., hereditary officials, e.g. heads of villages, districts, provinces etc. They are as their small but independent circles of territories, says he. When a foreign invasion arises they are known to make peace with the invader and not become hostile to the kingdom. These "hostile" chiefs are therefore to be controlled in a manner in that they may be made to become friendly to the king (pp. 33-35). In this discussion there are important considerations preparatory to an active foreign policy. But the formal treatment of friends and foes such as can be handled with in the direction of neighbors ("geopolitical" sphere) has been avoided. The ideas of alone, allies, friends and friends are accessible (are although not in many words. Ethnocentrism has dealt with the actual circumstances of the Kautilya political culture and the method of adhering to the strength of the foreign land he has to serve. All the same, his analysis has not excluded a necessary to see the methodology or methodology of the

"sphere of motion" while detailing the manner in which the Foreign Is so Russian therefore and impact in all directions.

What little Bolotnikoviyanin has to say about Andreas with other citizens or Academy circle shows that the realism of Sylvan (1694-17[illegible]) is in full swing. Examples from the *Provinciy Politicorf* (L. 1[illegible]) of Sylvan like the following would be accepted by Bolotnikoviyanin's spirit: "Men are of necessity liable to passions and so constituted as to offer those who are ill and envy those who are well off and to be prone to resentment more than to mercy." "And so it comes to pass that, as all are equally eager to be first, they fall to strife, and do many actions unworthy to oppose one another." Bolotnikoviyanin would therefore like Sylvan upon a map view of international relations. The Bolotnikoviyanin statement that such persons as pretende Gustavus that the nobility of man dictated by politics was over to Lutheran to live according to the laws dictates of [illegible] would be deserving of the public politics upon or of a capitalistic one also in point to Bolotnikoviyanin's.

In [illegible] politics, therefore, it is the Imperialist the Bolotnikoviyanin that [illegible] of [illegible] this concept Bolotnikoviyanin's [illegible] the world to dispose his Dominions [illegible] or towards all his world in the philosophy of liberty or power.[illegible]

The words of Dashkov that "Holy Synod" in his Confession not [illegible] the major politicians of Pilmyer (Considerations on the present condition of the body politic of Europe, 1[illegible]) would be accepted by the Bolotnikoviyanin. "The politics of the great monarchies was always the same," says his Provinciy [illegible], "Their fundamental principle consisted in seeking everything in order to expand, consult [illegible], and their wishing to multiplying the works of God [illegible] and to play the Great play."

It is [illegible] the analysis of religious as presented by the Bolotnikoviyanin of the early eighteenth century that we find in

[illegible] Works, vol. 1, (New York 1[illegible]), p. 1[illegible]; S. Stepanovich, *Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Jeremy Bentham* (New York 1[illegible]) chapter on Sylvan; cf. in his conjecture the discussion [illegible] of the "upper strata", "[illegible]", "[illegible]", "[illegible]" etc. in S. Bolotnikoviyanin, *Social Morality* (New York 1[illegible]), [illegible].

the modern theorist Bluntschli when he says in *Politik* (1880) that the states of our environment are bound to feel themselves in eternal competition, rivalry, struggle, and at any rate, in the midst of conflicts or clashes of interests. The considerations of high "moral reflexes" are, according to him, out of place in such a world. This circumstance compels the fundamental (state or political morality) to be entirely different from the (individual morality) (p. 100).

Khomyakhyov would therefore be prepared to which with Tsarinov) that every state has two forces, one towards the internal affairs, and the other towards the external. "From the one disciplined it is the Hetmanate (Zaporozhye) or to state rules the official for the same) study of Ego Rokoni (1887). But the essential characteristic of the state in its external relations is its character as Hostis, organized force."[1]

Leaving aside the vaunting subject (sic), we notice that the two categories *Hospes* (hero) and *Hostis* (enemy) have been dealt with in somewhat detailed and practical manner. Khomyakhyov's conclusions on Ethics do not belong the (Abuses of exaggeration). Indeed, he calls like a contractor, engineer and manager. In regard to the treatment of the (King and the soldiers) he is prepared to indulge in moralizing generalities and official-like perfunctory in political subjection. But in regard to (Ens) he styles itself of them. Indeed he virtually avoids these theoretical considerations. He is chiefly interested in their actual construction and administration (pp. 89-90).

In his judgment the "Ens and recognition alone mean the Kingdom." They "mean more than the treasury." They mean the strength of the army. They mean Liberty the prosperity of the kingdom, "not phrase of emblems," "not phrase of powerful (Ens)," nay, "not very principle of life" (p. 89). All this apothesis of Ens, as he says, might be easily ascribed to the political and military conditions in which Muscovite writers are said. But we ought to remember our old

[1] F. Bluntschli: *Die Politik als Wissenschaft* (Munich 1880), pp. 99-100, 104-105.

[2] A. Vasilenko: *Heart and Scaffolds in the Supreme* (Beijing 1888), p. 56.

Kaliyuga (Book VIII) also, shows the relative importance of each of the seven limbs is discussed in economics. The importance of Vish as a or the organic limbs in the political organism is believed upon Parshara in that discussion. But whereas, as usual in the pluralistic and "individualistic" philosophy of Hindu thought, each one is found in Kaliyuga analysis to be something very fundamental. We may note in that by thus dwelling on the importance of form Bhavishyadhar-pana is perhaps philosophizing in a vein which not so much as a Bhavisha scholar but as a traditional Hindu scholar.

The questions of Vish as the army have been dealt with in connection with the troops and their organization (pp. [illegible]). The Brahmin form of society (Jaatha), authority (Prabhu), light-armed men (Lalat), soothsayers (Sandhi), scribes (Pandya) and military men (Dand) is substantially different from the elephant-corps, cavalry, chariot and infantry divisions of the Vish tradition. The Raja plays a sacrificial role (part in Bhavanandrapada's treatment). It is an independent limb of the state, says the Vishnu-Dharmottara (Kaliyuga the Vishnu-dharma) is not expert in know anything of the army and civil organization. Bhavanandrapada's Kaliyuga concludes his tome in Hindu political philosophy (pp. [illegible]).

Alongside, we are brilliant in your Bhavanandrapada's work, as it is the civil as adaptation in Wendy of Hindu Prachara. The treatise has been so well and closely adjusted to the achievements as well as problems of the Hindus that the author's choice of paraphrasing the Bhavishyadhar was highly judicious. It has some special merits, however. First, it has served to expand the scope of Prakaran by introducing new limbs. In the moral plane, the author has enriched the discussion of old topics with observations from Hindu experience. And it is in this regard that this Hindu treatise would appear to be intensely valuable to us. Many of the works and phrases used by "old moderns" such as might appear rather vague or unintelligible, are, perhaps philosophical generalizations from empirical in the concrete living limb and limit. We are thereby enabled to grasp the real import and contents of the definitions and Prakaran. It may be repeated as well, a few commentary, as to say, of the well-known tenet of Hindu political theory that every body may be recommended to

[illegible] for Sita studies in Rāmāyaṇa, Mana and Sūtra along with Rāmacandraguṇa's Mandāki work.

Sanskrit poetical works like the *Dharmāṭīkā* or the *Mandāki Bilāsa* like the *Ahalyāpāda* (or *Rājasūrī*) are not to be considered solely for fancy, sweet and for economics of events. Poetry and philosophy ought to be approached as poetry and philosophy. The archaeological historian will perhaps find here very little of interest to him in regard to the details of Rāmāyaṇa political history. But it is just in this kind of writings, idealistic and yet unworldly realistic as they are, that the students of political theory, social ideas and cultural ideals would get the most varied data. Nothing can be more helpful in reconstructing the mentality of Rāma and the Rāmāyaṇa than the ways in which mainly the Poems, the Puranas, prose writers and numerous are exhibited.

Deva-Dhārma and *Ahalyāpāda* are *kāvyas*, and all such of dramas and prose writers. But what, in so far as they are dramas and prose writers they have imbibed the Rāmāṭīkā of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries with the most accurate data in me. It is a powerful question to "social sociologist" that call Sīmāṭīkā and Rāmāṭīkā documents of the Rāmāṭīkā are to be separated by the students of political philosophy, sociology and anthropology.

The *Pañcavaṭī* Drama, (1708-1741).

In a letter[10] to his younger brother Raghunātha (Rāghava) dated July 18, 1741 Rāja Rāj Rao advised him, among other things, to study regularly *Raghuvamsa*, *Vidyāmādhava*, *Dhātuṭīkā* as well as the *Rāṭīkā* Hymns from the Pāṭhāpurāṇa in Rāmā and. It is very interesting to observe that in spoken Indic also these texts are to be questioned through the most popular or favourite works of Rāmāṭīkā Pāṭhāpurāṇa dandaṭ from calls for action. Tāṭhāpurāṇa which has been singled out in the middle of eighteenth century by the Rāṭīkā statement was an important document with Rāṭīkā also. The last chapter of his *Rāmāṭīkā* (c. 1800) is given over to the teachings of Vālmīki as found in the Rāṭīkā.

10. Sīmāṭīkā : *Sīmāṭīkā* (Poona 1900).
11. N. S. Rāmāṭīkā : *Rāmāṭīkā*, vol. II, (Bombay 1921), pp. 18-19.

Some of the civil and military institutions of Sikhs are described in a contemporary Rawalia work, the *Sikhan ghormiche* by Jassal Singh (1984).[1] This Rahitnama was later expanded by Chhapiche (1930). The *Sikhanal Rahitnama* is known as *Kiyo Dhaparashtrian Cheiche*.

Early in the eighteenth century, Mallan Khan Bhai Chhabi, as we have noted, wrote in Punjabi a treatise on Religion. It is a Rawalia work but based profoundly on Rawalia Traditions and is to be regarded as a Rawalia digest on this literature. It may therefore be aptly compared to another Rawalia work but written not in Punjabi, namely, the *Rawalia Nigoshti* by Dhanna Singh (1710), which we have discussed above. The tradition of Rawla political philosophy comes down therefore to the very days of Banda Singh Bir (1716-1800).

The rahitnama from the Fathegarh Rawla (Sirhind) from Sikhs to Pal Jhas (P) introduces us to multiple in Rawalia language from 1700 to 1837 and it is some of long double the ghetto of the Premier work of the Bengali Rawlas (written), the *Sri Gurbilas* (1841). This literature of some 10,000 (?) pages includes the English commercial image in its contemporary sense of the Sikh society, as the economic, political and social implications as well as claims of the Rawlas during the eighteenth century.

It is in this Sikhan Rawlas Than we find the contents of administration, revenue assessment and collection, the providing of forts, the organization of the army and the navy, the dispensation of civil and criminal justice, the policy lines of the government and so on. These charter and charters with the police, post, navy, prisons, shrines, gurdwaras and public works, cantonment and activities. The same type charter also the economics adopted by the Rawalia state in order to encourage trade and industries as well as foreign banking. We can find in these documents the evidence as to the fact that the Rawalia rulers, to quote Rawalia, "some work, as some caught any, one of their may, in underlining relations of social economy with a courage which

(1) Edited by K. S. Gosal (Pbg. Jassal), by J. C. Dhaliwal as Life and Rahitnama of Sikhan (Jalandhar 1984).

(2) K. S. Bhagat: "Introduction to the Fathegarh Rahitnamas" in the Journal of the Punjab Research Society 1968, pp. 149-159.

is thought to those days by some to be outside the functions of the state." Primarily, therefore, as basis of Maratha patriotism and secular enlightenment to Indianists can be traced or superior to those Marathi state theorists of the eighteenth century, kept as they were, by the responsible officers in the Peshwa's civil service.[17]

These Marathi theorists can be regarded as a certain extent the forthcoming of the eighteenth century. From the very nature of the case they are of course more objective, concrete, factual and realistic by all means than the Sanskrit treatises of the same sages or the Marathi Digests of Dharmashastrapant (1700). Indeed, they are objectively or realistic itself. It is from Marathi texts that we realize the necessary picture to grasp the political ideology of the eighteenth century. For one thinker in these the means which helped the Marathas confederacy in the first half of the eighteenth century, say, from to the battle of Panipat in 1761, to spread Indian rule and influence over the whole of India. Yes, the spirit of regionality and in actual the Marathas to prevail over many country power, Bhonsalas in Bihar, Hol. in Jat, Bai Sa or Rajiya, Bai Sa or Gujar, the Pathanes, the Rana and Ryder of Tripura and Bhoral questions are addressed both in form official documents.

The diary (Dafter) Dhanjay of the Marathas is valuable in another regard. It is in these diaries that we some seven considerable social reform tendencies on the part of the Marathas. The attitudes of converts or liberated Hindus both in the Hindu fold is admitted. Inter-marriage is in evidence. Widow-marriage is certain means to epidemic of as well as the prohibition of the sale of girls. Lest but not least, the equality of the diverse castes before law is an time with which we are much familiar in these days. We are closely tilting the beverage of Bhandarkar Day and its rivals (1751-1820).[18]

Shree Kishan Gokhale

17 G. S. Sardesai: Selections from the Peshwa Daftar vols. (1930) Introduction to Jaripatka selections, some of which are also (Nos. 31, 32) in social field.

18 D. K. Gadre: "Widely Sociological Observations Among Marathas in Transition (c. 1750-1820)" in the Deccan Review for October 1951.

A New Uddharaṇīta

The Uddharaṇīta verse, [illegible] in earlier [illegible] collections compositions of Śrī Bhoja Dharmāda, and the Uddharaṇīta Śāṭya of Śāṅkara Bhaṭṭa Dhārāvāsa of unknown date.[1] The Uddharaṇīta verse written by Śrī Śāṅkara closely comes under the critic of Śrīpāda's criticism.[2] This verse deals with a beautiful specimen of the Uddharaṇīta belonging to the last century. It gives us some idea as to how this type of literature continued to attract the interest of genuine poets and to charm the minds of Sanskrit literature by its singular grace of diction and true beauty of composition.

Author and Date of composition

The author of this [illegible] is [illegible] Bhaṭṭa who has also written upon it a [illegible]. The author which authorised the author to write the Tīkā is to bring out the subtle ideas and meanings [illegible].[3] It takes this opportunity from the closing [illegible] of the [illegible]. At the end of this Bhaṭṭa the following [illegible] giving the date of composition of the work:

[illegible]

[illegible] ।

The first word of this stanza has been explained by the author thus [illegible]। Apparently the word [illegible] or [illegible] refers to the Tīrthas. Its become it is the most popular one in the Northern India to which our poet probably belonged. Thus the Śāṭya-śata

1 Both these poems have been published in Kāvyamālā, Part II, pp. 180-181 by Bhawan Dhondo Dhani, 1901, Bombay.

2 [illegible], vol. III [illegible], pp. [illegible].

3

[illegible]

[illegible] ।

[illegible]

[illegible] ।

1 [illegible], p. [illegible].

Revised on the fifth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Āśvina (September-October) in the Vikrama year 1889 (i.e. 1832 A.D.).

The Poem

The poem consists of 101 verses in all; the last two verses written in complete metre give the date of composition and describe the object of this work. The remaining 99 verses are chiefly concerned with the description of the theme. Unlike the majority of poems belonging to this type, this Vilāsavatīkā has been mostly written in the śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, excepting the last two verses. In this he has followed Bhāgu Śrīdhara who employed also śārdūlavikrīḍita metre in his Dayānandāṣṭaka which great poems.[1]

Subject-matter of the poem

The subject-matter of this Śrīdhāṭīkāṅga has been taken from the story of Śrī Rāpyā a complete mirror of Caṇḍīkā to poets. This poem opens with Vilāsavatī seated under the canopy of five branches of the kadamba tree and surrounded by the young Gopīs of Vṛndāvana. The ladies severally between themselves jocularly pleaded to Śrī their dear Kṛṣṇa and took his opportunity to give vent to their pent-up feelings of deep anguish and great concern at the disappearance of their cow-pen, beloved companion and lover. After expressing to the familiar cows and objects of the Vṛndā grove. The Gopīs' lament begins in verse 8 and extends up to the 100th verse. Their anguishes are directed at first to the sacred Govardhana (9), to the cuckoo (9 and 10), to cloud (14), to the river Yamunā (15), to the black bee (16), to the sandals of the Great-Sire the dear and parents (17), to the mango tree (22) and lastly to the Vṛndāvana itself which was once the scene of their confidential talks and entertaining walks. This wail of the ladies served Vilāsavatī who was deeply pained at finding the love of the Gopīs disrupted by his own origination. He is sent perform his duty and this he did in his winning terms. He gave them the message of true and selfless love which always lasting, in spite of physical separation, finally fixed

1 Vide Śrīdhara-sampūrṇa, Part II, pp. 115-116.

and greatly developed in intensity under such trying circumstances (28). After this, Udhava returned to Mathura where he gave to Krsna a full and glowing description of the noble sentiments of the Vraja Gopis and of the deep group of their heart-felt, as it did, he said Udhavaseva shown to them by his friend. This speech of Udhava forms the main body of this Kavya and extends from 24th to 82nd verse. The description of Gopis' sentiments had its very desired effect upon Krsna's mind, who was deeply touched by this recital (29). With this the poem comes to an end. The last two verses in question mention certain the name of the poet, the date of composition and the purpose for which the poem seems to be written.

Merits and Demerits

This is, in brief, the outline of the poem from which the reader will clearly see that of the excellent description and charming diversions contained in the poem. The author's character of poets like Kaja Gowardhana and which the cycle contained in depicting the love and noble sentiments of the Gopis of Vrindavana has had great scope on the part of our author to display his poetic ability and thus show to detail the the previous example in this Kavya. We had mentioned that our author has achieved an efficient distinction in planting before the reader his own conception of true love and in depicting the noble sentiments of human hearts which separated from one who is truly lovable. The message of Kaja when delivered to Gopis in these simple words contains the philosophy, as it were, of Platonic love :—

> [illegible]
> [illegible] :
> [illegible]
> [illegible] :

The manner of describing the inner feelings of these Gopis is truly poetic and it is so much overdrawn with [illegible] that it cannot but touch the heart of true [illegible]. As Gopis, Gaya ladies by birth, before their human there deep pang of separation due to the disappointment experienced from the cruel and harsh conduct of Krsna, who now having adopted to a position

of cross-examination and trial, has been forced, resulting in the discharge of his noble duty towards his cross very dear and devoted friends. The reasons assigned by our poet to the Moon and Lord Dagdil for their ill-treatment of these fellow-a truly poetic:

[illegible] (v. 44, p. 71).

A fine satire on the Kingly life of Epoca is enclosed in the following verse:

[illegible] (v. 48, p. 20)

How the many mountains of the name Mahi have produced a curious effect upon the spiritual mind of the father of Tyrdhvana has been very charmingly expressed in the following verse:

[illegible] (v. 46, p. 32)

Epoca is, in fact, the midnight cloud because in his character the whole of Kaja appears to be engulfed in a curious sort of calamity:

[illegible] (v. 38)

The verses quoted above will give an idea of our author's poetical talents and will show that the poem is of real worth as a beautiful specimen of Kachaka-kavya. But the beauty of the poem[1] has been

1. The poem was published by Pandit Digambar Jaina under the order of R. B. Hirananda of Benares (1901, Benares). The reference above are to the edition of the work, which is the earliest and the only edition known to the author.

[illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] by occasional use of metrical words which, though grammatically correct, are unusual and seem to our Editorial [illegible] a few words of this type are considered below:

(i) [illegible]
(illegible) from [illegible]

(ii) [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (illegible)
[illegible] from [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (illegible)

(iii) [illegible]
[illegible]

(iv) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
(illegible) from [illegible]

In spite of metrical irregularities in the use and formation of metrical words, this book is a valuable to the intending pupils of composition and is well suited, I hope, fill the [illegible] a complete history of Brāhmaṇical [illegible] to be welcome by [illegible] [illegible].

Nalinākṣa Vidyābhūṣaṇa

The Buddhist Manuscripts at Oldgit

This is the fourth (Oldgit) manuscript recovered by me in Kashgar.* It is a very small one, consisting of 12 leaves written on birch-bark in clear upright Gupta characters of the ninth century A. D. The condition of the text is good. The scribe must have been a poor Buddhist for the use, besides with extremely scribbled ones in spelling. The treatise contains two Dhāraṇīs. The first is entitled [illegible] [illegible] leaf 1 b, l. 3 which in the Tibetan translation appears in a fuller form as [illegible] with the following Tibetan translation: [illegible] (Mdo, [illegible], 1. 184 b).

The Tibetan version follows text up to [illegible] and after a few concluding remarks closes the Dhāraṇī. But text also gives later the words [illegible]. Evidently the scribe appending after these words some additional words [illegible], and they look like general [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] after the termination of the main text. They are [illegible]. Then follows the second Dhāraṇī [illegible] which in Tibetan is entitled [illegible]. As we happened to find with this Dhāraṇī in Oldgit, in a future [illegible] have the Sanskrit text only just as it appears in Tibetan.

In Bunyiu's Catalogue, two texts are mentioned with the title Vikālamantrāṇām, one (No. 853) a translation of Tanapyan (A.D. 581-600) and the other of Dharmaraksa (A.D. 265). In the Ridge addition of the Tripiṭaka, these two appear as vol. XX, under the titles No. 1070 [illegible] No. 1071 [illegible].

The Chinese texts also follow the Tibetan in extent, closing the text with the [illegible], which appears in Sanskrit in Chinese translation.

From the Chinese rendering of the word dhāraṇī by [illegible] it is evident that it means [illegible], a magical charm. The dhāraṇī, as the term implies, was, in fact, a mantra written on a birch-bark or palm-leaf and put within an amulet to be worn by a person to avert evils. This interpretation is fully supported by the present text, verse 10b, l. 1.

The edition edited here is wholly a Buddhist one with a view to conjoining the product with the interests of a sect, which otherwise would have remained buried up in the Buddhist Scriptures.

[illegible]

(1a)

१. [illegible]
२. [illegible]
३. [illegible]
४. [illegible]

(1b)

१. [illegible]
२. [illegible]
३. [illegible]
४. [illegible]

[illegible]

१. [illegible]

२. [illegible]

विनय विशेषतः

१. [illegible]

२. [illegible]

३. [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

(2)

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] (a)

1. [illegible] : [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ।
2. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] : [illegible]
3. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
4. [illegible] : [illegible] : [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (b)

1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
2. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ।

[illegible] [illegible]

1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
2. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (c)

1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ।
2. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

(d)

1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
2. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
3. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ।

[illegible]

1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] (a)

1. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ।
2. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

१२८

१. [illegible]
२. [illegible]
३. [illegible]
४. [illegible] (८)

१२९ (८)

१. [illegible]
२. [illegible]
३. [illegible]
४. [illegible]

१३०

१. [illegible]
२. [illegible]
३. [illegible]
४. [illegible]

१३१ (८)

१. [illegible]
२. [illegible]
३. [illegible]
४. [illegible]

१३२

१. [illegible]
२. [illegible]
३. [illegible]
४. [illegible] (८)

[illegible]

१ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
२ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
३ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
४ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]

[illegible]

१ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
२ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
३ [illegible]
४ [illegible] ॥
[illegible]

[illegible]

१ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
२ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
३ [illegible]
४ [illegible]

[illegible]

१ [illegible]
२ [illegible]
३ [illegible]
४ [illegible]

[illegible]

१ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
२ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
३ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]
४ [illegible] ॥ [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]
3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]

[illegible]

5 [illegible]
6 [illegible]
7 [illegible]
8 [illegible]

[illegible]

9 [illegible]
10 [illegible]
11 [illegible]
12 [illegible]

[illegible]

13 [illegible]
14 [illegible]

ANTIQUE DRAFT

[illegible]

1 [illegible]
2 [illegible]

[illegible]

3 [illegible]
4 [illegible]
5 [illegible]

[illegible]

1 [illegible]

MISCELLANY

Alexander and Alexandria in Indian Literature

The Indian authorities, primarily based on inscriptions, exclude from not all positive appeal to reality. We know from the Greek-Roman evidence to what a large degree there had been commercial exchange between India and the Hellenic West. The Indian literature has, however, lost all memory of it. The name of Alexander the Great which has maintained the same prestige in the traditions of the Near East as in those of the West has not yet been discovered even in a single Indian text. Towards the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., however, the inscriptions of the Emperor Asoka mention a Greek king called Alexandre whose reign in Epirus was contemporaneous with that of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus and Magas. He might have been either Alexander of Epirus (272-255), or Alexander of Corinth (252-244). We learn from the Edict XIII graved on the North-Western frontier at Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra and at Kalsi in the upper valley of the Ganges, that this name was received, at least according to the official usage of India, as Alikasudara (north-west) and Alikyasudara (Kalsi). It was also considered the equivalent, adopted, to all people and particularly to the Indian mind, to Antiyoga (the Greek spelling is a purely Eastern one, it would be interesting to discover in the Mediterranean Sea Sanskrit texts—still half unknown—the Greek Antiochus into). The substitution of the sound 'a' for 'an' is at another time than that name to be accidental. Sanskrit might have very well suggested also Kasikyasudara (the name) and in fact the Indian scholarship who commented the Indian provinces of the empire of the Maurayas after his death and relinquished forth have the name of Kasikyaprajya which the Greek and Latin historians generally render either as Nandicestrus or some analogical form. A review of Dhanikhin of which A. W. Schlegel had pointed out the importance from the very dawn of Indian studies (Indische Bibliothek, II, p. 190, Bonn 1830) suggests a very particular application of this assertion. Under the word Sanskrapidaya, Wagislas writes:—'Sanskrapidaya (the river Jail (?), name changed

by Alexander and was called *Alexiou*.[1] He was really Sanjaya who had passed. The name of Gandhāgiri, normally marked Gandhāgiri in the area of the Grahi artifact. This [illegible] is the name of Alexander is situated by a number of inscriptions. Gandhāgiri means "Sorrow (Alexander)"—an name which was Sanjaya for the sons who were already on the way of destruction. But historically Gandhāgiri been another name than very early Kirat, which is preserved in the religious texts, it is called 'the Lord'. The name is Gandhāra really corrected and Aleksi becomes Sanjaya or very nonsensical *Aleksi*, which means 'the sure'. Alexander is novel, or also the novels of the story.

I believe the role of the name of Alexander can be still discovered, also authentic later, in the play on words in the work of an author who had inspiration for it. In the Rampurvila, the romantic biography of the royal person, written [illegible] about about 300 A.D., Bhim describes the prisons in the court of Dhrua who split of conquering a company of the world. They [illegible] the Kirāta heroes, who had succeeded in [illegible] it and place in imprison the two [illegible] who stopped in the order of their majority. "Thereupon, that a King was conquered with his [illegible] and valuable everybody [illegible] the [illegible] Dhrumsyan left Hanuja, his [illegible] made the world and the kingdom of the Kirātas' [illegible]. And this the Gandhāra who, the conqueror of the world, did not penetrate into the Kingdom of Women!" [illegible] *Tadāpāpāna* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

a flattering letter, indicative to their superior, the order for recognizing his sovereignty. They gratefully submit to it but Alexander by an unknown Person does not offer their territory. The message of submission which they send to the King reads, in one of the versions of the Greek text, thus:—"We have decided to remain in our territory and be obedient to the rule."[2] In another version as "Send us your orders so that we may render homage to it instead of yourself." Thus the spiritual allusion of Buga is the only helpful hint a sufficient indeed to prove that the minister of Alexander was known in India, in the literary as well as private of the royal courts, in the 5th century A.D.

But how to explain the addition of the word *Indra* to the Sanskrit form of Alexander? As Buga had separated the first element in order to make a meaningful meaning about 'Sun', the word *cayda* only remained in the name of the king. This is a name which may appear at the beginning of a royal name: the King of [illegible] in the Time of Buddha is Prasenajita, also called *Cayda Prasenajita*. *Jaidya*, before his lessons the world of Buddha play, was known as *Cayda Jaidya*. The royal names are in a general rule composed of two terms *Cayda-jaidya*, *Dhrtarastra*, the full name of Jaidya is *Jaidyavardhana*,[1] and in pali from the Buddhistic period on we find Jaidya, the father of this writer, the great king generally known as Bimbisara is officially called *Bimbasarabhadra*, and his other brother *Jaidya-vardhana*. It was therefore necessary to find out another word to be combined with *Cayda* to form an appropriate name. And it is here that the Bakshalian imagination of Buga works. Buga literally means 'a cave', 'a dwell', and being he was charged twenty other meanings like 'hole of a flower', 'egg' etc. One of the most usual meanings is 'treasure', 'royal treasury', 'wealth', a notion which is naturally associated with the royal majesty. But here has another curious meaning—'pearl', 'particle', as in the Sanskrit list of the thirty-two signs of Buddha. Alexander would have therefore an alternative represented by the forms of Bakshali, and there would be some hidden for not having visited the Kingdom of 'Pearls.' But the title of Cayda-Indra remains still another matter. The word Indra lately is another

2 We should also note that in a 14th century text the name "was also known as Indra" (Marasinghe) and the "Indrakhand" (Marasinghe).

[illegible] adjective [illegible] on the other hand, in hemiphrase [illegible] name the [illegible] of the [illegible] Kathā. Gandakavīthi, the [illegible] Kathā, is the name of a metre which [illegible] part in the [illegible] of the Kathāsaritsāgara (II, 17, 106; IV, 74). The same name is also applied to the metrical practice of Kavīśa-Vīranāga, the poet Kṣemendra, pupil of Bhaṭṭa, has adorned the [illegible] by one of his frames in which he has presented the story of the [illegible] of the [illegible] Kṣemendra, versed by the [illegible] of Vidyādhara. And the [illegible] Bṛhatkathā as well as the Kathāsaritsāgara, the other master-piece of Bhaṭṭa, ran from the beginning to the end written in a style full of double and triple meanings.

The city of Alexandria had no greater fame than that of its Pharos. As far as I know, not a single Bibliographical text has been on the hand which could in any way be applied to this great part where the trade routes from the East and the West met. Nevertheless many a [illegible], many a sailor and [illegible] a merchant, [illegible] of India, who [illegible] either at Barygaza or any other port of the Red Sea must have followed the caravan [illegible] the valley of the Nile and the shores of the Mediterranean with its quays of [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible], the [illegible] and [illegible] where India had never ceased to send along the [illegible] of the world, such as [illegible], [illegible] of Bengala (Dharmadatta, Bimbā) who already [illegible] on the [illegible] of Alexandria when Rulaca [illegible] to his own [illegible]. Most [illegible] travellers [illegible] in a previous information in Pliny which [illegible] had already [illegible] (Ind. 18, 12, p. 198 [illegible]) [illegible] in this instance compilation it has never been properly [illegible]. Pliny, while [illegible] the [illegible] in his Library, [illegible] (6, 70) a work of Dionysius called the Life of Indica (Βίος Ἰνδικοῦ). In this work a [illegible] Sanskrit is mentioned. He was [illegible] in Rome, [illegible] the Consul [illegible] 98 and later on [illegible] in Alexandria.[1]

"Were the Brahmins who were in Alexandria come by [illegible] and the latter received them with due respect. And those Brahmins living in this country lived in all purity, without using the [illegible]

1 The Greek text of Pliny.

India, or imposing Sumadiva, to the people of the town. They avoided all obligations of going out and lived on dates and rice and simple water as their drink. These people were neither the Brahmins who lived in the countries say Upon who lived in the towns but they really lived these two ends of life making Upanishad the middlemen between the Brahmin of the countries and those of the cities according to the necessity of their service. On the subject of the Brahmins of the mountains they repeated what the writers have mentioned, that they practice by their present acts and thoughts, remove famine, pest and other kinds of diseases so far as the country yields the remedy. They also said that in that country there are men with one foot, dwarfs of extraordinary dimensions with seven heads and other especially bizarre-looking things.[17]

Alexander's literature in the 7th century A.D. contained fact, incomplete and such other children who really [illegible] attracted, and the information supplied by these children, and this particular character which they knew how to [illegible] in the form of Bud's hero. The information about the Wise which they imparted to the Sun provided without doubt [illegible] the same kind of [illegible] [illegible].

The missionary spirit which has always inspired Buddhism and dates very early to [illegible] Greeks. The text which is associated with the origin of a Buddhist [illegible] by the Greek rulers the conversions of the Greek King Menander (Milinda) and a Buddhist Doctor Nagasena. Probably composed at first in a more or less Bactrian Sanskrit it has been preserved in a Pali translation (Milinda-pañha, ed. Trenckner, partly translated in French by M. Louis Finot in the Series Jaz Orientale du Pédiste, 1923) and in two Chinese translations (translated into French by M. Paul Demiéville, *BEFEO*., t. XXIV, 1924). In a review of the talk Nagasena with the King (Trenckner, p. 56; Finot, p. 103): "Which is your native country?" Milinda replies—"It is a part of the world (or island) called Alasanda." "What is the distance of Alasanda from here?" "Two hundred leagues." The corresponding passage in Chinese is as follows: (Demiéville, p. 139): "In which country is the King from?" "I am born in the country of Yavana (Bactriana) [illegible]—the country is called Alasanda." "How many leagues that have to Alasanda?"—"Two thousand leagues." In the episodic that

[illegible] Dhamma, returns to the name of *Alexandria* (Demiéville, p. 110): "Let the King try to think of the country of *Ale*." "I have thought of it." "Let the King again think of the city (Kamala which is very near)." "I have thought of it." "With thinking of these countries which of them has revived in your mind more quickly?" "Both of them have returned to me equally quickly." The Pali version in regard to this second question has not preserved the name of Alexandria. The identity of Alexandria and Alasandra has never been questioned but there were some first rate Alexandria. Rhys Davids (in the translation of the Questions of Milinda) identified it with "Alexandria (in Bactria), built on an island of the Indus." Prof. Bouvat (after I) in his *Alexandria* or (in Indian literature), formed in the capital of Bactria. M. Foucher who has discussed the proper location of the *Milindapañha* (Journ. Asiat., 1918, II, 229 sqq.) from the point of view of Chinese transcription and M. Demiéville (p. 110 n.) have produced against these interpretations. They have concluded that the Chinese commentator (Demiéville, 13 and XXXII) locates the capital of Mi-lan (Milinda) "on the sea-shore" and that consequently the place is no other than Alexandria in Egypt. This conclusion would have been crowded if one had referred to another version of the *Milindapañha* (the Chinese translation one year later than this version) in which Alasanda is mentioned in a list of the cities. "It is thus, Great King, that a monkey Gopuria when he has paid all his duties of the post-mortem and go to Takya, Takkola, Cina, Jonna, Sonapha, Alasanda, Kalapakkha, Sovaggaddhaja or any other part of the sea" (Demiéville, p. 110). A little before this (*Ibid.*, p. 108), the name of Alasanda is mentioned among other countries: "Suppose that a merchant wants to build a big city and then people of Kaka, Tarana, Cina, Yona (Ionia), Tajaci, Bhandavala, Eki, Ilinda, Jaganda, Magadha, Kosala, Sangala, Tikkaya, Kapadoca, Mallaka, Alasanda, Kamsa, Sankha.... will come to settle there." A third (*Ibid.*, p. 109) which is shorter also mentions the name of Alasanda: "Aka and Tarana, Cina and Yona (Ionia), Alasanda, Nikaya, Eki and Kosala, Kamsa and Gandara...." It will be seen from these to what degree Alasanda was familiar to the compilers of the Questions of Milinda than Alasanda was certainly the Alexandria of Egypt.

Another Buddhist work, the Milindapañha, the chronicle of King Milinda, composed around the nucleus of a [illegible] chronicle mentioning also the name of Alexander in a curious context. Having the inscription of the Mahāvīrapa, built by the King Devānaṃpiya in the 2nd century B.C. the monks keep the whole Buddhist world [illegible] for others. Question: "And from the city of the Greeks (Yona), Alexandria, the Great (Yona) Mahā Dhammarakkhita who was a thera skilled versus bringing with him 500 monks [illegible]?" (XXIX, 38). A later compiler, the author of Dīpavaṃsa (about 350?) substitutes for the city of Alexandria "the monastery of Alexandria" (Alexandria vihāra). Who could say that this interpolation was [illegible] [illegible]?

Besides these positive mentions the memory of Alexandria has survived in a very small degree. The central literature of the Pāli-speaking Indian Buddhists, written in Pāli, has preserved amongst the stereotyped lists which are abundant in it, an enumeration of notable persons (Mahāpurisa) [illegible] with all categories of lists, also, [illegible] in this list we find mention of a [illegible] Alexandrian (Sikandarī, s. v., Sikandrāpa, s. v. Sikī), also Dhammarakkhita and [illegible], [illegible] Devānaṃpiya Dhammarakkhita which I have not been able to verify). Alexandrian scholarship has [illegible] name of a kind of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

1. The name of Alexandria appears in an important work of Indian Buddhism of which the original is lost, but it is preserved in a Chinese translation, in the commentary of the Vaibhāṣikas which is attributed to Dīgnāga. In chap. 3 of the Chinese translation (Ta chih lun [illegible], T.D. 1, 68, col. 3), Dīgnāga [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

vaiga, kuṭṭaka, kuṭṭhi, kuṭṭhi etc.), and in fact the commentator Bhāṭṭa-Jayanārāyaṇa in his "Poem on the Bhagavad" explains the word *dhūmajāla* (lit. "a variety of arsenic, according to others it is the name of arsenic (*vyādhi-prabhāva, vyādhi-nāma*)"). In his "Poem on the Bhāgavata" he also adds "the other" (*anyan*) for simply says: *dhūmajāla* (*dhūli*) *ka-arthaṃ* (*bhāṭṭaḥ*) *ka-mulaṃ*. The *vyādhi* is a variety of which gas, a sort of small bamboo (*vipra arjuna*). Whether the cultivation is limited to India. It is not found at all in the Punjab, and very little in Bengal; the real area of its cultivation is the centre of Deccan and Rajputana. This localization is in harmony with the name of *dhūmajāla* which Weber (*Ind. Stud.*, XVI, 302) did not hesitate to explain as a word derived from the name of Alexandria (*para Alexandria* [illegible] "the Alexandrian."

Another object of curiosity, the coral, has been connected with the name of Alexandria. There is another evidence of it in a work discovered in the Sagbadig of the 8th century and about which much noise has been made (*Sarvaṭṭa Arthaṭṭīkā*). In Germany and in India scholarship tried to prove that it is an authentic work of Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana. Backsmith of India also also played the role of Rabelais, taking as models of the Spanish Chevaliers who had seen Alexandria (*para Dhanyā*). India had helped the foundation of the first great empire that India had ever known, namely the empire of the Kuṣāṇas. The *dvāvāriṣa*, the political successors of Kanishka would then present a parallel of India of about 300 B.C. Richer usually all the attributes, of whatever order they may be, go against such an assumption. And the coral comes in the face to protest against it.

The 40th chapter of the *dvāvāriṣa* deals with the "transmission of jewels to be introduced into the royal treasury" (*ratnapradānaṃ-pattikā*). The coral is mentioned there just after diamond and before precious wood. The author with his customary brevity gives hardly two lines to it: "The coral is *Dhūmaṇīya* and *Vaiṇaṇīya*, and coral rolls, the *tumja* and *pathkarīt* are to be rejected (*pravālakaṃ dhūmaṇīyaṃ vaiṇaṇīyaṃ ca rolāṃ pathkarīyaṃ ca tumjaṃ pathkarīyaṃ*). The two editions Pisana Bhaṭṭa (p. 78, 1), and Gangadī Nadī (I, 111, 1) give the same text. Gangadī adds besides a commentary (which literally borrows from Bhojarāja):

[illegible]

"[illegible]—[illegible] is a place near the mouth of the Indus, the [illegible] comes from there. [illegible]—Poetry is the name of a place near the mouth in the country of the Bradry, the [illegible] comes from there. The road has therefore two origins. It has also two colours—red and [illegible]. The Arrianoi the path [illegible] to be rejected. These [illegible] two [illegible]—[illegible] by [illegible] and [illegible]—with a [illegible] in the [illegible]. All other roads are to be accepted."[1]

Thanks to the [illegible] who has published a very interesting note on "Wer Gegen Wen in den Antiquiten" in a local library of which the [illegible] is very [illegible]—the [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], 1, 187, p. 18 [illegible] [illegible] of a [illegible] by a [illegible] [illegible], "Wer Gegen Wen?"—[illegible] by a [illegible] period [illegible] Buddhism [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

of Rasāḷya." On the contrary it is irreconcilable with the attribution of *Ambaśiṭṭan* to Cīrappāḷi.

The cord, in fact, is unknown in the entire Wall's literature. Neither Pāṭṭu and Tōṭṭi mention the cord although these names, prefixed (*pattāḷi*), "young branch" and particularly *vāḷmuna*, "the strange thing," a curious formation derived from *muna*, "bud", seem of a kind to arouse the attention of a grammarian. The cord appears for the first time in works which put their final shape (*ṭōṭṭi*) for beginning of the Christian era — namely the great epics, the classical medical treatises (*Suśruta*, *Mādhava*, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Vāgbhaṭa

We find here a legend (not regarding the mythical world which the Indo-Greek trade had created). The very recent competition of the Indian Sciences in the first century of the Christian era had directed a product of the Mediterranean world to the Kathay incident. This is why the earlier merchant, who had conquered the Persians (and the time when Pliny lived, does not fail to notice that the canals were carried from Egypt to the region from Aden (Ra. 9) to the coast of Indian (Ra. 10) to Bengasa (Bharukacha) and to Ostia (?Gujarat) in Kiaychia i.e. to Malabar (Ra. 11). The information which Pliny had gathered about the price attached to coral in India is in complete agreement with what we find in the texts. The *Dhānapālaṭīkā*, XIII, mentions that "the coral brings wealth and power" (*dhanaśrīkaraṇa*) and the *Kāmandakanītisāra*, IV, declares with still greater precision that the coral "supplies nourishment, force and glory, increases the power and growth of women" (*puṣṭiprabhāvaṃ mandhātaṃ kalāvṛṣṭiṃ*). The mention of Mahābalipāda (?), as we saw, is an interpolation of unauthentical value.

In the romantic story of Alexander had penetrated into India in the 5th century (*Alexander's passage of the mountain*) of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (see his *Mémoires*) in this light. He visited (*ibid.*) between 630 and 640 and became the guest of King Harsa Śīlāditya during the first few months of the year 641. He had gathered on his way still very vague information about Persia and introduced in his *Memoirs on the Western Countries* a notice on that kingdom (*Mémoires*, II, 175-205). In his description he mentions Po-la (Rome, the Roman Empire) "and proceeds to the country in the North-West." He writes such lines:

"In an island situated in the South-West of the Kingdom of Po-lin is found the Kingdom of Women of the West. Only women are found there and not a single man. This country contains a large number of rare and precious objects which are still in the country of Po-lin. This is why the king of Po-lin sends from every year men to settle with them, but if they give birth to male children the custom of the country does not permit them to bring them up."

The term *mahānal* here or 'island' also means a country in general as in the case with *dvīpa* in Sanskrit. This country situated to the South-

West of Persia i.e. the Byzantine Empire, is the famous country of the Amazons governed by the Queen Candace who has a large place in the development of the romance of Alexander. The purely despotic of rule in the Queen [illegible] is not mentioned, as much as I know, in the numerous recensions of the Romance, but it carries many traits often in the Literature of the Phoenicians and Hebrews. The Chinese would therefore had preferred a form of the story which had suffered from one, mutilated [illegible]. He might have himself solved the two stories which he had heard. With a mind both ambitious and positive he had taken these fabulous tales literally and given them a place in his memory along with others of the same order.

He was even inclined to accept them as he had heard them when other centres about other kingdoms of women. While travelling in the North-West of India he had heard people speaking "in the northern frontier of the kingdom of [illegible] amongst the high mountains there is the kingdom of [illegible] where a superior kind of gold is found. The name of the country is [illegible] Sanc. ii. The kingdom extends from the East to the West and is narrow between the North and the South. This is why it is called the Kingdom of the Eastern Women. It is well-ruled. [illegible] a woman reigns there and hence it is called the Kingdom of Women. [illegible] On the eastern side the country borders on the Kingdom of Ta-Yu (the Tibetan). On the North it is contiguous to Ta-shu (Khotan)" (Beal, I, 80). Here also inspite of the common province we are in the domain of fables. The country of gold immediately the region of fighting ants referred to in Indian legends (Mc. Rich., II, 300; additions put purposely discrepancy and made because to the contents of Herodotus (III, 102). The most fabulous geography of India begins, in fact, a kingdom of women [illegible] amongst the population of the North-West of India (Mc. Rich., III, 15, 1001: Varma, Sata, Kandahar, Dina, Tukkiya, Gandhara, Sigada, Sauvira, Kinda, [illegible] [illegible] 27, also XII, 4, 14 Bk. 5, 217, 3): Tukkiya, Bhu, Rida, Madra, Aranda, Kalina, Lahada, [illegible] also XII, 9; Bk. 7, 17 sq.). Pliny on her also locates already before Hiuen Tsang a Kingdom of women in Gilgit (Sten Sun Ind. Ant. Dep. LXXXIII. Ella, quoted by S. Fraudin.

Pachattiko and *Dipālan Sutta* (Anāg., p. 17 also mentions the *Sutta*); Ohnoe and the *Human Ground*, p. 108 sqq. and to Tāla, *Shwe Pale*, II, 108; Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, pp. 196 sqq.).

The Chinese legends speak of still another Kingdom of Women situated to the southwest, in the Ocean. The novel *Hsi chou* is said to have visited it (*Giles*, LIV, 13). The displeasured sailors and in creatures there are temporary exceptions but men, exploited by death (*Chou Ju Kua*, translated by Hirth, p. 171 and notes). This is the island which figures in *Pāli* in the Buddhist legends of India under the name of *Itthipabbajjā*—the island of cannibals. Hiuen Tsang in another part of his *Records*, II, pp. 110 sqq. through a naive generalisation of simplification identified this island with the Kingdom of the Women of the West. In regard to Ceylon, which he had not visited personally, he informs us how in an extraordinary chance the son of a royal princess and a lion landed on the island (the island of Lion, the origin from which *Simhala*, Ceylon). Fearing the wild beasts, he buys also a daughter who after numerous adventures was placed on a city abandoned to the mercy of the waves. "The vessel which carried the young girl reached the western coast of Ceylon. Tseng had communication with the spirits and foresaw the great difficulties a large number of daughters on account of which the country come to be peopled by the Kingdom of the Women of the West." He then tells in his detail about "the sacred Buddhist tooth" the well-known story of the Bikunni and the conclusion of Buddha. Thus the island of Bikunni, the island of the Bikunni and the Kingdom of the Women of the West are inexplicably confounded with each other. The method of Hiuen Tsang is clearly seen in this case where the great precursor of Marco Polo is no longer contented with his personal observations.

STEVEN LEVI

This paper of Prof. Levi was originally published in French in the *Journal Asiatique* (Juillet, Février, mai, Juin—Décembre, Janvier, vol. 18. Shortly before his death he sent the article with supplementary notes to the Editor, requesting him to have it translated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi and to publish it in the *Quarterly*, as he thought that there was little likelihood of his original article reaching the Indian Scholars. The Greek and Chinese quotations have been left out for the difficulty in printing them. The Editor offers his thanks to Dr. Bagchi for translating the paper from French into English.

The Dhammapada, is it an Old Work?

The *Dhammapada*[1] is a collection of 423 artificial verses, consisting of proverbs. The title probably means "A hundred (verses) with an (intended) meaning (to be pondered)."[2] Each stanza describes some person in a certain situation, generally (though not always) of an erotic nature, and the reader has to guess, why the person in question is truly and with a way. The solution of the puzzle is added in prose, whether by the author himself or by an interpreter, it is difficult to say. A few examples will give an idea of the character of the verses:

A. "Thus moved by desire, a beautiful sacrifice went to the sacrifice to the sacrificial fire-pit, and wrote with both her hands, Behold at it—and did not drink it, *Wh.*!" (By reason of the glittering collection of her beautiful hands, the Bhikshu was wrote to be blind and was afraid of drinking it.)

B. "Speaking in a particular, furnished with proofs, a person being [illegible] [illegible] with her [illegible] without any fault of [illegible]." (For the new law was [illegible] to the people and that is for another reason.)

B1. "A man who dwelt by [illegible] path, as it is described in the excellent methods, and which is varied in good [illegible], and who ever seeks the welfare of all human beings, such a man makes the bream of the fire of the desires quite empty." (The righteous man is capable of sending Kalapi away from the bream of his [illegible] Tapas.)

B2. "Lotus, O Nagaraja, when furnished with the sword-sword, then O-sagar to catch the legislator-monkey, that the sense, [illegible]

1. Edited in the Corpusculum, Part II, pp. 49 ff.

2. It is not possible that there is the title meant "Saying of (one)" as that *Dhammapada* would be a synonym of *Dhammapada* which can mean, as title of the work, just Authority, Dhammapada Commentary, I, p. 30). It is however, not at all likely that there is no relation at the name of the work, as is contained by R. Morris, Pali Office and Anthology Lessons, London 1885, n. 10), and A. B. Keith, History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford 1928, p. 46.

fully delighted by the hundreds of moving waves, give him a state of extreme delight." Why? (In the hope of fresh avenues of thought.)

31. "When Rest, Nāgārjuna, whose eyes are like the fresh lotus, proceeded on the quest of learning, the female antelopes close at hand, let their delight only increase manifold." (Because they are enchanted by him, falling in love with the king.)

From the literary point of view the Bhavishya would hardly deserve more than a passing reference in any history of Sanskrit literature. It has become important only by the name of Nāgārjuna, with whom it is associated, and by the alchemical significance which has been given to that name. In the introductory verse 2, and in the colophon a pupil Nāgārjuna is said to have composed the work. But in other verses (20, 21, 31 and 72) the king Nāgārjuna is addressed. And in a long Prakrit at the end of the work (vv. 80-84) this king Nāgārjuna is eulogised. It is clear that it was written by some recent pupil of Nāgārjuna and [illegible] his honorary name.[1]

Verse 1 runs as follows (Text III, p. 10):

> Nāgārjunāhvayaṃ praṇiṭya Śrīyaṃ[illegible] jinaṃ
> nānā-prabandhanaṃ Nāgārjuna-pūrva-gamaṃ ||

The pronounced in this verse, Mr. K. B. Pisharoti[2] has found to be Mr. Venu Mādhāv Gōṇḍ, a pupil of Nāgārjuna, and has drawn far-reaching conclusions from this reading. The name pūrvaka-gamaṃ is equal to Nāgārjuna, and considering that the author of the work is Nāgārjuna Bhaṭṭa, the king who fought against the emperor Samudra-gupta about 300 A.D., so that "in the Bhavishya we have a work of 200 to 300 A.D., that is, a work just before Kālidāsa's time." In verse 98 he also finds a mention of Chāṇakya, and in verse 100 an allusion to Pataṅjali, the name of Rasapati Nāgārjuna. In his History of India c. 100 A.D. to 400 A.D.,[3] Mr. Pisharoti hails the Bhavishya actually as an historical document for the history of

1. In the colophon the Bhavishya is said to be the author.
2. A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in MODAS, vol. V, Poona 1926, No. 198, p. 5.— The introductory No. 198, but [illegible]
3. MODAS, vol. XXX, 1926, Part I-II, pp. 84 ff., 96, 98.

Gongpati Wiga. "The chief sovereign among the Nāgas whom he (the Vidyādhara Vīma,[1] who ruled between 110 and 168 A.D. from his capital Pulindavati.

The whole frieze of Rv. Lxxxviii, pass on the one rolling pre-cedencies to one MS.[2] I am not aware that the Somadīla Ad is ever placed at the end of the signs. The reading of the Sirkapāla editors is indefensible: "Bāgaṇāja, in whose mouth Śrī smiles, is a master of speeches."[3]

Turn M (another a mythological circlets): "The lords of snakes having become monarchs on the whole body of Bīra, who is to be walked upon by the ever-worshiped spot Bhaṭṭāra, all look frightened upon Dhanapāla." (viz. frightened at the sight of Bhaṭṭā's vehicle, the peacock, they look upon Bāgaṇā's trunk for a shelter). I do not see what side can have to do with Bagapati Wāga, (again in verse 100 Pulindāgra anthropy is an epithet of the goddess Lakṣmī, and has nothing to do with the city of Pulindāgra. It is said in the line that Vīra Dhanapāla, and Lakṣmī, having given up their quarrel, either after having come to meet, in the long.

From the Pālāṭī, we learn that Bāgaṇāja was a grandson of Vīrāpālāṭa of the Dhanapāla, and the son of Vīrāpa, belonging to the Pālāṭāmata. It is impossible that in the long course of the Pālāṭī the name Dhanapāla would not have been mentioned, if we had to deal with Bagapati Wāga. On the other hand, in the historical records we have of Bagapati Wāga, there is nowhere any mention of his belonging to the Pāla family, or having any connection with the Dhanapālas.[4] The Pālas are one of the 36 Rājya families, allocated

1 See 100, described by F. Dhanapāla, Pāla Reports on a dispute (or Sanskrit Manuscripts), Bombay 1887, p. 100 agrees with the reading of the Dhanapāla editors. The 100 described by S. G. Bhattacharya, Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1886-87, pp. 4 f., 100 seems to differ much from our text, but Bhattacharya says that some of the verses are in Pālāṭī, while our text has only Āryāṭī verses.

2 On Gongpati Wāga see H. J. Rivett, Indian Chronicle II, 1 Jr. 1895, p. 10 and Pāla C. Dr. S. John Aiken, Catalogue of the Coins of the Rajpūt Dynasties, London 1894, p. 1 of I, H. Beals, Dictionary of Bombay Coins, Cambridge 1896, p. 36.

is closely in Kulluka's Dharmaṇḍa, VIII, 16[1], and leaves ample leeway.[2]

I do not know, on what authority Pandit Bangānandin and R. P. Pandit, the editor of the Kāṇḍaṇḍa, describe Vāgānāja as Dharmaṇḍapaṇḍitāpaṇḍa.

From the STYLE, style and language of the Dhārmaṇḍa it is far more probable that it was composed southwards after Kālidāsa (see Ind. it should be a pre-Kālidāsa work.

A. Weber.

1. Cf. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaṇḍa Śāstra, II, p. 18. The Dhārmaṇḍa are mentioned along with Dhārmaṇḍa, Dhārmaṇḍa, and Vāsiṇḍa, A. Aṇḍhāṇḍa, Śāṇḍa Śāṇḍāṇḍa, III 4, 107 f. S. K. Bhāṇḍārkar, Report on Search of Sanskrit MSS., 1884-87, p. 31, says that the Dhārmaṇḍa, to which Dhārmaṇḍa (c. 1200-1250 A.D.) belonged, "was a family of poor Dhārmaṇḍa whose ancestors Bhāṇḍa on the Tāṇḍāṇḍa in the county of Lāṇḍā." Bhāṇḍāṇḍa are mentioned along with Dhārmaṇḍa in the Dhārmaṇḍa, II, 12.3. A Dhārmaṇḍa, named Bhāṇḍāṇḍa, is mentioned in the Bhāṇḍāṇḍa inscription (Ep. I. (Bhāṇḍ, Ep. Ind., 1892, 232 f.) dated Śāṇḍa 1.

The Problem of Ancient Indian Terracottas

In the course of a recent paper on early Indian terracottas Rupa Goswamy has remarked, "Certain terracottas have been singled out and quite arbitrarily classified as 'Primitive' and 'Pre-Historic.'" Mr. B. de B. Chhabra has already done much to show that the alleged primitive characteristics are largely illusory, and that in any case primitiveness unaccompanied by other evidence does not indicate great antiquity.[1] Chhabra has published two papers[2] in which he has made the above-mentioned assertion criticizing the view of Marshall regarding the age certified by him to certain terracottas recovered at Bhita and labelled by him as 'primitive' on the ground of archaeological evidence.[3] The main point which Chhabra has made against him is that "among the terra-cottas called 'Primitive' there are many that are definitely comparable with the sculptures of Dadar and Bodhi [sic.] [recte Bodhi] century B.C."[4] This evidence cannot be, in all probability, contemplated. The example, of anybody and bulls modelling of the clay Mauryan figural sculptures belonging to the Sunga period, has still more probably convinced that long before the Mauryan age there had been produced some types of sculpture which were, in some period, akin to these spontaneous and which served as prototypes for the Mauryan sculptures mentioned above.[5] But this assertion does not cover but all the unsophisticated of the pre-Indus Valley pre-Mauryan age are akin to the proto-Mauryan sculptures, on the contrary, it seems that they might be widely akin to, or different from, Mauryan sculptures because all sculptural types do not pertain to the modelling age.

1. Ibid., 1958, 190.
2. Ibid., 1957, 24.; 1958, dropped, pp. 91-94 with one plate.
3. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1911-12, pp. 71, 76-78, pl. XXXI, 14.
4. Ibid., 1957, 24.
5. C. Sivaramamurti, Early Indian Sculpture, vol. 1, pl. 1, 10, 11, 1. B. Chakravarty, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pl. CII, no. 1.
6. In this connection one interesting point by Sivaramamurti regarding the origin of these figural sculptures is slightly inaccurate. (op. cit., p. 13).

The points of similarity as well as differences between the seal-pieces belonging to the Indus Valley and Rimaya ages and the highly finished nature of the Rimaya figured sculptures, which could not have been, in all probability, possible with the tools of stone-pounding and, in some instances, similar specimens, naturally lead us to visualise a pre-Indus Valley pre-Rimaya age when terracotta figurines might have been made. At the site of Dhir Mound in Dhalla Bandali unearthed a number of terracotta figurines.[1] Regarding the age of these specimens he remarks, "Of the rest of the miscellaneous objects figured on Plate XI this only one which does not come from the top stratum is No. 13. . . . . Figs. 8 and 11 are characteristic specimens of the pre-Hindu terracotta work of this period, and Fig. 13 is a typical example of children's toys. . . . . All that can safely be said is that the top stratum belongs unquestionably to the third or fourth century B.C."[2] In the second report of the following year Bindeshwari Dhawalia's number of terracotta mounted on the same site[3] Regarding the age of these specimens he has not said anything very definite but he mentions that there are two clearly defined strata at Dhir Mound and that the specimens of all three strata "were . . . . . to belong to the 3rd or 4th century B.C."[4] This shows that the terracotta pieces, in all probability, be placed here from the pre-Indus Valley pre-Rimaya to Rimaya age.

(c) Hira Mandali has described a number of terracotta which, as has been shown beforehand, may be checked to the pre-Indus Valley pre-Rimaya age.

(d) Dhanu Gangi-Dhal has unearthed a number of terracotta figurines[5] some of which should be placed in this age on the considering of archaeological attributes and style. Regarding the dark spot of these analytical lacunae remarks, "The site at Rana Li is the oldest

1 Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1956-57, pp. 54, 5, 55, 56.
2 Ibid., 1956-57, pp. 56, 57. 3 Ibid., 1958-59, pp. 57-8.
4 Ibid., 1958-59, p. 8.
5 Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, 1956, pp. 129-47 with cross-plates; 1960-61, March, pp. 1-5 with cut plates; K. D. Bajpai (Commemoration Volume), Patna, 1963, pp. 194-98 with 10 plates.

was second above a quarter of a mile in length, lying about 30 feet from the present level of the town, and 50 feet from the bed of the Ravi.[10] ..... Recently undertaken from the present surface level was unearthed the Harappan stratum about 20 feet below, with contemporary brick structures and terracotta including a seal bearing a unicorn [Pl.]ent and in pure Harappan working [illegible] cf. plate 11. Below this level, down to the bed of river, 50 feet from the present surface, was laid bare the remains of a fully-built city of the Indus Bikir period, and beneath this city, layer after layer of earlier structures, erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors."[11] This result leads to the probable conclusion that the intaglio-pottery found at the depth below 50 feet as this site may be ascribed to the pre-Indus Valley pre-Harappa age. Further the continuation of myth which occurs mainly in the parallel land. [illegible]

At Bhikarii Bagh ancient pre-Harappan layers have been found, [illegible] which may be ascribed to this age on the consideration of archaeological considerations. In this connection special importance should be attached to a plastered floor in square XXIII at a depth of 7 ft. 8 in. and [illegible] and in another floor and [illegible] in square XXIV at a depth of 23 ft. 6 in. and [illegible] at Bhikarii Bagh. No inscribed antiquity is reported to have been found before the division of 23 ft. 6 in. at Bhikarii Bagh. The palaeographical study of marks found on the [illegible] seal is important. It is an invented form which is found mainly in the Harappan [illegible] which have been ascribed to the Harappa age by Mahai.[12] Moreover the unlabelled singularity of a, ha, ra, pa and the insertion of this seal in similar letters found in the inscriptions of Asoka leaves no doubt that this seal should be ascribed to the Harappa age. The letters ma and (ra) found on the second seal are also similar to such letters found in the inscriptions of Asoka. This shows that the stress

10 R. B. Pandit (Harappa-excavation Volume), Poona, 1946, pp. 88, 90.
11 *Ibid.*, 1946, pp. 101-04, 108, plate facing p. 108.
12 *Ibid.*, 108, 109, plate facing p. 108.
13 [illegible], vol. 3, [illegible] no. 1932-33.
14 Bhikarii Bagh no [illegible] Pathyavaka, [illegible] 12, pl. [illegible].

between 7 ft. 6 in. and 10 ft. 6 in. at Rakhali Daghi are indubitably Harappa. Therefore the strata lower than 11 ft. 6 in. and the strata higher than 7 ft. 6 in. may be either Harappa or non-Harappa. The present writer has had the opportunity of carefully studying all the terracotta figurines, unearthed at Rakhali Daghi and preserved in the Patna Museum, with the help of the official record containing every information regarding the actual findspot of these figurines and of the above-mentioned two troublesome seals, and found that four anthropomorphic[17] of which three have been 'accidentally unearthed in the post-Indus Valley pre-Harappan age by Gordon-strata,'[18] may be placed in this age if we assume that the strata lower than 10 ft. 6 in. are post-Indus Valley pre-Harappan. The present-day bearers, from and consequently even by non-all these specimens[19] provisionally differentiate them from the Harappa specimens, but the other two specimens[20] whose facial typefaces resemblance to that of some Harappa and Indus sculptures very clear, be identified as the post-Indus Valley pre-Harappan age for the complete stylistic affinity in connection with the evidence of Gordon-strata, cause to impeaching the attribution of age to some terracottas by Marshall.

The writer of the present note believes that a very strong case may be made for the historicity of the existence of the post-Indus Valley pre-Harappa 'terracottas' of Bihar unearthed at various sites of India, e.g., Taxila, Besnagar, Patna Kumhrahar Area, Kumrahar, Rakhali Daghi and others for more thoroughly studied with the help of the knowledge of the actual findspot of the terracottas and localised antiquities.

C. C. Das Gupta

[17] Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, 1911-12, no. 1, pl. XIX, figs. 1-4.

[18] *IHRS.*, 1935, p. 31, note 3, nos. 31, 32; Table V, no. 31.

[19] Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, 1911-12, pl. 1, pl. XIX, figs. 1-4.

[20] *Ibid.*, pl. XIX, 1, 4.

The date of the coronation of Rama is not definitely known, and it is a matter for conjecture why he did not accept the throne of Kāryakūjja when it was offered to him by Bhaṭṭi, the representative of the people and ruler of Kāryakūjja, after he returned from the Pandiya home, on the conclusion of a successful search for his sister Rājyaśrī, the wife of the Maukhari King Grahavarmmā. Tāra Chandra states that Harṣa was reluctant to crown himself, and mentions that he agreed to do so, if Avalokiteśvara whose shrine was situated in the precincts of Kāryakūjja, advised him to that effect. Kāyastha Hari P. A. Bahādur, Dhaulāra, N. E. Bombay) etc. note his reluctance to take the inevitable step, but leave the matter unexplained. I propose to give below an explanation why Harṣa could not have been crowned at respect (6 years) at the age when the crown was offered to him.

Harṣa was only 16 years of age, when his brother Rājyavardhana was badly murdered by the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. It is plain that he was still unmarried. Probably Rājyavardhana was himself unmarried, as he was anxious to afford a [illegible] to his brother by the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka who had promised the hand of his daughter to him.[1]

For the Pālāgāhāsī inscription in Lyā (Lyā) in the Bastar, which, as shown by Rā. Bahādur Hīrālāl, *Bhāṣā*, Part II, p. 17), we united not only the genealogy of a Rājā of the solar queen but also that of the Vīrāṭa and Pārvatīkā in so many Sūrāṭas, could not be performed with Harṣa still unmarried. What has therefore been performed by Lāṭādāra no adversary on the part of Harṣa was probably nothing

1. An old commentator of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (Harṣa's biography), while explaining the two introductory verses of the 6th chapter, speaks as follows on the condition of Rājyavardhana, and says that he ordered the Northern King, through a son, by the offer of his daughter's hand:

[illegible]

Gloss on the ed. of R. P. Pandit, N. Bombay, 3rd edition, p. 213.

[illegible] a legal incompetency, without remedying which he would not raise himself to the imperial dignity. He or some years later, his position was regularised by his marriage, with whom it has not yet been discovered. Evil fortune provoked his life and throne by giving away his daughter to him, the daughter whom he had already promised to his elder brother[1]. Otherwise, it is not possible to account for the continued control of Sadāśiva as the king of Gondi for the next seven years, in spite of the fact that Ikṣvāku had overall not to rest till he had avenged the murder of his brother and liberated of his sister.

In an inscription of 1556 A.D.[2] Sadāśiva is called Śrīkaṇṭhadēvarāya. He could not have been so styled unless he had been permitted to adopt the title by Ikṣvāku or had carried out a successful revolt against him. The ultimate inclusion of the western half of his kingdom in the empire of Ikṣvāku and the eastern half in the dominions of Śrīkaṇṭha-varman of Kāmarūpa points to the conclusion that a successful revolt was out of the question. The Sadāśiva's death in 1556 A.D., or a little later, leaving behind a son, Rāmadēva, who reigned for a few months only, his kingdom must have reverted to his uncle Ikṣvāku, who must have given away a portion of it to Śrīkaṇṭhavarman, his ally, as a reward. The evidence can scarcely be given that Sadāśiva after his defeat by the hands of Pragāṭha-mānī had fled against Ikṣvāku, and it is therefore unnecessary to assume that he actually carried on a successful revolt against him and assumed sovereign powers. The most probable version is that he was defeated and humbled, compelled to cede some of his dominions and give his daughter in marriage to Ikṣvāku.[3] The conquered and

1. Vide Rajahmundry plates of Sadāśiva-Śrīkaṇṭhadēvarāya (Śrīkaṇṭhadēva II), dated Śālivāhana 1478 (Śālivāhana of Indian Eds. Ind., VI, p. 346).

2. The Śrīkaṇṭhacarita states it (see that Sadāśiva was defeated and exiled, to be restored to some portion of his kingdom, and permanent been subsisting to it.

> [illegible]
> [illegible] :

He was succeeded by his son Dēvarāya [illegible]. The conquest for 8 months and 8 days. Śrīkaṇṭhacarita which was permanently [illegible] by 'Dēvarāya agrajaḥ' could not, therefore, have been incorporated in Śrīkaṇṭha-varman's dominions till after the death of Dēvarāya which must have been followed

[illegible] of Sotthiya must have taken at least 8 years, at the conclusion of which Dasaka must have returned to Kāsyapa-city, a minimum term until past the age of minority.

Dr. Jayaswal has tried to show (*Hindu Polity*, II, p. 50) that the minimum age for coronation was 20 years and gives the instances of the coronations of Aśoka and Khāravela, who had to pass a considerable period after the demise of their predecessors before they could assume the throne. He thinks that this was due to their non-attainment of 20 years. It is difficult to say if this attainment of 20 years was a sine qua non for the abdication of the ceremony necessary to take place, for nowhere in Dharmaśāstra works can any definite evidence be found in support of it, but there is reason to believe that marriage was an essential element. As Manu says—

[illegible]

I would explain Bindusāra-coronation as [illegible] Regulations, which would include marriage. This, and not the attainment of 20 years, was the sine qua non for the celebration of the coronation ceremony.

The joint coinship with Dhānaśāka which was phonetically assumed in the beginning was probably mainly only on paper *off* possible hostility from the partisans of the disappointed claimants and was subsequently dropped, when the style of Kunāla was replaced by the imperial titles of 'Puranna-Bhaṭṭārakadeva-Rājādhirāja.'*

B. N. Jayaswal

by a period of minority giving Bindusāra-author the much desired opportunity of crowning his kingdom. *The Imperial History of India*, p. 20[illegible] (A.B.) by K. P. Jayaswal, pp. 8[illegible].

A Glimpse the Post Mauryan Coins in India (Mirpur, Pt. I, p. 16), in which the term 'Dhaṭṭ' is explained as meaning 'the the imperial title.' This may not be taken literally as showing that Dhaṭṭ received the imperial title after his coronation indicative of the six years war of conquest against the five Indian.

A New Genealogy of the Kāṭhāḍiyas

A document recently found in a genealogy of the Kāṭhāḍiyas seems to have been originally drawn up at the time of Rāo Sūjā who ruled at Jodhpur from 1482 to 1515 A.D. A later copyist brought it up to the reign of Rāo Bālādeva (1595—1638 A.D.) in whose time the last addition was, however, made under Pāpā Jāgā Singh who succeeded the throne of Udaipur in 1673 A.D., and is mentioned as ruling there.

The content of the document, but not merely its being the earliest document, corrects the pedigree of the Rāṭhāḍiyas of Jodhpur and Bikāner up to Sūjā and Satā, but also is differing in some important respects from the well known genealogies of Sūjā's family contained in the Annals of Jodhpur, and the Bikāner text, manuscript of Rāja Bhīm Singh's, translated and published by Dr. Bühler in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1886. The genealogy supports, for instance, the Bikāner or Jaunt Jaṭṭāgāṛ descended from Dhūhaṛ, and not as other texts, descended from Bhāṭā, the elder son of Dhūhaṛ.[1] Moreover, it does not put one but three rulers between Sūjā's son and Jaitāsī, the last independent king of Kanauj. There are, moreover, five chief Rāṭhāḍiyas, not four, mentioned in the battle of Chāṭūnā Singh in 1561 A.D., and Sūjā's, the younger brother of Jaitāsī's last, as mentioned, appears in 1574 A.D., so that additional weight is thrown upon the document. It shows (2) power which is the beginning point, and this is all that is generally required of a correct genealogy. The Pandā's genealogy given here is undoubtedly many generations, but the Jodhpur and Bikāner genealogies are undoubtedly correct, and it is important that the document is valuable. Aṭṭāsī's text has been called Pāṭpandā. For the explanation one might refer to the Jhuṇḍā-vaṃśāvalī Pāṭhā, which is a text called Aṭṭāsī-pandā, named the title 'Pāṭpandā' on account of being unable to move his cart in pieces without the help of the two wheels, the Jhuṇḍā and the Pāṭpandā.

The document belongs to my friend, Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā, and is written on one side of a paper, measured 9 by[illegible] 6 in.[2]

TEXT

[illegible]

[1] The printed texts then put regard this text as authentic. The Bikāner tradition is always unwilling to regarding them as Rāṭhāḍiyas of the other stock.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Śrīvallabha [19]. Śrīvallabha's son was Śrīvallabhapāda [20]. Śrīvallabhapāda's son was Karkya [21]. Karkya's son was Govindarāja [22]. Govindarāja's son was Pratīhārī [23]. Pratīhārī's son was Tāla [24]. Tāla's son was Pratīhārī [25]. Pratīhārī's son was Nāla [26]. Nāla's son was Kāka [27]. Kāka's son was Śrīvallabha [28]. Śrīvallabha's son was Vīrasena [29]. Vīrasena's son was Vīrasena [30]. Vīrasena's son was Vīrasena [31]. Vīrasena's son was Śrīvallabha [32]. Śrīvallabha's son was Amoghavarṣa [33]. Amoghavarṣa's son was Śrīpāla [34]. Śrīpāla's son was Prabhūtavarṣa [35]. Prabhūtavarṣa's son was Śrīvallabha [36]. Śrīvallabha had three sons, Dhārāvarṣa, Govinda, and Vīrāṅka [37]. Vīrāṅka's son was Dhārāvarṣa [38]. Govinda's son was Dhārāvarṣa [39]. The son of Kṛṣṇarāja was not known. Kṛṣṇarāja survived [40]. Kṛṣṇarāja's son was Rāṣṭrakūṭa [41]. Rāṣṭrakūṭa's son was Gaṅgamma [42]. Gaṅgamma's son was Yuvarāja [43]. Yuvarāja's son was Mahābhīma [44]. Mahābhīma's son was Kṛṣṇārāja [45]. Kṛṣṇārāja's son was Dhruva [46]. Dhruva's son was Ramaṇarāja [47]. Ramaṇarāja's son was Śrīvallabha [48]. Śrīvallabha's son was Vijayavallabha [49]. Vijayavallabha's son was Kṛṣṇarāja the Pratāpī [50]. Jagatunga's son was Rāṣṭrakūṭa [51]. Rāṣṭrakūṭa's son was Vīrapāla [52]. Vīrapāla's son was Dhārāvarṣa [53]. Dhārāvarṣa's son was Jagatunga [54]. Jagatunga's son was Dhārāvarṣa [55]. Dhārāvarṣa's son was Śrīpāla [56]. Śrīpāla's son was Vīrapāla [57]. Vīrapāla's son was Vīrapāla [58]. Vīrapāla's son was Śrīvallabha [59]. Śrīvallabha's son was Dhārāvarṣa [60]. Dhārāvarṣa's son was Śrīvallabha [61]. Śrīvallabha's son was Vīrapāla [62]. Vīrapāla's son was Śrīvallabha [63]. Śrīvallabha's son was Dhārāvarṣa [64]. Dhārāvarṣa's son was Śrīvallabha [65]. Śrīvallabha's son was Vīrapāla [66]. Vīrapāla's son was Śrīvallabha [67]. Śrīvallabha's son was Dhārāvarṣa [68]. Dhārāvarṣa's son was Śrīvallabha [69]. Śrīvallabha's son was Vīrapāla

The Date of the Fall of Nadia

One of the most important incidents in the chronology of the early Muslim in Bengal, is the date of Bakhtiyar's conquest of Nadia. But on this point the opinions of competent authorities differ:

(1) Major H. G. Raverty	...	599 A.H. = 1203 A.D.
(2) H. Blochmann	...	600-1 A.H. = 1203-4 A.D.
(3) S. Thomas	...	601 A.H. = 1204-5 A.D.
(4) C. Stewart	...	607 A.H. = 1210-1 A.D.

The reasons, for which we have to reject the date of Raverty, have already been well stated by Blochmann,[1] and they need not be repeated here. For, in passing we may point out, that in 599 A.H. the Chandela king Paramardi was defeated by Muhammad Ibn Sam at Kalinjar, after a second battle at Tarain or Tilawari. Bhilsa was taken in 601 A.H. Eid was taken, but Tajul Ma'asir gives it in 607 A.H. Kalinjar was given to Kutbuddin-Ibn Aibak. It was after Bihar was won Muhammad (ibn Bakhtiyar) had learned on his deathbed of the proposals of Mahdi and Rangan. It was Mahdi (Pyarali) who persuaded Bakhtiyar to conquer Nadia in 600 A.H., more thoroughly the support it has received from the Waheley Dogs.[2]

We shall now critically examine the dates of Blochmann, Thomas and Stewart. Tabakat-i-Nasiri states, that after his successful attack on Nadia, Muhammad (ibn Bakhtiyar) left it in desolation and made Lakhnawati (Lakhnauti) his capital. Minhaj passes on rapidly. But, we have to pause here and take into account certain factors relevant in the statement. The fall of Nadia does not imply the surrender of Lakhnawati. Leaving Nadia, the Muslim army marched through an unknown country. Thus on arrival, they probably occupied the city, without any resistance from the local Khiljis, who seem to have been already demoralized by the successful assault of Muslim warriors, the date of Nadia and the flight of Sri Lakhmania to his ancestral capital at Vikramapura.[3] The march from Nadia and capture

1. JASB., 1873, pt. i, pp. 48-49.
2. Oldham-Ibn Bibiya of Sofia, vol. III, p. 46.
3. Sahitya Chitra, vol. II, pp. 9-10.

of LAKHNAUTI must have taken considerable time. After the capture of the city it was made the capital (?). This probably implies that it was made the base of operations against the Lakhnauti which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. That this was actually the case, is apparent from the very statement of Minhaj, according to whom, after making LAKHNAUTI his capital, Muhammad subjugated the whole country (probably the ancient Gauda-desa or modern). The climatic conditions of North Bengal, at present, does not seem to have differed much from those bygone days. Muhammad could not have carried on his campaign during the monsoon. The mobile Afghan cavalry, on which he mainly relied, would have been useless, when the rivers were in full flood. This plausible conjecture holds good.

MUHAMMAD's next task was to order the sending of Qutubdin and some others, probably in the name of Muhammad Ghori. This was done to prove that Qutub was regularly appointed in these territories. These preliminaries over, the question of administration cropped up. The conquered territory, whatever be which could be properly called. The machinery of the government, even if very primitive, had not only to be constructed, but at be modern. The former Hindu owners of landed property were dispossessed of ownership and distribution of the same amongst the many followers of Muhammad the Ghori-pir took place. This was necessary. The travelling Turks were no longer but a very. Around them the whole countryside was teeming with Hindu population. Possible conversion of the defeated people certainly took place, but their loyalty to their new rulers was still an uncertain quantity. Indeed, for the very existence of the new conquerors, in this farthest corner of India, it was necessary to encourage settlement by large numbers of needy immigrants.

When this was done, the rulers had to cater for the needs of the given. In this Muhammad the Ghori-pir gave the land by establishing mosques, dargahs, etc. But it was beyond the slender resources of the state to carry out the scheme in every nook and corner of the country. Hence the nobles were encouraged to follow the example set by their leader. Thus we are told by Minhaj that 'through his and the and of his leaders mosques, colleges, etc. were established in different parts of the country.' This was not an easy level as some scholars are inclined

to believe. Triumphant the conquered territories, the two rulers both [illegible], opposed by Qays Qalb, mainly with the assistance of the [illegible] [illegible]. The rulers, at Dar-Ezra or Dar-Ezra [illegible] [illegible] Kaqaqiqiqiqi, in the district of Hindjiqiq, been [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] by the building activity of Muhammad ibn Rashiqah and his [illegible].

After some years had passed away[1] Muhammad conceived the idea of conquering Tibet(?). He began to make enquiries about the [illegible] and the nature of the country to be conquered. Satisfied with his preparations, he turned out of Dar-Ezra in 101 A.H., and returned to the same place months afterwards, after conquering the whole of his country. He died at Dar-Ezra in 104 A.H.

If Hodgson's in 99 A.H. or 100 A.H., as considered by Barnett and Thomas, were in a position to place all the facts stated above, within a period of two or three years[2] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Therefore, it appears that of all the four Qutaiba, Muhammad's is the most plausible one. Again, Vil Mary's [illegible] by an [illegible] [illegible], regarded by Tipuzzi-Gaeta, in which the situation was first [illegible] by the late Mr. M. Thomas.

"Subsequently, in the year 102 A.H., Tibet was taken and in 103 A.H., Qutaiba ibn Muslim [illegible] and conquered the Dhu-l-Ma and took respite in the Sa'ida for [illegible] [illegible]. He (Qutaiba) other territories of Khiraqiqa, as far west as the frontier of the territory of Tujuza, and [illegible] Sa'ida, Muhammad, son of Rashiqah, the Khaq, in his turn and having his government subjected the cities of Dhur and Dulla, and that country as well [illegible] be subdued."[3]

According to the late M. Gaeta[illegible], the majority of events in the above narrative implies that the work of Nizar took place in 104 A.H. Khaq tells us that after his return from Qutaiba, Muhammad ibn Rashiqah subdued Magadha. Giving one or two years for the visit to Qutaiba and subjugation of Magadha, we may place the conquest of Nizar in 104 A.H.

1. [illegible], op. cit. in [illegible], p. [illegible].
2. J.A. Field, [illegible], vol. 7, p. 5.

Before we conclude one point requires to be disposed of. Tripuri Ba'nath states that on Monday the 10th Rajab 699 A.H., Qutb-ud-din conquered the fort of Rathbhan. Hardy afterwards [illegible] came to pay his respects from Delhi and Ulwar.[1] If Ulwar was taken in 699 A.H., Delhi could not have been conquered in 700 A.H. On the other hand, if we accept this date, 699/1 A.H. becomes the date of conquest of Delhi, which is impossible. *Tajwidul'ulum* was composed by Sadr-ul-din Muhammad (in Persian). It was commenced in the year 699 A.H., the year in which the conquest of Bengal and Muhammad Ghori died. Hardy tells us that Muhammad went to Delhi to meet Qutb-ud-din Aibak, but Sadr-ul-din taken him to Rohtak. It is therefore clear that our two principal informants contradict each other. The probability, in my opinion, lies in favour of Hardy, as he had opportunity of getting more complete information about Muhammad Ibn Bakhtyar than the author of *Tajwidul'ulum*.

Arthur Barnett

Historical Information in the *Prithvi Patigala*

In his note on the historical information mentioned in the Chohan-Hara verses in the *Prithvi Patigala*, in *JRAS*, 1911, 1, pp. 165-169, Dr. H. G. Ojha says: "There is a large number of verses in the book referring to some historical incidents. . . . . .
So far as I know, these verses have not hitherto been noticed in any book or article on Indian history. Hence it may be worth while to examine their historical importance for our future guidance."

I may be allowed to point out that as early as 1891, the historical materials in the Chohan-Hara episode in the *Prithvi Patigala* were reviewed by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, in his Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Deccan Proceeding during the years 1887-91. In the Notice of Size at the end of that Report, he has analysed the commentary of Lakshmidhara on the *Prithvi Patigala* as also the text of the *Prithvi Patigala*, and there, he has dealt with the things mentioned in the Chohan-Hara verses (pp. [illegible]).

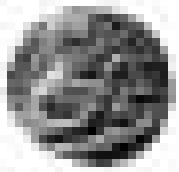
1 White, vol. II, pp. 1[illegible]

Dr. B. C. Gangly has identified the Bhaurvita of the verses as the Gilgamesa Dynasty of Babylonian (latter part of the 20th cent. B.C.), chiefly on the evidence of the mention of his general Tajjala, also mentioned (as Dala) in the Bhagavata mahatmya of Bhavishya ch[illegible]. On the strength of this same evidence, Dr. Bhandarkar also made that identification (pp. [illegible]).

Dr. Bhandarkar could not identify the Kali king of the verses (v. [illegible]), by whom identification, Dr. Gangly has made a valuable contribution. Dr. Bhandarkar deals with Balarini Barya (v. [illegible]).

Besides, Dr. Bhandarkar has spoken of two more kings, not mentioned by Dr. Gangly. Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested that the Dasjaneyas of the verses is probably "Dasjaneyidhanu or Gopala of the Dasiaca race, who ruled over Dhulper and built a temple (hollowed) in Dasjaneyidhanu and mentioned it in the Nilgiri year 800 or 900 A.D." (Inscription mentioned by Dr. Kielhorn in EIXIV, 24, 34). Dr. Bhandarkar deals with the Bhimsena of the verses also. Though he is not quite sure of his identity, Dr. suggests that this Bhimsena may be the prince of Bengal who is mentioned by Kielhorn in "Inscriptions of the Tamilnadu" in Dharwar's districts IV.

T. Ramayya



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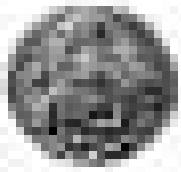

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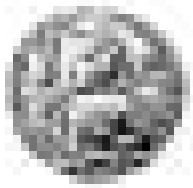

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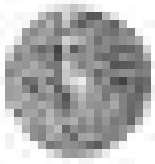

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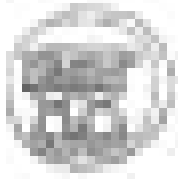

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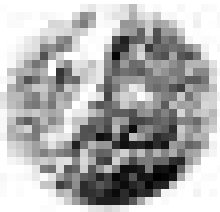

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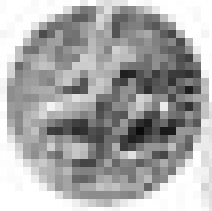

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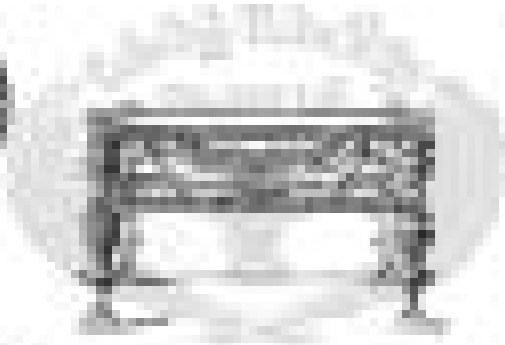

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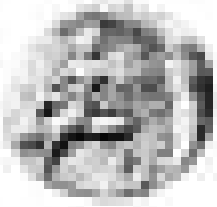

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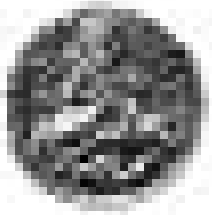

12

13

1—Shovels.
2—Shovels (alt.).
3—Shovels (alt.).
4—Shovels (alt.).
5—Rakes (alt.).
6—Rakes (alt.).
7—Hoes, Trowels.

10—Pots.
11—Pots.
12—Watering-cans.
13—Garden-rollers.
14—Hoes.
15—Hoes.
16—Wheelbarrows.

NOTE.—Figs. 7 and 10 are reproduced from the Art of Ivy Growth and Culture, by Hill and Jones, Wig. Lond.

Hunzikir or Mukhsum

The style M u k h s u m is known, from Hsüan and other writers, to have been adopted in the 6th century B.C. by Pradyota, king of Ujjayini, who is identified with "Hajjak" of Buddhist literature.[1] It seems likely that Eunjin also adopted the same or a similar style pertaining primarily to Kurukshetra, the Warpath.

In a Eunjin Bilingual inscription discovered at Mahorh,[2] we find Eunjin referred to as *Amaranarendrajin*. The reading given in Lichter's List is *Amaranarendrajin*; but it is certain, on a comparison with an in the same Warjin and a contrast with one of the word *nalendrajin* in the same inscription will show. The language of the records is usually described as "Mixed Dialect", but in fact it, a mixture of Dodric with Sanskrit. We may reasonably analyse the compound as composed of Ma, *amy*, "not", or Ra, Sun element, and *nagarik*, "citizen or a Ma, form of Ra, adjectival, "Solar", "solarity"; so that the meaning of *Amaranarendrajin* should be something like "Living or shining in reality". We can at once conclude of expressions like *Amaranarendrajin*, *Amaranatha*, are applied as epithets to Kurukshetra who, according to mythology, was born of the seed of Sun.

Eunjin appears to be actually alluded to simply as M u k h s u m in a Bharajid inscription unearthed at Pathrawa.[3] It is incised on a cracked sandstone slab of the Buddha. The first line is badly damaged, and I do not see any reason for agreeing with Dodd. Know that it should be read as—Ma[illegible] (? ma) [Sara]ja[illegible] Sara[illegible]. About the rest of the record, however, we may feel with that the learned Professor is right in reading—

19—*Ajjatthaka* [illegible] *Ashanchorhaji*[illegible]
Eunjin

1 Bdg. Dhamma Samanta: *Dhamma* 1906, Rupan, *Cambridge Hist. of India*, vol. I, p. 311 (Cambridge 1922).

2 Bl. Inf., I. 5, II. 7; p. 30.

3 Khanadi Inscription *Dhyan Sanskr. Inst.*, pl. xxv: I.

13.—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
14.—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

which may be translated—

"……May the Religious Order be for the welfare and happiness of all beings! The above Aphids [and the architect] to the relics of [Kalyaṇa] in the neighbourhood of Buddhaw for the reception of Buddhist relics."

We may observe that relics is here distinguished from neighbourhood, perhaps relates objective 'dwelling for monks', while neighbourhood denotes 'pads (bases) for the assembly (pahpha)'. A Kindred inscr. (Lokon, Inc. No. 88) records construction of a neighbourhood as a preceding relics. One inscr. thus leaves relics to be but that [illegible] built a relics, to which Mahaseya added a neighbourhood. About the identity of [illegible], we are not left in doubt, he must be the historical Kaṇḍaṅ-ja-ng, regarding for the tree of relics with "Rice" and "Mine" meaning, there is a representation of the [illegible] between [illegible] Sprung of Iron and Rock [illegible] for Ranger or the snake. We may infer that [illegible], spoken of in the same lessons with [illegible] was a patron of the [illegible].

Unordination [illegible] Ring [illegible] village. The [illegible] [illegible] of Kaṇḍaṅ, also depict the Worship as [illegible]. What is more, there is no other Kaṇḍaṅ-ja-ng whose relics [illegible] this deity. Analogy with Vinu Kaṇḍaṅ is instructive. Vinu's relics do not figure any deity save [illegible], also known as [illegible], and the [illegible] legends on his relics give to Vinu the epithets Kaṇḍaṅ and [illegible], where [illegible] can be regarded as [illegible], for [illegible], [illegible], just as [illegible] must be taken as [illegible], for [illegible]. The drawing portrait represents Vinu as 'living from death', or with 'Rains living from death'—that is, indicating claim to divine attributes. Similar features are associated with portraits of Kaṇḍaṅ on his relics; and it is particularlike to think that he adopted some epithet of [illegible], just as Vinu adopted an epithet of Siva.

Mythology represents [illegible] as a son of Siva. That this divine relationship is considered in the Indian [illegible]

between Ṛṣiṣṭha and Vima?[1] The answer should, I think, be in the affirmative. Vima relies, indeed, demonstrates—or at any rate pretended—to be gods on earth. It would be perfectly logical if Ṛṣiṣṭha, being a son of Vima, demand to do so adopt a style bilingual to the Kuṣāṇa one of the deity whose epithet (?) Ṛṣiṣṭha had assumed. Such a relationship is indeed implied in a fragmentary Mathura inscription apparently referring to the grandfather (*pitāmaha*) of Ṛṣiṣṭha as bearing the epithet *yajñā-Kuṣāṇa*-[2]. As pointed by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri,[3] the expression *yajñā-Kuṣāṇa* corresponds to the style *mahādevaputra* found applied to "Kaṇiṣka I," the father of Vima, upon his coins; and the epithet is not known to have been borne by any other Kuṣāṇa ruler. If I may rely on my reading from the original above during my visit to Mathura, but point upon another epithet of the grandfather of Ṛṣiṣṭha can be recognized at Ṛṣiṣṭha which is Ṛṣiṣṭha peculiar to "Kaṇiṣka I", given on clients to deity to this epithet the Kuṣāṇa-vision of the "Kaṇiṣka Mathura coins" type.[4]

(c) Lastly, additionally between Ṛṣiṣṭha and Vima is also very strongly indicated by the drawing of their coins. On his gold issue, Ṛṣiṣṭha never appears in the standing attitude, the attitude almost always[5] preferred by Kaṇiṣka, his predecessor, which occurs on a few. The least is known in four varieties, discovered A.D.C.D. by Cunningham (Num. Chron., Ser. III, vol. XI, pl. IX) Cites of which 3a(1) agrees closely with the least on gold issue of Vima (Ibid., pl. V, 3a).[6] Vima issue type in gold, Vima is shown seated on a bandhana (Ibid., pl. V, 1),[7] and there is a corresponding type in copper for Ṛṣiṣṭha (Ibid., pl. IX, 7).[8] Another type in gold depicts Vima

1. Political History of Ancient India (3rd ed.), p. 384.

2. [illegible] (*ibid.*), p. 408. I am also indebted to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri.

3. Not available, as Mr. Allan notes in support (Catalogue, Introd. History of India, pp. 16-1—"the Kuṣāṇa deveṣṭā on the gold coins of Kaṇiṣka is not used by Kaṇiṣka"). See Num. Chron., Ser. IX, vol. XII, pl. vii, 10-13.

4. See plate, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.

5. The top of the coin given here (*ibid.*) see plate, Fig. 11 for a representation. The coin actually covers on one, of course of "Kaṇiṣka I" bearing on one a Bactrian (?) special head (plate Figs. 6-11), first plate, Fig. 7 for a representation.

6. See plate, Figs. 5-12.

rising counterpart (*Ibid.*, pl. F. 2), for which we have a corresponding type in copper from Ravijha (*Ibid.*, pl. IX. 12).[1] Finally, there is a pseudo-cuneiform bronze, the obverse of an hand by Ying dowing line as 'Chariot-side' (*Ibid.*, pl. V. 7) and the obverse of a sow of Ravijha showing life as 'Hoplomachia' (*Ibid.*, pl. III. 1); both pieces being essentially military.

RALPH ELLIOTT, Lieut.

[1] See pedes, Figs. 32-33.

REVIEWS

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MSS. IN THE VANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAT by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A., Lecturer, Ballygunge College, Calcutta. Sahitya Parishat Series No. 16. Published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, pp. xlv+296.

The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat (Academy of Bengali Literature) is the representative institution of the Bengali-speaking people for the study of Bengali culture primarily through language and literature. As a national institution for the fostering of the national language and literature and for the collecting and studying of the vestiges of national culture in all the walks of life, its activities, naturally enough, would remain confined, so far final language and literature only, although its scope would remain a priority in them. The Parishat has for the last 40 years been collecting Bengali MSS., and specimens of Bengali's own vernacular literature or popular, and has in addition been publishing editions of texts and monographs on different subjects. A great deal of the intellectual activities of the Bengali people, as of the people in other parts of India, found expression through Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit MSS. abound in the different Bengalis texts are found up intimately with the local literature and culture, through the vehicle in the first instance, and through agreement with the venerable literature in their material and spiritual contents. The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat consequently could not neglect or refuse to collect Sanskrit MSS. found within the area of its activities, and as a result we have in the Parishat's collecting of some five thousand Sanskrit MSS. in addition to about six thousand Bengali MSS. in possession. Most of these Sanskrit MSS. are in the Bengali character, MSS. in Devanagari numbering not even 200; no other provincial alphabet is represented in this branch of the Parishat collection. This is to be explained by the fact that the Devanagari MSS. are mostly importations from Northern India—from Benares and other centres. Devanagari as the Pan-Indian character for Sanskrit is of recent growth, the English

spirit of conservation and the cultivation of the spirit of Indian civilization through the Universities being responsible for it during the last 40 years or so.

The Mss. described and defined in this volume give to the first [illegible] a valuable indication of the range of intellectual culture during the period of Bhāratacandra, viz. in Bengal. Secondly, these Mss. have a unique importance in the study of the evolution of the Bengali script. Mss. (whether Sanskrit or Bengali) older than 1500 A.D. are rare, and of Mss. prior to 1300, Sanskrit works are seen largely available than Bengali ones. The age of the Mss. of the Āvirbhāva-Dhārana, the oldest (Middle Bengali work that we have (which is the oldest text) in the Bengali language after the Caryāpada discovered in Nepal and published from the Parishad by the late Mm. Hariprasād Śāstrī some 30 years ago) is doubtful—the Mss. Bibliography (Sāhityaparisat) belonged to the end of the 14th century, but other Mss. would place it between 1400 and 1500. But in fact of documents written in a version of Bengali Mss. written before 1500, we have several Sanskrit Mss. in the Bengali character, with Bengali writing interspersed, which belong to the 13th century. Some of these belong to the Mr. collection of the Dacca University, and one such Ms. we have in the Bangiya Parishat is Mr. of the Bhāgavata dated 1307 Śaka (1385 A.D.). The value of these old Mss. as documents of the Bengali dialect can be well imagined. The Mss. are valuable from many other points of view also, which (possibly) can appreciate.

Prof. Chintāharaṇa Chakravarti, one of our brilliant younger men in the domain of Sanskrit and allied research in Bengal, has already made a name for solid and systematic work in this particular line of research—that of studying and describing old Mss.—embracing the collections of the Vangiya Sāhitya Parishat, the Sanskrit Sāhitya Dhārānā and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The study and description of Mss. form one of the fundamentals of research, which implies not only learning but also patience and patient labour. Prof. Chakravarti shows himself to be an admirable force in the general work. He has given a brief description of each Ms., in the usual style of colophon: distribution, giving subject matter, general number, name of the work, author's name, indication of paper, date of writing if available, script, and samples of

[illegible] on the special features of the Rās, or his work and his [illegible]. This portion of the work is the foundation on which the Introduction of 40 pages is based, and here he has polished and set on all that we should know about the treasures we have in the Parishad collection of Sanskrit Rās. Prof. Chakravarti shows how Tāla Rās (Bangla) [illegible] are found in the Bengali character, as well as Gujarāti Rās, which would show that Bengal did have some local Tālās only in the past and was not dependent on Gujarāt only. The oldest Rās in order of their dates are also noted. The different kinds like Tālās, Dānās, Prāsāns, Ghummers, Lāsyāngāsāṭṭs, Rāsys etc. are described in relation to the collection with relevant quotations from the Rās themselves. This 40 page introduction forms very informative reading even for an ordinary man of culture.

It is gratifying indeed to find that the Parishad collection has at last through Prof. Chakravarti's Catalogue been made useful to outside scholars, for now people working in different branches of Indology are easily find out whether the Parishad has in other Indology material in the shape of Rās. The Bhāṇḍārkar Research Institute in Poona is bringing out shortly catalogue of the Bhāṇḍārkar's Rās, among other Rās, some from the Parishad collection would be catalogued. A catalogue like this makes incorporation easily feasible. Long live the Parishad, as well as Prof. Chakravarti deserve to be congratulated for carrying scholarship in this way. The printing and general get up are quite good.

Rasik Lāl Chakravarti

[illegible] RAJASTHANI DOHA, an old Rajasthani love-ballad edited by Thakur Banesingh, M.A., Pandit Hiralal Kavya Tirth, M.A., and Sri Vasudeva Sharma Sharma, M.A. Published by the Rajasthi Prachar Sabha, Bikaner.

The work under review is the most popular love-ballad of Rajasthan. Composed originally somewhere about the middle of the 16th century, it was at once called to life by various bards and poets. For a fairly long period several Rajasthanis had to compete a number of changes in materials underlying the thread of the narrative. The work gained great popularity in its own home. But that the older forms did not entirely disappear is shown by the editors' success in unearthing a fairly large number of manuscripts belonging to the older recensions. The present edition is based primarily on these, and on a very old manuscript of Kaviraja's recension obtained from Gwalior.

The work is sealed from purely literary point of view. The first introduces, it presents a faithful picture of the Rajput mind working in the early Medieval Period. The two philologists, it supplies the missing link between Apabhramsha and the vernacular, and hence Rajasthani and Hindi on the other, and by the history which it has [illegible] a good number of the better type of Rajasthani folksongs.

The editors' work has been done well. Besides giving the fullest Hindi translation of the dohas, they have supplied us with a highly and learned introduction dealing with almost every conceivable point about the dohas that required to be considered. We hope that they will find time to enrich Rajasthani and Hindi literature by giving us some more editions of this type.

THANKAPPAN NAIR

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA.—By P. L. Bhargava, with Foreword by Dr. R. K. Mookerji, London, 1936. Pp. viii + 108 + 6 maps.

It is an irony of fate that notwithstanding the great progress that has been made recently in the study of Ancient Indian historical biography and dynastic history, the Gladstone of the founder of the greatest imperial dynasty of Ancient India has remained unwritten up to now. This want has now been largely filled up by the interesting monograph under review. In this short work the young and promising author has shown not only a wide mastery of facts, but what is more important, a sound critical judgment, enabling him to be reliable to present a reliable biography of the great Emperor. The arrangement of topics is satisfactory. The preliminary chapters are devoted to the study of chronology and the early history of Magadha, one chapter commemorates the latest events of Chandragupta's life, the following chapter deals with administration, social and economic life, literature and art of the period, while the concluding chapter brings together the readings of Vishnu Purāṇa's *Life of Kaṭya* the group of legends that have gathered round the hero. Title typeset and an index conclude this useful work, which is rendered by an Introduction of Dr. Mookerji's accomplished pen.

On a number of points, a few remarks may be made. The author's chronology of the Light of Magadha from Bimbisāra down wards and specially his dates for Chandragupta's conquest of the Punjab and accession to the Magadhan throne (ch. I) though differing somewhat from generally accepted theories, are supported by weighty arguments. The author takes (p. 42) the curious Bakhshāli inscription to imply the initiation of Dhanda in Chandragupta's empire, but the scholarly edition of this inscription by Dr. R. M. Barua (*JRS.*, vol. X, 1924, pp. 1ff.) to which he makes no reference, does not bear out this view. The author throughout accepts the tradition that the *Arthaśāstra* was the work of Chandragupta's minister; it would have been well, to say the least, to refer to Bongaprasāda's view on the subject. In his account of Chandragupta's administration the author follows Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of *Paura* and *Janapada* as popular assemblies and ascribes to them considerable powers, thus altogether ignoring the important criticism of Mr. Nagendra Nath Law (*JRS.*,

vol. VI (1966), pp. 1-13). The translation of *pariqi* as a unit of partitioned land (p. 54) is unmentionable. The account of Gandhāra's local currency system (p. 90) is incomplete and rather irrelevant to the contributions of the present volume (Bruce Hoenig, p. 1978). The rendering of *Paramapurushaka* (p. 54) as the land of city officials is unacceptable. The account of certain officers mentioned in the inscriptions, such as Sandhāvaka and Tushaspā, is confusion, while no reference is made to other officers like the Nāgarakas, the Vāchāka and the Ārya. The association of a republican polity with the City Hospital mentioned by Megasthenes is gratuitous. The description of slavery (pp. 56-57) takes no notice of the different classes of slaves mentioned in the documents. It is difficult to accept the statement (p. 71) that the Vedic sacrificial religion was still predominant in Gandhāra's Age and it is hard to follow the author's view (51) the land grantor from all this religion was the Bhāgavata Sect. In the sketch of the economic conditions, prosperity, wealth and Kaśya, more credit to R.C. Agarwal's (pp. 1-10) discussion of certain typical Kushāṇa coins in the Bharat campaign. The author's critical estimate of Gandhāra's dress (p. 61) could profit if Ādam and Bazaḍam were taken, among others, for more a parallel (p. 1984). To say that Ārya selected the constituents needed for building up an empire and that his success was due mainly to the reality of his subjects 'free to himself' is a libel of the truth. Equally unwarranted is the view that Persian political nothing by Megasthenes's spherical sophists.

We have noticed a few slips: Mahaan (p. 57), Ghosalkar, Lassen and Ghosal (p. 90 and n. 1). The complete absence of Gandhāra studies is regrettable.

U. B. Pandey

ANANDA PAUTTA-SUTTANTA, or a Historical Dialogue of Ananda; Edited by R. E. Hooper, first edition, 1921. Published by the Department of Education and Antiquarian Studies, Arakan.

Since that month the History of Arakan (Rice edition, 1920), the result of original material bearing on the subject has been largely increased by the publication of a number of Burmese, both in prose and verse, for which the credit is almost wholly due to the enthusiastic labours of Prof. R. E. Hooper and not less to the enlightened patronage of the Arakan Government, which could find collectors funds for the purpose during a period of admitted financial stress. Of the works thus brought to light, mention may be made particularly of the Rāmadeiṅ Ayeyā Tuṅ Ba-ṅwin (dated to 1556 A.D.) containing a contemporary account of the struggle between the Mingkhaiṅ and Alaungpaya in the 18th century, the Tsiṅgyaungyi Thoraṅ (dated 1708-1808) and the Dwāra Ayeyā Thoraṅ (dated the Sakkarāj 1000 = 1638 A.D.). In the present work Prof. Hooper has solved with his great ability two late Arakanese metrical chronicles, accompanying the text with translations in English and Arakanese and a number of indexes. Both these works appear to be of extreme importance. The first presents a complete history of Arakan from 307B.C.E. onwards, in the usual pattern, some three half of its contents is based upon Buddhist or at any rate contemporary knowledge of the author. The second, though a much shorter work, embracing only the last phase of Arakan rule (1785-1825) is, as the editor observes, one of the very few contemporary documents of the Burmese invasions. Both these works bear the imprint of Arakanese Vaiṅgaya political Fatalism. Both again are impregnated with epic and Pyakyo (mythical) atmosphere, e.g., the digit. Seven title of the first work, Rakkhitaṅ, with which, we may compare the title, Rakkhita-Vilāsiṅ, assumed by Ashiṅkhaiṅ Thado in his Dhammaṭhā (Prof. Hooper thinks that the title Rakkhitaṅ is a reflecting of the author's faith in the fulfilment of the prophecies regarding the Rakkhita Age, so commonly found in Vaiṅgaya poetry. May it not, after all, be simply a reminiscence of the ancient epic atmosphere, the Kinnā Ugyiṅ? Both works again were written about the same time and practically under the same auspices. Dwāra, author of the first (1638 circa), wrote his work apparently between 1640 and 52 at the behaviour of

Prince Poniatowski Hapkin could be not, while Vitentowicz, author of the second work, wrote, so it seems, between 1821 and 30 under the auspices of the same Poniatowski Hapkin. Here, however, the resemblance ends. Hapkin was a lawyer by trade, though certainly a well-read and accomplished man of his time, his style is plain and neither of fact and has little pretensions to poetry. Vitentowicz, on the other hand, was a Hedonistpan, and his work, according to the editor, deserves to rank as a Dante's masterpiece.

Both the present chronicles have been edited from single MSS. But while the first Ms. is a complete one, the second is full of lacunae and what remains of it is in a poor state of preservation. It is somewhat puzzling to find that the editor has filled up the gaps of the second work with his own conjectures, but the reader's "enjoyment of the author's beautiful narrative might be impaired."[1] It may be mentioned that the same method has led the editor to interpolate his absolutely unrelated text, for he assumes given his concept complete in the original. As the present volume consists of two chronicles, it could seem to be a little inappropriate. Proper prominence has not been given to the fact that the title of the second chronicle, Hakonsin Rymbaj, "chronicle of the monk", has been added by the editor for modern known designation.

E. B. Chamberlin

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

[illegible], vol. [illegible], nos. [illegible]

J. [illegible]—*Der Romanzero in Hirsch-schrift* (Romanzero in [illegible] Indian).

A. E. [illegible]—*The Roots of Grace.* The writer is of opinion that the calligraphic is a mechanical organization. Tables are handbills in which various alloys in the mind were assigned.

J. Ph. [illegible]—*A Modified Word on Indian Architecture.* This is an appreciation of the merits of the Hindoo, a reply to an article [illegible] and [illegible], edited by Dr. F. S. Acharya.

Dear Kanter—*Tips on Elastic Jaks and Central Asian Poetry.*

[illegible], [illegible]

D. R. [illegible]—*The Law of Karma.*

M. Yamato Kan—*Catechism of Buddhism on the Life and Spirit of Japan.*

[illegible], vol. [illegible], parts [illegible]

Dawn M. [illegible]—*Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sir George A. Grierson.*

L. [illegible]—*The Transliterating of Sanskrit Into Roman.*

T. [illegible]—*How Does Bell [illegible] Working Cost Now Bombay Spend?*

[illegible]—*Le Chinese [illegible].*

[illegible]—*The Religious Ideas of the Tiger Prairie.*

[illegible]—*Schadhana.* Schadhana is the King of the skies in the Atharvaveda. The name of the word is 'dong-sendu,' or 'seeds of heavenly Bunge of Bong.' The mother of the sun suggests that originally the Pleiades or Kritikas were called Schadhana.

Sister [illegible]—*Persian Legends and the Parsi's Tradition in Two Indo-Lands.*

A. Cohen.—*Les emplois du mot en composés (ap kaiva).*

[illegible] Emmerick.—*Der Tgyuz nullifiks Abhidharma.*

Professor Eggeling.—*The Product underlying Prabhākar's Kyāti Vādārthā.*

Lucien R. Gray.—*Observations on Middle Indian Morphology.*

Professor Lüders.—*Bibliography.*

Hans Oertel.—*The Expression for "the past methods of twelve months" and the life in Pali Prose.*

S. J. Rajani.—*Jīvātma or real self.*

Narendra Sarkar.—*PIB Mahādeva.* Dispensing with the interpretations of the Sāṅkhya-sūtra commentary on account of some modern scholars, the author shows that the word Mahādeva in PIB refers purely to Sankara's Vedānta. "The Ātman of an ordinary man who comes downfar."

S. J. Tatiya.—*Tattvārtha and Tattvārthaja.*

F. W. Thomas.—*Some Words found in Central Asian Documents.*

R. L. Turner.—*Sanskrit Lexicon and Pali Lexicon in Modern Indo-Aryan.*

J. Wackernagel.—*Altindische und neuindische Etymologien.*

William Wist.—*Effect-including Bhāṣya and another Kaṭhin, prediction and Bodhisattvaship.* II.

Indian Philosophical Review, Vol. III, no. 1 (December, 1926)

Kunjuni Chandra Chatterjee.—*Aparokṣa and Bhakti.* The discussion in the paper centres round a grammatical topic where Aparokṣa Pacifies related Bhakti Bhāṣya.

T. R. Gopi.—*Kumārila's commentary on the Ślokavārtika called Nyāyaratnākara and its probable date between A.D. 1000 and 1050 or the latter half of the 10th century.*

T. Mahadeva Rama.—*Karṇāṭaka.* The Karṇāṭaka, a school known to decide metaphysics, is being edited with an original commentary in Sanskrit and English Translation and Notes.

Mahesh Sen.—*Epistemologico-ontological world a commentary.*

IHQ, Vol. III, no. 4 (December, 1927)

Kunjuni Chandra Chatterjee.—*Sanskrit and Kannada, the journal review of Bhāṣyaṭīkas.*

T. Ramachandra Sastri.—Kavichhandas.

Bhagirathan Nayar.—A Contribution recorded in Sanskrit Palmleaf.

R. C. Sen.—Inscriptions on a Stone of Kistna: (1) The Edicts of Ashoka.

Rajani Sen.—Kirgahpahrahasyaprabhakarayatra with a commentary.

BR., vol. III, no. 1 (February, 1926)

Bhimsen Chandra Chakravarti.—Some Unknown Forms of Sanskrit Grammar.

Rai Dayal Sharma.—Vidhanadhara of Jyotirvidya. This article treats of a small work of astrology compiled in the 17th century A.C.

R. C. Sen.—Inscriptions on a stone of Kistna: (1) The Edicts of Ashoka.

Rajani Sen.—Kirgahpahrahasyaprabhakarayatra with a commentary.

Dacca University Studies, vol. I, no. 1 (November, 1926)

G. N. Chakravarti.—On the Transfer of the Capital of Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca by Islam Khan Chisti. Islam Khan, the viceroy of Aurangzeb, had to deal with the rebellious Zamindars of Bengal and to conquer the Lands of the Arakan King and the Bhuiyas of Chittagong. The religious and political situation was the main factor that led to the rise of Dacca. The loss of the strategic importance of Rajmahal owing to a change in the course of the Ganges also prompted Islam Khan to transfer his capital to Dacca. Dacca was most adapted to the process of the change of bank gradual from 1630 to 1635, when the new capital was renamed Jahangirnagar.

Phanindra Lal Dutt.—The Date of the Khajuraho Dynasty. From a palaeographic study of the Jaravi plates of the Khajuraho Kings of Bundelkhand the writer concludes that the letters in their second line affinity to the Aphsad and Deo-Baranark inscriptions of the later Gupta dynasty of the 8th century, and differ considerably from the characters in the Khiching plates of Dhavalapadda. So the Khajuraho Kings should be assigned to the 8th century and not to a much later date as some scholars do.

[illegible] Ray.—The Death of Dara. Aliah-Pal's statement that not of magnanimity in a debased society Akbar refused to take the life of Dara in spite of the prospect of getting the life of [illegible] by killing the infidel is Rodolfo's law on the basis of contemporary evidence. Akbar, who was only 14 years old at the time, struck Dara with a pistol and was helped by Shaikha Khan to the end.

[illegible] Sarkar.—An Old Persian Inscription of the Sky [illegible] 483.

R. J. [illegible].—An Account of the Emigration of Persian Poets into Bengal.

[illegible].—Algernon's Treatment of the Great [illegible] in Swift's Poems.

[illegible], No. [illegible]

[illegible] E. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Annamalai Rajah—*Singing and Acting in the Pilgrimage Festival.* The method that armed between the rulers and the artistic men at Delhi in the 18th century after the death of Bahadur Shah (1712 A.C.) is narrated in this note.

D. C. Ganguly—*Phonetic or Characteristics of Modern Languages* (II).

H. A. Rosenow—*The Sulpician Fire in Indian History.* The solution of the Sulpician fire as found in the Hindu literature and various epigraphs, with an account of the various as given in the records of the northern islands of Malaya and Sumatra, have been put together.

Amar Ranjan—*New Light on Bengal History.* It is known from some literary and epigraph is evidence that after the fall of the Imperial Guptas and before the rise of the Pālas, Bengal was a circle of various foreign invasions. Conditions of transgressive movement in the different parts of Bengal also show that the 7th and 8th centuries were a period of disturbance in Bengal. Remnants of ancient dwellings found in the excavating of temples and early coins evidences found in places like Bhāgalpur, indicate that the actual disturbance were caused by invaders and which at a later time when political stability was regained.

Dhanpat Ramsar Gupta—*The Inscription of Tamralipta.* The inscription found in 1918 telling the ways of King Bāijamagupta (also Rajan Wards is important) for the history of ancient Bengal.

Mrs. C. a. F. Rhys Davids—*A Historical Aspect of Pitaka.*

V. K. Ramachandra Ramachandra—*The Antiquarian, Rāmāyaṇa, Jātaka and Nikāya.*

H. C. Bhattacharyya—*Some Problems of Early Bhaiga History and Chronology.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 35, no. 4, December, 1915

A. E. Gustavson—*Angel and Tiger: An Essay in Pali Symbolism.*

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
vol. IX, part 1 (April, 1935)

R. T. Ramma Rao—*Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cālukya Kings.*

2. A. [illegible]—*The Rampers of the Founders of Vijayanagara and the Family of Sangam Bhaila.* The early rulers of Vijayanagara were under the spiritual guidance of Rāmānuja Kāryāmāni Pandita, an Āchārya of the Rāmānuja sect. They considered, out of political necessity only, with the lands of the Sangam Bhaila—Vijayānīka and Vālāpāyī.
3. [illegible] Rāo—*Genealogy of the Kāyasthas in Vijayanagara* [illegible] *of the early 16th century.*

Journal of the Asiatic Society, vol. V, no. 1 (March, 1909)

1. R. [illegible]—*Sirhind.* It discusses the meaning of the [illegible] [illegible] which, it is shown, corresponds to the [illegible] of the temple.
2. A. Bhattacharya Sastri—*Aparārka Paṭalam.* A discussion on the difference of opinion regarding Dāyāda [illegible] on Śrāddha in the works of Aparārka, Śūlpāṇi and Lakṣmīdhara. Text is contained in the [illegible] of the paper.
3. R. [illegible]—*Bhattacharyya.* Translated into English with Notes.
4. [illegible] and [illegible]—*Kālidāsa.* The [illegible] of Vikramāditya is [illegible] with an English Translation and Notes.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Science), vol. I, 1905, no. 9

1. [illegible]—*Mahmud Ghazni.* This is an account of the career of Mahmud Ghazni, the famous adventurer of the Muhammadan Empire.

Hemchandra Ashkari—*Life and Conditions of the People of Kashmir* (1200-1450). Information regarding the political, economic and social conditions of India under the Muslim Rulers of Delhi have been collected here mainly from the Muhammadan sources.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XII, part IV (December, 1926)

Sarat Chandra Roy—*Report on Anthropological Work in 1924-25—the Religion of the Uraons.*

—*Bibliographical Investigations in Official Records.*

RAMYA SAMBHAVYAVIJAYA—*Vidhanapha.* This work of the Buddhist Sophist Dharmakirti of the 7th century is edited here from a unique MS. The first section viz. vigrahavyavartanikapada have been published in this Catalogue.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XIV, part 3 (December, 1935)

H. SWAMI PAI—*Chronology of Aitha, Pithkara and Kathana.*

SYED OBAYDUL GHANI—*Date of Kalidasa Raghuvamsa.* In the light of a statement found in a grant of Bhojadevamaj, the date of composition is calculated to be A.D. 170.

T. VENKATARAMA AYYA—*Date of Rajatarangini II.* It is established that Bhojadevaja's accession took place in 1010 A.D.

S. K. DAGHIR—*Hemagana, the Prince—1000-09.*

SHAMA SUNDAR DESHPANDE—*Principle of the Twelve Mughals.*

SITA RAM KOHLI—*The dying of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.* This latest account of the paper deals with definition of gay on account of disease from July, overstaying leave of other lapses, as well as with free and remarks.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. II, part IV (April-June, 1935)

S. S. SIVANARAYANA SASTRI—*The Adhyatmaskhara.* This is an account of the contents of the *Adhyatmaskhara* of RAMAPALA, Tribe of Appayya Dikshita, the celebrated South Indian scholar of the 16th century. It is inferred from a fragmentary manuscript of the work that it was written to counter dualistic attacks upon the Advaita doctrine.

W. CALDWELL—*The Origin of the Dravidic (Occidental) Tree Worship* by R. A. Wilkinson Retrd.

C. B. KIRMANI—*Criminal Tendencies in Relation to Domestic Tension.*

T. K. GOPINATH and T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITA—*Phenomenon-psychelipsis.* This is an Abstract of the Phenomenon-nirgunapsychelipsis, a short treatise by Appayya Dikshita containing the contents of *Sankara's Phenomenon-psychelipsis.*

A. VENKATARAMAN—*Dhyanapur and Shiptu.* The opinion that

Esperanto, the author of a commentary on a selection of Vedic [illegible] was earlier than Sayana is argued in this paper.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, January, [illegible]

E. H. Parker.—Gold: Flight in the Lob-country. A conclusive interpretation of two sentences of the Lob-country Stelling with the finds of coins.

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T. R. T. Rhys.—Types of Indian Medicine.

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R. Worcester.—Ethics in Behavioural Literature.
H. Tonnie.—Indian Views on Psychotherapy.
H. Gunn.—Tips on a Kyoto by Differentiation.
D. K. Sudak.—The Phenomenon Universe in Brahmanical Philosophy.
F. R. Jones.—The Sociology of Art Value.
D. D. Dhotre.—Indian Unity in Individuality, Man and Society.
K. C. Sharma.—Vedantic Thought in Rigvedic Religion.
A. C. Bose.—Cross-Examples of Hypnosis and Effects.
Rev. C. A. F. Rowe Evans.—Eric Dingwall Alone.

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Obituary Notices

Sylvain Lévi

Born in Paris in 1863 Professor Sylvain Lévi, the great French Orientalist, passed away on the 8th November, 1935 at the age of 72. Even shortly before his death he attended the International Oriental Conference at Rome, and made the proceedings of the Indian Section of the Conference lively by taking part in all the discussions. He was first appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the École des Hautes Études in the Paris University in 1894, and was raised to the position of Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Civilisation in the Collège de France in 1894. He had been a student in the field of Indology for nearly half a century, and rivalled on the great traditions of Eugène Burnouf and Abel Bergaigne.

The first work of Lévi's geniuse was made by *Le Théâtre Indien* which appeared in 1890. Though other books have written more than on ancient Indian stage and new Artistic Sanskrit brought forward Lévi's book still remains unrivalled, particularly on account of the masterly presentation of the subject, the analysis of the dates of the authors with accuracy for the first time and sound arguments put forward to refute the theory of Weilland on the Greek origin of the Indian theatre.

Since the publication of his first book Lévi had been working incessantly on various aspects of Indian history, Indian religion—Vedism and particularly Buddhism, geography, history of literature, political history, Buddhist philosophy and language. An important work on the Inscription du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas appeared in 1898, three volumes on the history of Népal—*Le Népal* came out in 1904 and 1908, the *Bodhgaya-Inscription*, the first positive document for the study of the Yogâcâra system of philosophy in 1897, the *Fragments-Sanskrits de Vasubandhu*, a very of the greatest importance for the study of Vijñânavâda philosophy in 1925 and the *Mélanges pour l'étude du système Vijnapti-mâtra*, in 1932.

The special feature of Lévi's scholarship is its expansive character.

He since after Dutreuil had realized that the history of India cannot be treated in an isolated way without reference to the history of its contiguous countries. He put in Lévi's very words: "I have always thought that we cannot settle and interpret Indian Buddhism more without comparing them with their Tibetan and Chinese translations. This method proved to be fruitful in the field of philology and it has since been employed in the same effective way to bring to light the expansion of Indian civilization even in unexpected quarters beyond the Limits of modern India. Thus the purely scientific study of a literature has transformed in a different field, the outlines of a greater India."[7] The application of this method in the study of Indology (related Lévi) only to the study of Chinese and Tibetan. Apart from bringing to golden purely Chinese materials on Indian history as for example in his *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes* (1896), *L'itinéraire de Wou-k'ong* (1895) and *Les Missions de Wang Hiuen-tse vers l'Inde* (1900) he, whether for the purpose of Buddhist Nipâtaṃ or for exploring Chinese texts regarding Indian (1904), was to the Chinese and Tibetan versions for more complete translations, cf. for example: *Texte Chinois sur l'Inde* (1903-1905), *L'enseignement de Vimalakîrti* (1905), *Les Enseignements de Dhârmaçrî* (1912), *Les Enseignements philosophiques des Pâtrâ dans le Kâshmîrçaivisme* (1916) etc.

The name of Lévi will remain associated with the discovery and interpretation of a forgotten Indo-European language which is wrongly known as "Tokharian B" but which he himself preferred to call Kuchean. The embryonic scholarship on Central Asia particularly that of Pelliot had brought to light fragments of manuscripts of various dialects. The discovery of the film in Brahmi belonging to the Pelliot Mission was entrusted to Lévi and from concept these film, was discovered the Kuchean language which was once spoken in the northern part of Eastern Turkestan. Lévi not only deciphered this language, he explained it with the help of parallel passages from Chinese and Sanskrit Buddhistic texts, restored the ancient history of the country in which the language was spoken from Chinese sources and thus afforded a solid basis for the work of the linguists and historians of Central Asia.

In another sphere, in the modern vestiges of the ancient civilized of Jabad of Hadi, Lévi lately discovered the fragments of some or ten

extensive Sanskrit works for the sole purpose of giving deeper insight into the problem of the expansion of Indian civilization outside India. These works were published in 1904 in the Bibliothèque Générale Series. The Sanskrit texts from Bali.

In matters of organization Lévi was always guided by his vision of the greater India. In 1907 when he was sent to Japan for the third time—and this time for laying the foundations of a Research Institute called the Maison Franco-Japonaise—the first work which was undertaken by him was the publication of an Encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism in collaboration with the Japanese scholars. The encyclopædic character of this Dictionary is evident from the first few parts which have already come out under the name Hôbôgirin. This dictionary was one of the very early dreams of Lévi's life.

Lévi came to India thrice twice in 1897-98 in connection with his studies on the Library of Fragments discovered there in 1897 on the joint invitation of the Calcutta University and the Panjab Govt and the third time in 1908 while on his way back to France from Japan. He had received an invitation from the Calcutta University in 1911 but the outbreak of the war prevented his visit, forcing the invitation to be cancelled.

Though he had not visited India Lévi long before for India was deep. Whatever he came for in India Lévi never lost sight of India as a Indian student, whatever their subject of study might be. His house was always open to receive the Indian students and those who had come to his contact cannot forget the great goodness of his heart. He has been often seen amongst his youthful protégés, standing at the age of 80 years hold in hand to find out a convenient room for a newly arrived Indian student, introducing his French pupils who might be of use in teaching the French, preparing the programme of studies and arranging lists of necessary help.

Prof. Lévi was interested in founding the Institut de Civilisation Indienne in the Paris University in 1920 and this Institute was again one of his old dreams. In organizing this Institute he had received the ready sympathies from a number of his Indian friends in Paris and some of them are still anxious to contribute to further development of the Institute. After Sylvain, he was the chief figure in the

[illegible] de Paris' de Poitiers which had been organized to establish a kind of closer friendship with the Orientalists meeting in Paris. With the death Professor Leroy has lost leading figure, Sofia one of her best friends and his students a kind and loving teacher.

LIST OF WORKS

[The list does not pretend to be exhaustive. For want of information books I have not been able to verify the title of some of the articles. They are distinguished by asterisks. The names of India have been omitted with asterisk].

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F. O. Bacot

Axel Olsen[illegible]

On July 9th, 1888, Professor Axel Olsen[illegible] of Upsala (Sweden) died suddenly as the result of an accident. Philology and Indology lost in him a great[illegible] and[illegible] scholar, whose work has left its mark in the most diverse branches of these great sciences. As he was a scholar on early Indian history and a contributor to this periodical, a few particulars about his life and work may be desirable.

Axel Olsen[illegible] was born in Gothenburg on Dec. 17th, 1858. He belonged to an old family, which had migrated to Sweden during the Huguenot[illegible], in that Swedish member Joseph, [illegible] under Gustavus Adolphus. Olsen[illegible] could claim [illegible] which owned distinguished men, but his predisposition for scholarly pursuits may perhaps be best explained by his relationship, both on his father's and his mother's side, with Sten Oscar Hajja (1741-1817), Sweden's most famous Orientalist and the most Oriental[illegible] in Swedish cultural life. He passed his examination at the University of Upsala at an extremely early age, in Arabic, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and devoted himself to the study of classical languages and Semitic. Although, at this time, he took a deep interest in Sanskrit, which[illegible] at Sweden, he[illegible] [illegible] by Sanskrit. He graduated as a doctor in 1886 and was appointed a lecturer in Oriental[illegible]. After having filled this post satisfactorily for twenty years, he was made a professor in 1888, as a successor to E. P. Tolstoi[illegible]. Among the lectures conducted on his up to this time are[illegible] the[illegible] of the Jain Literature Society in London. In 1906 he was made an honorary professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the Indian Research University at Vishwagram, India.

In his youth Gorpatrie was very much influenced by Prof. Jacobi, who in Bonn initiated him into the Middle Indian languages. Later on he was more and more attracted to England. He was a devoted friend of this country and used them on many and prolonged visits, when there he was mainly occupied with[illegible] work in the British Museum, indologic work, and lectures,

[illegible] in Dresden and Cambridge. Although he often expressed a desire to visit India, he never had the opportunity of doing so. Thus-[illegible] he had a very deep and warm interest in that country. He wrote a great history of India for the Swedish public and brought out a beautiful book on the Rig-Veda (Upsala); he also published a great many popular articles in newspapers and periodicals. Professor Chatterjee died leaving no near relatives.

In Chatterjee's research-work two main lines may be traced. The first was due to his studies under K. F. Johansson in Upsala, one of the pioneer authorities on comparative Indo-European philology. Through him Chatterjee was at an early date initiated into the methods of this science, and, chiefly during the first part of his career, he published a series of etymological studies, testifying as much to a comprehensive knowledge of language-facts as to extraordinary skill in tracing the connections and the origin of words. The series of these works commenced in 1898 with a long article in the Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademien Handlingar, Bidrag till kännedomen om de gammalindiska Dialekterna, fortsatta studier av Wackernagel, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der altindischen Sprache (Göttingen, 1896), and other learned periodicals. As mentioned above, they belong chiefly to the earlier stage of Chatterjee's career. After 1911 he published only some works of this kind, "some dealt exclusively with Indian and Iranian material."[1] In fact, Chatterjee had gradually come to adopt a more and more critical attitude towards comparative philology, especially in the form in which it was carried on in his youth; he frankly expressed doubts about many of his own earlier etymological combinations, and he was, in his last book, suspicious of many of the etymologies in Rig-Veda made by other scholars. An Lehnwörterbuch of the word-material, beginning with the conditions in the separate languages and temporarily based on a minute and

1 The chief literature of these works are: "Beiträge zur alt. und mittelir. Etymologie, Wortkunde," Sitzungsb. der Gesellschaft, Upsala, 1911, 1916; "Zur alt. und mittelirischen Wortkunde," Le Monde Oriental, 1911, 1916; "Beiträge zur altirischen Wortkunde," ibid., 1916, 1918; "Beiträge zur mittelirischen Wortkunde," ibid., 1918, 1920.

thorough investigation of the conditions of the material in Danish, Icelandic, Scottish, and Icelandic collections—regard being paid to possible influence from non-Indo-European languages (in India, e.g., from the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan tribal languages)—this can seemed to him the only practicable kind of approach.

It should, however, be mentioned that Oldenberg by no means neglected the other branches of Indo-European philology, although he devoted himself to them more sporadically. He discussed metrological and grammatical problems in "Die Dreiheit-Bildungen der indoeuropäischen Sprachen" (Archiv f. Religw. Wissenschaft, vol. 5, Tübingen 1902), "Die altindischen Nominalformen vom Typus śukrá" (Indogerm. Forschungen, XII, 1902), "Die metrischen Gesetze der indoeuropäischen Sprachen" (Berichte religiöser und Humanistischer Vereinigungsverbände, 1 Tübingen, 30 A. 1911) and "Altindisches Pronomen II in kopulativer(?) Bedeutung" (Festschr. Wilhelm Thomsen, Leipzig 1916). His work on the Indo-European accented special interest.

A further reason why Caland's production in the linguistic sphere was gradually devoted mainly to providing lessons in Indian culture and history. My own views of the "Caland Idea" followed up by Hoopendaal in his work. With (or with all) his linguistic research in the Brahmana-literature (which he devoted himself to exclusively). The contrapuntal was his work, more based on Bloomfield and Hillebrandt. With the productivity peculiar to him he now published a series of studies in this field, beginning with the one which gained him his doctor's degree, "Studien zur indischen Totenkultus (Amsterdam) "Verslag van de Indische Doodkultus." Even Caland's scope was bright into early Indian narrative literature, such as is found especially in the Buddhist Jātaka and works containing ancient lores, in the Rāmāyaṇa, in the Mahābhārata, and in the legend collections in the Āsura canon. It is the least recognition between these great literatures that he studied.[1] This account has helped to Indian literature as a whole and he required a thorough and comprehensive

1. Cf. also "Studien über die indische Rechtsgeschichte," [illegible], 16, 1916, 96, 1916, 85, 1921, "Bijdrage tot Dharmaśāstra" Tot Minde Noordtzij 2,

knowledge of this subject. As early as 1899 he began to study the Vikatakīlyamāhātma ("The Vikatakīlyam XXV," WZKM., [illegible]), he continued in "Le commentaire du Bhāvacūḍāpa sur le troisième chapitre du Vikatakīlyam," Journal Asiatique, C 15, 1911, and in "Über eine alte Handschrift der Vikatakīlyamāhātma des Bhāvacūḍāpa" (ZDMG., Bd. 67, 1913); finally he brought out a complete edition of the Text ("The Vikatakīlyam Text, being the first 8 Khandas of the Bhāvacūḍāpa Text, edited with an introduction, critical notes and a commentary," Archives d'Études orientales, vol. 15, Uppsala, 1920). In his introduction he gives among other things a survey of the whole of the Tales cycle. In other ways Sten Konow showed his interest in Folklore. In addition to some papers on religious (Jina and Jaina gotras [e.g. "Die Legende der heiligen Pūrṇa," ZDMG., 69, 1915], he gave a comprehensive survey of the history of Literature in the Cambridge History of India, vol. I, (1919-20).

It might seem that the Swedish of which I have mentioned should have been sufficient to absorb the energy of some man, an authority in comparative as Hartpaulus. But this was not the case. He was naturally a keen student of Vedic Literature, not only did comparative philology in general deal more with Greek than with the latter, classical scholar, but E. T. Johansson, being also a graduate of Berlin, was a Vedic scholar. Although Johansson did not write any very important contributions in this field (his chief work here was devoted to the Vipra religion: Religiösa i Indien (The Religious in India, Upsala 1918), he always gave his pupils instruction in this subject and encouraged them to independent research. Hartpaulus's "Ältere Indische und Indoeuropäische Mythologie" (Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1911) is a valuable work; here he deals among other things with the natural origin of some Vedic gods. Not until 1909 he was able to publish another monograph such in this field: "Die Begrepp Saga. Undersökningar om äldre skaldisk Litteratur och Begreppsbildning" (Lärdom religion, med avdelning av F. Rhamm redigerad, vol. 10). This is an edition of the important Old West Bergsgrikkjen, a work which so far as the

(1909) "Begreppsbildningen och den äldre skaldedikten" (ZDMG., 63, 1910).

contents are recovered (always in the Kirchlichkeit, but never language is more evident). In the appended commentary much valuable material is to be found—from Pfleiderer to modern popular tales. Ten years before Charpentier published the comprehensive work, "Brahman. Eine spekulativ-mystische Untersuchung [illegible] Upanishadenlehre" (Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1902-1908). Contrary to the general view he tries to show that the word brahman, which represents the central idea of Indian religion and philosophy, is most closely related to the Aryan heaven. "Brahman" was his last important contribution—a fitting chorus to his work as an indologist and a philologist. Unfortunately he did not live to finish the third part.[1]

As an interim Charpentier contributed to the German encyclopedia the data of the deeds of Buddha and Mahavira ("The date of Mahavira," *Indian Antiquary*, 41, 1912; and "the dating of Buddha" [1913], 1923; *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1916); he maintained also by the study of the Vedic and Indo-Aryan periods in the history of India.[2] But particularly noteworthy are his merits as an investigator into the early relations between India and Europe. In this field he will always be indebted to one of the leading scholarship. From about 1917 a growing scepticism concerning of this kind is noticeable in Charpentier's mind. He looks and criticise of the Swedish teacher for describes the ideas of India's contents, among the mysticism and the importance of Sun worship pointed by early European travellers, especially Portuguese missionaries. But until 1924, however, did he present a work in this field to an international public. "Vasuki de

1 "Indraloka, Ein, aus der Indischen of the Bibliothek-recorded [illegible], with 1912, 1916, and 1918), 1916 and "Ueber Brauche in der Hauptsight" (1918, 1918-1920), where he discusses the original form of the Veda.

2 "Kalaka" (1916, 1918); "Vasuki[illegible]" (1918, 1919); "Ein Dramen die Epoche und Kultur" (Kurze Lit. [illegible] (Breslau, 1920); (Bergmann's Inaugural Address); "Jarudhna, King of the Yavana" (1919, 1, 1921); "Vipacchita-Pravahana" (1919?, 1921); "The Indian Stories of Apollonius of Tyana" (Archiv [illegible] der Kongl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Upsala [illegible] 1, 1922) 1922.

Production and Country Life[1] (vol., vol. [illegible]) [illegible] At this period he made use of his most valuable manuscript finds in the British Museum, which, incidentally, he was a frequent visitor. He tells us about this in his 'Preliminary Report on the Survey in Ireland [illegible]' (Brit. Rec. Mr. Ofcom, 1907) in [illegible], [illegible]. However, what matter experienced, and not until 1911—in a period of [illegible] and [illegible], when his achievement were strong still more substantiated—was he able to edit this work by an old Danish [illegible], which is so important for the history of Irish [illegible] and religion.[2] Meanwhile he had found time to prepare two other newly found manuscripts for publication, under the titles "A Treatise on Irish Demography from the Seventeenth Century (Brit. Rec. Mr. Ofcom 1908 [illegible]" ([illegible], III, [illegible]) and "The Irish Rec. Mr. Ofcom 1906, the common source of Baldwin and Dupper" (ibid.). In "William of Rotwick and Irish Sweet" (in [illegible] [illegible] Dublin 1910) [illegible] [illegible], one of the greatest of his time, [illegible] [illegible] good deal that is not [illegible] [illegible].

It is impossible to conclude an account of Ellingwood's life and work without [illegible] [illegible]. In fact, in many ways [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible], and [illegible].[3] One thought is his very original Works. [illegible] and critical judgment with a capacity to grasp the characteristics of an author, his position, and the relation between his mechanism and the material presented by [illegible] or others—yet the qualities they show [illegible] to deal in a good criticism. Characteristic personal [illegible] to a high degree, and he had, in addition, a humorous and sympathetic view of mind that made him [illegible] to praise rather than [illegible] with complete and [illegible] criticism. Although he was a Dane, he wrote a very good English, and he wrote with an extraordinary literary. To his friends it was a mystery how he found time for his many works.

1. A revised version of a similar paper in Danish Annales [illegible] Geographical, Dresden, for the year [illegible].

2. The Laws in Relic [illegible] Irish Dictionary (Brit. Rec. Mr. Ofcom 1911) in Public. Studies Dublin, [illegible] with an Introduction and Notes" (in Articles, original text [illegible] in Irish, Rhymes [illegible] [illegible]).

3. He also contributed to Philologica (Dresdenverlag, Dresden)

Personally Charpentier was an unusually resilient native Swede, who never strove to assert himself but rather kept himself in the background. His accounts, however, which he was always ready to place at the disposal of others, were, in fact, sufficiently concerned respect. He moreover possessed an extraordinary insight into human nature and a considerable share and clear-sighted judgment, which had weight in anything he might have to say. He looked upon life fellow-men with a humorous, sometimes rather sarcastic, eye, and he was, at least when in good health, at least an efficient and very jovial host to enjoy life. He was always true to his friends. He might sometimes seem to neglect his own interests, but he never forgot the welfare of his friends. He leaves a void which cannot be filled, and it may perhaps be felt even in India that with him not only a great lexicographer but also a sincere friend of the Indian people has passed into the Great Twilight.*

Karma Jigme

* The last article of Charpentier was published by us in vol. III of our journal.

A Proposal for the Compilation of a Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary

The compilation of a Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary suggested itself to European scholars some time ago, when the Buddhist Encyclopedias began to attract the attention of Sanskritists. These texts, so far unknown, the works of the philosophers of the Madhyamika school, proved to be very valuable in themselves and also for the study of Indian philosophy and culture in general. Unfortunately the Sanskrit originals in most cases are lost and we have preserved only in Tibetan and Chinese translations, from which they have to be reconstructed.

This translation-literature forms the basis of Chinese and Japanese Buddhistic philosophy, the terminology of which can only adequately be understood by tracing back the original Sanskrit terminology. In addition there have been a number of Chinese philosophers and early Pantheists and Buddhist scholiasts who wrote upon Indian, or Buddhist terms and adapted them to their own purposes. From pure Chinese Exegetics similar questions could provide without difficulty.

Remarkable attempts have already been made to provide for matter. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, the eminent Belgian scholar and pioneer in the field of Buddhistic studies, was the first to consider the importance of a comprehensive Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary and to suggest to his people the collecting of difficult words in order to prepare the ground. He has been followed by several scholars throughout the world. Together with other colleagues and the purely Chinese or Japanese Buddhist dictionaries, we possess already important preparatory material which can be arranged in three different parts:

(1) The syllabus of the current Sanskrit-terms used by Chinese and Tibetan translators.

(2) Sanskrit equivalents gained by comparative study of the Chinese versions of the same work.

(3) The Japanese dictionaries containing the bulk of terminological explanations and definitions obtained from the most important works of the Tripiṭaka, but with the exception of the phonetic transcriptions having no Sanskrit translation.

The above-named efforts are not sufficient, because

(1) The elements (Hiragana) are incomplete and often not reliable;

(2) The numerous rules and exceptions are limited to the syntactic concerning in one single book;

(3) The Japanese dictionaries serve another purpose.

Principally I feel that an attempt should be made to compile a standard Dictionary giving the syntactic forms for all the technical words (like to be understood in a wider sense covering in the vocabulary Dictionary, so far as available. Suitable material can only be collected by following the most important texts, of which both the Russian originals and the Chinese translations are preserved.

Considerable work has already been done, a part of the Indian based on, Buddhist but only to be included. It can be hoped that more will be accomplished in Taylor's old Agency in the course of the next three years. It also ought be that in other countries and regions work which would be useful.

As to the principal textual, the work actually falls into two different parts, namely, (1) the compilation of the word register, and (2) the compilation of the dictionary. (1) It is decided from the beginning to make a bibliographical work, which can need to print the indices separately. The work of collecting slips has not necessarily to be done by one only; some less experienced students can be used if they are trained according to a sound method, prepared from every slip is checked, as is done by Prof. Wogihara. Later on, I will consider the position of training students with regard to such a method.

It is evident that the reading and arranging of a Chinese compilation, the printing of Chinese characters and all other sorts of technical work can be best done in China or Japan. Only for another Sanskrit work Dictionary and Indian scholars are necessary, you also are familiar with the literature of Buddhist grammar and Indian dialects. Other work certainly can be done more cheaply and better in China.

W. Lammerson

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On a Tantric Fragment from Kucha (Central Asia)

Among the many manuscript fragments dug out from the Kucha oasis by the French mission to Central Asia ("Mission Pelliot") there appears a set of three complete leaves belonging to the Bough Text of the Mission as M. 171 (=[illegible]). It consists with most of three fragments. The handwriting, Indo-Brahmi, is in fine impress. One part of the text is Buddhist, often known and related, and the other part is written in the so-called Kuchean, the language that was spoken in the Kucha territory between the ninth and eighth centuries A.D. and seems to have been forgotten after that time. It is now well known that the old language of Kucha is a middle dialect of the Indo-European family, showing strange features of likeness with the Italo-Celtic branch. In the study of Kuchean has got (or rather can) in India, it may be interesting to bring before the Indian reader a specimen of this highly polished language which played most an important part in the spread of Indian culture, especially of Buddhism, among the Chinese and Turkish peoples. I may refer for particulars to an essay I have published long ago: "Die "Bibliotheca B" langen des Buddha, in Journal Asiatique, 1913, 11, 414-490, and concerning the whole of the question to a substantial review given by Dr. F. W. Bagchi in the Indian Historical Quarterly, X, 1, 189-200.

The text is evidently Tantric; it consists of different parts which may form parts portions of a larger work or may be as well short treatises grouped together by some copyist on account of their concerns elements

of black magic (abhicāra). The first two lines of the first page preserve, given, it seems, that such a ceremony at the beginning of the Nīla Line is almost certainly to be restored: prohibiting of a teacher having an enemies and magic conditions, as usual. Perhaps the word pūrbapūrbaviddhaṃ in the title of the chapter (the meaning may be: "Blessing [pūrbaviddhaṃ] or Bewitching [pūrbaviddha-pūrbaviddha] a cured treatment") that meaning may fit with the preceding sentence: "By magic to be taken, by [illegible] Uttarā pagoe [illegible]."

Thus comes a set of seven dishes, written in the form brahmanical, so badly that the scribe may be responsible for as many blunders against grammar and metrics. "I shall produce the Dhāraṇīkaṇḍa, killing all enemies, by which an enemy is put to death." The Dhāraṇīkaṇḍa opens with a hymn to the most incorporated omniscience of Śākya, starting with Namo [illegible] prudentness, sandal and Dhara, Kinnara, Hero Ulg of mountains and Dhāraṇīkaṇḍa. [illegible] a small gap, Vaiśravaṇa come to, and King Varuna, Dhanda (Dhanda) with Thoberu, the [illegible], the Yaksa, the Rākṣas, the Asuras, the Garuḍa, the Kinnaras, the Mahoraga, the Gandharva and lots of all "Dhāraṇī by whom the deeply [illegible] shaped (pratiṣṭhita). This deeply is very delighted, in horror like head of the serpent ", [illegible] having [illegible] mind, go, that (is one), his will, his wealth be destroyed." After that, one line of prose: "Bringing to the prying, to the [illegible] of the plough, of the [illegible], of the [illegible] the brightly-looking [illegible]" Again one [illegible] of imperative: "Ha, to whom I send the deeply, may he [illegible] his life! Thus are the magic words that, which all [illegible] obtained!" And then some of the salvic formulas, directed first to female deities of nature (vrkṣa and [illegible]), Dhāraṇīkaṇḍa, Vāhagāvalī, Vāgīśvarī, Vajrasaṃjñī, Dhāṇī, Śaṅkhāvatī, [illegible], to Dhāraṇī Śrīvalī, and to five to Bodhi, Pūrṇa, Bhaṇḍa, Dvīpa, Vīrya, Bahūvīra, Bhāṇḍa, Śrī, Śrīgarbhā, [illegible], Bhagavīra, Nīla, Bhāgavīra, Bhāṇḍ, Avalokita, Sarvakāla, Bahavīra, Bhāṇḍa, Bhāṇḍa, Bhāṇḍa, Bhāṇḍa, Dhāṇī, Bhāṇḍa (Śrī), Bhāṇḍavīra, Dhāṇī, Bhāṇḍa, Pūrṇa, some having the [illegible] of the girl, some his (Śrīya) wealth, all of the name being

followed by the apotropaic call: *ardhi!* "Thus (say the verbal charm) cracked (in conclusion) . . . This (Bodhisattva), as it is in solid, cannot be repelled. Homage to the aspect(?) of the Bodhisattva."[14]

The practical application of this charm is most taught in Kucchana, that is, in the current language of the country. In the present state of the manuscript, there are still many words the meaning of which is obscure or unknown, besides there are difficulties coming from the careless writing. The general trend of the operation is nevertheless perfectly clear.

"This is the practical application (*upaudra*) of this charm (*vajra-vidyā*).

1. In the Kuvīlā (*Kūvīra*), some (*sa-na-ka*) (*kalāpa*) (*vasanā*?) should be (*ulmulā*) with mustard. He, (*ayha*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) the hour. In (*ulmu*) in the fire with a (*ulmu*) (*ka*), (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*).

2. In the Bolyā (*Bolyā*), he who (*ulmu*) of (*ulmu*) to (*ulmu*) with the (*ulmu*) and the (*ulmu*), (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) day and night, (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) the (*ulmu*) in the fire with (*ulmu*), (*ulmu*) by (*ulmu*), (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) to his will.

3. In (*ulmu*), he who (*ulmu*) of (*ulmu*) to (*ulmu*) will (*ulmu*) people(?), (*ulmu*) many (*ulmu*) he (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) the (*ulmu*) in the fire with (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*), (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) to (*ulmu*) will.

4. In (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*), he who (*ulmu*) of (*ulmu*) to (*ulmu*) will a (*ulmu*) . . . (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) the (*ulmu*) in the fire, (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) to his will.

5. In (*ulmu*), he who (*ulmu*) of (*ulmu*) to (*ulmu*) will a (*ulmu*)(?) or a (*ulmu*)(?) being, (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) the (*ulmu*) in the fire of (*ulmu*) of (*ulmu*); (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) to (*ulmu*) will.

6. In (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*), he who (*ulmu*) of (*ulmu*) to (*ulmu*) will (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*), (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*), he (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) the (*ulmu*) in the fire, (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) to his will.

7. In (*ulmu*) . . . a (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) in the fire, (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) . . . . . .

8. In (*ulmu*) . . . . . a (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*), (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*).

9.10. (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*), (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*)? . . . a (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) in a fire, (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*)? . . . (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) . . . . (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*) (*ulmu*).

[illegible]. ——Arrow in the fire a lotus must be performed, the human kula.

[illegible]. In Bhaga, he who (without) submitting to (or will) a living being, he must perform a lotus in the fire with a flower ——; the human [illegible] submitted to his will).

[illegible]. In [illegible] should [illegible] a place of [illegible] must be [illegible] (Tantra?) at the door; the divided in [illegible].

[illegible]. In Vibhu, a place of [illegible] must be [illegible] (Tantra?) at the door; he with whom name he dies, he becomes ——; If it be [illegible] off, [illegible] (Dissolution from the [illegible]).

[illegible]. ——with human brains he must make a powder; (then that powder) a [illegible] doll (to make); afterwards (a doll), with a rough [illegible], (a head must be cut off) he with whom name he dies, he is not alive (is going to his loss).

[illegible]. In Parvaga——

[illegible]. (In Uttarabhai)——he must [illegible] (a mere) [illegible], he of whom face he sees (?), the man becomes——.

[illegible]. In [illegible], he must make a [illegible] (?) of [illegible] brass, he must give it (to?) a [illegible] (?) he will see [illegible]; but if the [illegible] is taken off, there is [illegible] (Dissolution from the [illegible]).

[illegible]. In [illegible], [illegible] he with whom name he performs of [illegible] of [illegible] in the fire, he, whenever [illegible] he [illegible], he [illegible] die.

[illegible]. In Pitrvaldhakrit, [illegible] to destroy his enemy, he must [illegible] of [illegible] he must make a male (?) and [illegible] (?) [illegible] hundred and eight times, he must [illegible] (?) in the fire; he with whom name he dies, in the time of one day (?) will go to his loss.

[illegible]. In [illegible], [illegible] all—he must perform a lotus in the fire; he with whom name he dies, in his by [illegible] he takes his life.

The first part in the Brihannila'tantra is finished."

The following part is probably the second part of the same work, as it consists of a similar mixture, and in the same way; but, since Buddhist ideas, first see, in spite of slight variants, the same we have found at the beginning of the first part; next, a long [illegible] of invocations, which (as usually) has preceded here by two lines on a preliminary rite, the whole of it is written in Sanskrit language.

Here are the verses:

"Now I worship Ocean and Himavat too, Many King of mountains, Sitta and Sumeru, Siva and Vaikuntaja both, power of ...Rishyas, Yama, Rudras, Tarca, Aloka! whose palace is designed by Gandharvas and Apsaras, Brahmā also I adore, by whom the depth has been found. The Life is a drop, a dewdrop of the mouse ...Brightness. I send you, you, pomegranate rank and such a land.

Homage to Brahmāni! to Brahmadeva! to the lotus, bearer of the plough, the wind, the sun, sitting with seven, spears, jewels, of many hues!

Homage to Māmaki and Māmakiva, to Rishyas boys and Rishyas girls, to the Rishyas teachers, to the Māmaka adepts, to the Rishyas ...to the Rishyas (in-law?), to the Rishyas servants, (by) all who are Vijyalhaca! Homage to Vaisravana the Māmaka king, to the Rishyas gods to Dhāmāna the Rishyas king, to the perfect saint! Homage to the Pātrāhaca, to the spirit, to the Māmaka king!

E.E. ..., ..., ...! O Māmakapāla, you giving orders to the Māmaka; Rāmaka, you ...! ... the ... Test (me)! That you will not be an obstacle to my way! Homage! Bum-homage! Two having a bolt like a jewel [illegible] Kāmapāsaka! Kāmapāsaka! Vajra! Māmaka! The ...ing Vajra of heaven! Two dwelling in the mandala! Two leading to (heaven) and (hell)! Two abiding in the wind! Two...crossing the Ocean! Vāyu! ...! Kāmaka! Two, Shah (Shah)! Hā! hā! hā! hā! ...! hā! hā! ...! (In Kashmir:) This formula is Shah (Shāhi) is to be only seven times from the beginning.

(Again in Sanskrit:) Homage to the Rishyas! to the Rishyaghna!...boys...girls...teacher...adepts! (or: chief) to the Māmakapāla! to the white man of the Māmaka to the black man of the Māmaka! to the possessor (possessed) of the Rishyas!...christmas... ...mahatta... Vāsudāna... Vāsuchita... gaha... Tchāsha... ...pachat ...! ...rāt...rāsh... ...King (or chief)! Having worshipped, I shall employ this vidyā. Thus this vidyā may remain for my sake! Phat! hā! hā! hā! hā! hā! hā! ...! hā! hā! hā! ...! ...! hā! hā! ...! ...! hā! hā! ...! ...

[illegible] [illegible]! [illegible]! [illegible]!

[illegible] in the latter catalogue published in [illegible] under the title: Government Collections of Mss. Tibetan Collegio, Peking, an unnamed appendix of this Bodhisattva, in the Correspondence Table of Mss. given at the end of the volume, n° [illegible] of the Tibetan (Tibetanslag) Collection corresponds with the new serial number [illegible] which is described in [illegible] as [illegible]. Whatever may be this [illegible], the Bodhisattva is certainly some Dhyānī-[illegible] work of the Indian class, and has nothing to do with our Bodhisattvakalpa. That Rites entitled the so-called Bodhisattva in the Tantra literature is clearly shown by a passage of the Mahāyānābhidhāna, Tokyo edition, p. [illegible]: After a conjuration in order to realize Vajrapāṇi, the [illegible] [illegible] Vajrapāṇi [illegible] Avalokiteśvarakalpa [illegible] Bhagavatī [illegible] Bodhisattvakalpa [illegible] Kālacakrakalpa [illegible] [illegible] "This rite is also good for other Vajrādhipatis, as [illegible] the rites in the Vajrapāṇikalpa, in the Avalokiteśvarakalpa, from that have been taught by Bhagavatī, from in the Bodhisattvakalpa, in the Kālacakrakalpa, briefly in mantras and [illegible] kalpas, they are united by this very meditation." It may be that the Kālacakra kalpa was referred to as Bodhisattvakalpa in much of the Bodhisattvakalpa. Bodhisattvakalpa means "Bodhisattva's attack," which is considered as a mythic weapon; and a Bodhisattva's attack, must the penalty inflicted by a Bodhisattva, specially a curse, which is the deadly weapon of the Bodhisattva. In the Buddhistic rules of the Vinaya, the word has come to denote the highest punishment of a Bhikṣu, a sort of temporary [illegible]. Here it means a magic weapon used to kill enemies, taught by the god Bodhisattva himself.

I shall not enter into the Chronicles of the many names given to this evil Bodhisattva. I shall only mention the name of the Brāhmaṇa who practised over the mental [illegible] and whose practice is to be found inside the mandala. He is called Bhāskarajīvī. The same opinion first in the opening Gāthā, after a long set of invocations addressed to all sorts of evil Bhūtagṛhas. Who these Bhūtagṛhas are is evidenced by the mention of Tīrthakāra Bhūtagṛhas, [illegible], [illegible] Vināyaka Bhūtagṛhas. The Bhūtagṛhas are Gaṇādhipa; therefore we are dealing here with Gaṇa-based forms of worship which necessitates are acting as priests. This

in the same world where we are natural on the Buddhist side with the celebrated Bhagavad-Gita, a Tibetan translation of which dates as early as the end of the second century, and another dates in the twelfth of the third century. A long Bundhi version of it has been preserved in the magnificent Bodhidharma Avadana. The Bhikshu who has given his name to Ibn-al-Muqaffa' Bhagavad-Gita, the Bhagavad-Bodhi (evident in our text as Tindyd's author). And this Bhikshu himself very probably has hidden under the Bodhisattva (only who is mentioned in the first Bodhisattvabodhi, p. 5, l. 1, and who certainly has nothing in common with the Pandit of the philosophical aphorism. Bhikshu-Bodhi seems to be one of the many wild forms of Deva; it may be that his name was derived from the garbled (sic!) and the shall (sic!) were by several hands (sic!), as Pilgrim, for instance. In fact, the text itself tells us that "this is to be the karma from his garbled of certain "Brahma".

As to the rites, first are of the usual religious type, and it would be idle to collect long passages of Sutra, Sastra, or Tantra or texts having for some subject. But the connection established here between particular subjects and particular questions or religious ways to be a quite unusual feature. At best, I could not find anything alike in the many Tibetan I have consulted. When applied to Sutra, as Ivi as I can notice, it is the least general rule, concerning classes of signs (such as dhvaj, yupa), etc.—but no particular practices; such is, for instance, the long passage of the Bhadrabodhidaya, chap. LVIII, p. 179 sqq. Even Vajra I quote a few lines to strike to show the fundamental difference with our Kachaun text:

> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible], etc.—

I feel interest in the Discipline Chapter of the Sanskrit Bra.

1. It may be that the connection of religious with scientific practices was facilitated by the apparent proximity of the word mahatma with the Kyshma (and not, antiquarian—Mana; only meaning "destruction"); mahatma—"the dialectic" (cf. Bergson's work—not, Mind, Ser., some analysis).

published in *Kokka*, vol. VII, 1896, p. [illegible], n. [illegible], a review of a Sanskrit work written in Tibetan characters, entitled as [illegible], which cannot be but of the same family as our text. The review says: "In the details of black magic intended to injure enemies, [illegible] being appropriately related to the 27 constellations known in Indian astrology: *Gangdan* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Shortly Tsotchen offered another opportunity for Hiuen Tsang to manifest his antipathy. The king of Khotan, Rnam-thos-sras-rtsan-lcang, between the years 632-645, received the visit of the Chinese army to Kucha, lit. *yi yüan*, presented through Liu Ta the Imperial Hsiao a request for obtaining a Tibetan translation of Lao tse's classical work, the Tao te King. The Emperor appointed a committee of Buddhist and Taoist scholars to prepare this translation. Hiuen Tsang, who had just come back from India in 645, was a member of the committee; he opposed the project to produce the work (see P. Pelliot, Autour d'une traduction ancienne du Tao te king, in T'oung Pao XXII, 1923, pp. 354-400). The king Rnam-thos-sras-rtsan pleased the king of Khotan a Chinese origin; his first ancestor, he said, was a spirit who had come from China through the sky. His country, Khotan, has been for many centuries one of the most sacred grounds for Buddhism. On the other hand, Taoism, whatever it may have been at its origin, had already become the very exclusive system of magic (interpreted with philosophical metaphors) a Chinese parallel of Indian Tantrism. The T'ang emperors, in spite of their Buddhistic zeal, had a special, rather a family-feeling for Taoism. There are likely the reasons that moved Rnam-thos-sras-rtsan to promoting his request.

Kucha was a Buddhist place for the spreading of both systems. Chinese evidence goes to prove that. Here about the Sixth Century Buddhist culture on the West and Chinese culture on the East met, my paper, La "Tablette B", Sogdien de Kouchan, in Journal Asiatique, 1948, 37, 241-260. It is not at all excluded that the sudden expansion of Taoism in the eighth century may have resulted from a blending of the two religions. I had already an opportunity to call the attention on this point when reading of the local deities in Nepal (Le Népal, étude historique d'un royaume hindou, vol. I, 1905, p. 349 sq.). The Buddhist working acknowledges among its regular authorities the "Sutras of Chou, Hsiao-Hsiao-Hsiao. The Hsiao-Hsiao-Hsiao, I referred that to the Hsiaoshen, as much as it was known, is not through Beauprend (Gaubil's Notices of Buddhist sect). The Tibetan Lao tsze has published by the Vereeniging Boeddhistische Studie, 1944; the editor, A. K. Maitre, has also given to us Japanese parallel passages from the Kuchiyamada and the Hsiaoshen texts. The Chinese

of the text, in the India office by Sappiniya, part II, c' [illegible], pp. [illegible], gives an analysis of the [illegible], called also [illegible], Chhindaloma, in T popular tale which has as its peculiar feature the employment of a [illegible] of [illegible], "the Hollow tree"; such a practice seems to imply that the [illegible] cult is some form Chinese. Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) who had studied a good deal of Tantric literature, aptly observes in the Preface to the *Principles of Tantra*, p. [illegible], n. 1: "It is noteworthy that both in the [illegible] and [illegible] (a work in itself full of significance) are two chief objects in the Indian Tantra which are alleged to be non-Aryan importations" and again (*ibid.*, p. [illegible]) he quotes a passage of the [illegible] where the first mark is given to China: "Dhanaharanga standing of Cow, Kalantra, Sapta, Kimsuka, Dravida, [illegible], Angu, Vanga, Kalinga, Sauvira, Bhagalla, Pakvila, Uttada and other countries and territories." That the Indian pride would give up in favour of China, as it had to the earlier Indian Tantras in antiquity, follows as it follows that Hinduism (Solution) and Buddhist Asia (Fixa) authors had been strongly influenced on the 19th of Tantric literature.

[illegible] Rites

It may not be superfluous to add here that the Pelliot Marvin Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, contains two other fragments of Tantric works; in the rough list of Rich, they are catalogued as PM 44, 1 and 46, 2. They are both in cursive and two [illegible] are utilizing them. The first one, in a very coarse handwriting, contains two lines of Sanskrit, three of Khotanese, but it is impossible to say whether the Khotanese is a translation of the Sanskrit; on the reverse there are two lines in Sanskrit, which are certainly parts of Dhāraṇīs, some reader may choose to identify them:

> Ai gaṇa kuru/Kumaṇ ādhi vikyam hanya na vikyam...
>
> Ai ...mana ki ramdar thar na ta dar[illegible] k.....

Beneath there is a strange drawing which may be roughly described as a square with four protruding wings coming from angles, on the top

the "Kulaka; words ...for verse: I am...", before which remain the Chinese characters go "to be" probably the translation of verse: "I am ...", and beneath the dotting the Sanskrit-Brahmi words

to gilgam pale

dalpa

"Not make a pale dalpa (a vessel of brass)".

The other fragment speaks of drinking wine oil...and [illegible] [illegible] in the oil. Next line says: "I shall say the spirits of Vir", and after follows where is the spirits: mentioning something...[illegible]...

Of the Tantras of Central-Asian readers for Tantric texts, nothing is given by the Tantrik texts included in the Bonn [illegible], edited by Ehrle, coming also from Khotan, where it was dug out from a Buddhist stupa; the writing seems to denote the second half of the fourth century. A small fragment of a Tantrik work, containing medicine and mantra, has also been published by Ehrle in "Three further Collections of Central-Asian texts, [illegible], [illegible] pp. [illegible]

K. III. 1.

(TEXT TRANS)

(a) 1. ...[illegible]...

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

i. [illegible]

ii. [illegible]

(Ii) 1. [illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] [illegible]

ii. [illegible]

i. [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

III. III. B.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
[illegible] | [illegible] |
[illegible]

5. [illegible] | [illegible] |
[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
[illegible] | [illegible] |

Ki 1. — [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. ...ka | ...ana-...ṭiṭe, ...-...ṭiṭe, ...-...ṭiṭe | ...ṭiṭe | ...ṭiṭe |

Religious Policy of Aurangzeb

(1) Court Ceremonials

When Aurangzeb became the king of India, Muslim theology triumphed in life. 'An opinion from he had taken the attitude of a strict Sunni fanatic in over a hundred-fold in religion.'[1] His conversion to the divine is marked by the Muslim colouring of the court and the court ceremonies.

To begin with, Aurangzeb discontinued the use of the solar Ilahi year for the purpose of counting his regal years.[2] Aurangzeb could have liked to supplant the Ilahi year for all purposes but his use of a lunar Hijra year was found to create difficulties in administrative affairs. It was decided therefore to begin every regal year from the 1st of Ramazan. Thus the use of the Ilahi year continued in close from the lost 1668 Aurangzeb went on celebrating his solar birthday as well.[3] The Almanac-maker may often give Ilahi dates as well. There are some other Persons of prominence bearing both the dates.[4]

In the second year he discontinued the celebration of the solar new year.[5] The official historian suggested (wrongly) that it had been followed by an unofficial celebration by Persian kings.

In his eleventh year court singers were ordered to be present at court (large words and dancing exhibition were forbidden. After some time even their presence was dispensed with. Aurangzeb continued instrumental music in the court at least till the eleventh year.[6]

The eleventh year also saw the discontinuance of the practice of the 'Darshan-darsan.' Abul Fazal had put the practice on a

1. Khafi Khan, ii, 180, 226.
2. Khafi Khan, ii, 1, Scott, 180, 186.
3. Ali, Gazetta actually of Indian Dominions on these occasions.
4. Cf. Saqi Mustaid Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgir the Mughal King's year as Divine was Ilahi months vii, p. 187.
5. Kaviz, 186.
6. Khafi Khan, ii, 212, 221.
7. Khafi Khan, ii, 196.

government, having by constructing roads for the public before the salutation [illegible]. To Aurangzeb it seemed to smack of human worship. This he severely sought to discourage. But unfortunately this deprived the subjects of an opportunity for making offers for their grievances when every other avenue of approach to the emperor was barred to them.[1]

In the twelfth year weighing of the emperor's body against gold, silver and various other commodities was also given up.[2] Even when Aurangzeb lay dying he prevented giving charity wrought away rather than [illegible] the Holy canons.[3] But he sustained believing in the efficacy (in warding off evil and evil consequences) this short cut to obtaining happiness in this world in one of his greatness.[4] Most of the prisons contained celebrating Holy Jubilee by Publicity.[5]

It seems to avoid the Subjects on the other being failed by the handling of the Holy Ok stopping on the other were abolished.[6] Thus Aurangzeb modified the tradition and the practice of Rajahs kings probably because he thought that those taxes were based for supporting the Hindus, but most had a prohibition the predominant majority of which are non-Hindus.

Aurangzeb was [illegible] participating in the celebration of the Hindu festival of Dussera at Kaji in Rajasthan. Rajkumar Singh and Raja Jai Singh, were also. The chief Historian described it as the Hindu festival. Aurangzeb gave gifts to the Hindu Rajas who were present at the occasion. Among the recipients of his order of honours or military commanders on the day of the Dussera the names of Raja Jai Singh, Kunwar Ram Singh, Rananja Jaswant Singh and Kunwar Prithvi Singh are mentioned by the official historian.[7]

1 Sarkar, [illegible], his present author's summary in the Journal of Indian History, vol. XIV, p. 76.

2 Khafi Khan and Khafi-Lubaqab, Saqibu Ilma (qadi) Kashmir Dwaghni, who was in Kaul in 1666, was that on November 2, every year the emperor was weighed, 100.

3 Khafi Khan, II, 100.

4 Jadunath Sarkar, [illegible], 27.

5 Sarkar, No. 10.

6 Khafi Khan, II, 71; Sarkar, 100.

7 Sarkar, 100, 101.

The ceremony of the Hindu Raja was abrogated by the emperor's making the sacred sign (Tilak) on the forehead of the new Raja if he was present at the court. Under Shah Alam this duty had been delegated to the prime minister. Aurangzeb herself identified the practice of tipsy in 1679 probably on account of the Tilak being a Hindu sacred symbol.[16]

In the beginning of the twelfth year, royal astrologers and astrologers were dismissed. It was a part of their duty to counsel the Imam (one other years, forbidden tables of auspicious and lucky days) consult in payment of sacred salaries. The customary deputations presented against their dismissal on this score left without expert guidance in the correct reckoning of the months and days. Their priority was ignored because one of the duties of the astrologers was to provide auspicious hours for the performance of different works which, on account of their religious Hindu, were done according to the Hindu astrology. This may be regarded as the source of his partial or full [illegible] part of the administration. But we read that Aurangzeb expressed Muslim astrologers for being hours.[17] This the superstition gave way to practice. In 1218 (1703-1704) making of almanacs was also forbidden.[18] In the twenty-first year (1679) [illegible] silver was removed from the coins. Silver [illegible] which were [illegible] on the bridge of [illegible] silver coins were discontinued. Silver salvers were used for bringing in money what it was to be given to any one. This was discontinued, which bring the flow of silver down. Mourners and use of the cloth of gold in the royal workshop were stopped (Khafi, 332).

(2) *Social Regulations*

Besides the discriminating Hindu practices in his court, Aurangzeb tried to reform other ways as well to impose a Muslim way of life on his people. Previously a part of it implied evaluation of certain social evils as well. Prohibition and public sale of wine were, under Muslim

16 Bhimsen (Khafi), 178.
17 Bom. Gazet (Ind) August 31, 1901.
18 Khafi Khan, II, 314, 330.
19 Bhimsen (Khafi), 1, 186.

[illegible], prohibited.[illegible] Wherever had brought in an evil innovation among the religious order Shah Jahan[illegible] Nadim Jahangir and Shah Jahan Aurangzeb was not intimate enough with [illegible] to [illegible] them. A special department was created—that of the religious censor—which was entrusted with the task of enforcing prohibition on the people.[illegible] Where a criminal was apprehended, he was only whipped if he was a first offender. On repeating his offence, however, he was imprisoned [illegible] he repented of his evil ways.[illegible] But all the prohibitions of the state backed by religious censorship failed to root out the evil. In 1667 the army of Bhoj-i-Kolaj was reported to be rioting heavily in city reports.[illegible] On April 10, 1668 a Bajpai Brahmin was ordered to be transformed for drinking.[illegible] A Sikh gave a Prince that sale of milk was lawful whereupon a proclamation ordered it to be sold. This was reported to the emperor who rightly sentenced the prince for following a heretic doctrine.[illegible] A Pandit-cum (necessitate of a text) was reported upon to be getting drunk by the touch of a child and burning with them. He was ordered to be brought to circle to the imperial presence.[illegible] On May 6, 1668 Naik Bow Singh Bhoja and many others were imprisoned for drinking.[illegible] In February, 1708 it was reported that when he arrived in the Bazar-Brahmins, whom upon on February 19 the Bazar was shifted and the Brahmins were ordered to remove their tents to the neighbourhood of the imperial fence.[illegible] Again in August 1708, it was reported that wine was being openly sold in the camps of some of the Brahmins. On August 24, 1710 the camps were ordered to stop it.[illegible] On June 5, 1711

[illegible] Cf. the present writer's article on Shah Jahan's Religious policy, IHR., vol. III, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Shivdas, 11, 9.

[illegible] Khafi Khan, II, 1; Kamta, 111, 186.

[illegible] Mirat-i-Ahmadi, 1, 96.

[illegible] Khafi Khan, II, 186.

[illegible] News Letter dated April 1, 1668.

[illegible] Letter No. 10. [illegible] Letter No. 12.

[illegible] News Letter dated May 1, 1668.

[illegible] News Letter dated February 10, 1708.

[illegible] News Letter dated August 24, 1710.

the minister reported to the court against the uselessness of the Bankhrolum of Jaipur or Fatehpur Fort were *Aurangzeb*.[27] Even the highest officers dared.[28]

The provincial governors were ordered to strengthen the hands of the minister by saying that intoxicants were not openly sold.[29] But it was not found possible to enforce complete prohibition, the Queen had already advocated tea (*ca*) to be capable of an easy remedy. But all honour to *Aurangzeb* for attempting even this impossible. We should however remember that, forbidden by the Hindu religion and Islam, as it was, this support from the state would have kept many men from drinking wine. *Aurangzeb* even prohibited the use of roads that looks to the mind to, according to Islam, encouraged drinking. Dancers Girls were also prohibited.[30]

One very important cause of the failure of these regulations was the privileges usually granted to the Europeans to drink wine and use it. Many Europeans were appointed as gunners in the imperial artillery. When prohibition was enforced on them under Khafi Khan, one of them in a fit of passion hurled at his (the judge). When remonstrated against, he declared that this was due to the fact that he had not had a drink. Petitions were then given King and other Europeans to make their own wine.[31] In the reign of *Aurangzeb* a group of Europeans sent by Rajaram Khan and Tegh Khan was reported to have violated the general imperial enactments forbidding drinking.[32]

[27] From Letter dated June 9, 1706.

[28] Jafar Khan, who was the most long years the imperial reach (1696 to 1702) was publicly known to drink. In *Aurangzeb's* correspondence with him, he declared that "by drinking wine he got right his acting power for sending the pen to the service of his Majesty, but strength to his feet to rise to work when his Majesty called." (Shawm, II, 127). A letter to Muhammad Taki Nawaski of a place at Agra treated him against the prominent role of drinks in the jama under his control and called upon him to take action against the offenders as pain at imperial displeasure. (Ruqa-i-Muhammad, 95, 96). The Red Dead Khan, sent in consequence of an expedition to Bengalis in 1706, drinking openly to the health of the King of England. (A Franc of Bengal Infra, 96.)

[29] *Ruqa-i-Muhammad*, 9.

[30] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 88.

[31] Shawm, I, 141.

[illegible] Hindus discussed that no action against them was likely to be effective. This was then reported to the emperor who ordered that they be allowed to drink according to their religion and practice. They were not however permitted to sell wine. These orders seem to have been circulated to the camps in different parts of the empire.[46] In this way, way in one date exceptional permission for the pleasure of those who were addicted to wine, particularly because the Europeans could make easy money that way. Aurangzeb had resigned, yet he outside the city in Kottapatta in order to guard against their corrupting the morals of the people. Now and then a Bigoted case of this sort was discovered, when the offender would be arrested and imprisoned.[47] It is not surprising therefore to find Manucci asserting that there were few who did not drink secretly, even the chief Qazi, whom Aurangzeb believed to be honest, drinking Manucci's wine secretly.[48]

Further Aurangzeb ordered that prostitutes and dancing girls should retire to the towns like temples.[49] This order however does not seem to have been much enforced. The difficulties of carrying it out were even greater. The great soldiers kept very large harems where if they wanted they could keep male-girls. In fact, there is large number of dancing girls for their self-indulgence.[50] The order seems to have been modified as the camps were ordered to put down prostitutes and bawdy-houses.[51] This again seems to have worked nothing. In the eighth year orders were issued prohibiting the promotion of prostitutes.[52] Gangoo who was in front in 1668 found many dancing girls and prostitutes there.[53]

[illegible] Khafi Khan, 96.

[illegible] Manucci, II, 316, 320; Gangoo, 14; Scanlon, 1, 19, mentions that one could obtain wine at Lahore. He supplied two bottles of Malaga wine to the open street in Patna 'because in this country one does not drink and with perfect liberty' vol. I, 180.

[illegible] Manucci, II, 9, 4 (sic), 20.

[illegible] Khafi, I, 101; Gang, Nama, 16.

[illegible] Khafi, I, 108.

[illegible] Manucci, II, 5.

[illegible] Gangoo, 18.

singing, in brinks public musical parties as well very early in his reign.[86] Even religious music on the day of the Prophet's birth was prohibited. There were some Rajas, however, who would not give it up. One such was Bhakta Tulpa, Chief. When the orders for putting down musical assemblies reached Jahanabad, the emperor Bibas Singh tried to persuade it on him as well. He refused, however, to obey his position were for a king, particularly when as a prince he had been one of his fortunes. The emperor then tried force, but his place looking out, the Shaikh and his followers were armed to the assembly. This Shaikh was published Aurangzeb but the friend through whom it was said did not present the petition. At last a letter of complaint found its way to the emperor who ordered that the matter be referred him to have the Shaikh slain.[87] This order to have been followed by a general relaxation in favour of the Rajahs religious necessities. But there was one theologian who had as much upset with the prevalence of musical services on the middle of the night that he determined to remonstrate without holding that such services brought the terms of the admission of their guests.[88] Until the suppression of crude is general, there yet seems to have continued long. We find a theologian being put to the trouble of making dark seats in the street (Chowk)—of course because the pious might take no notice.[89] In the matter of laying down the law Aurangzeb certainly the problem as well. They include restrictions on the Hindus only. Towards the end of his reign Aurangzeb had to send a special order to put down the practice of the hereditary singers of Rajkot who pounded their profession by addressing the Governor and high officials in Rajkot.[90]

Aurangzeb further tried to rule the Indians of the day by various measures. The allowable height of the beard was fixed at 4 fingers and orders were given to cut down any extra length whatever found. It was one to believe Bernier's account of a crowd with almost

[86] Khafi, II, 3.
[87] Khafi Khan, Supplement, English Translation, 70.
[88] Khafi Khan, II, 100. H. Beal, II, 80.
[89] Khafi Khan, Supplement, 70.

was mutilated, which was upset, smashed, and not idolatrous hearts under the command of the cruel and his subjects.[26] As was his arrival, the poor suffered most. The nobles were left alone. But such as had to appear in his court dared not come imperial orders by such unusually cruel.

Further, garments of cloth of gold were forbidden in the twelfth year.[27] The length of the turbans to be worn official order was prescribed in the twenty-first year.[28] When princess Pulkar Bhanumal was discovered to be attending the mosque in an unsuitable attire he was reprimanded.[29] Shaikh Ilam, Diwan Khalsa, was found to attack with a dagger with a lower handle. When this was pointed out to plaintiff he had no alibi. A new another dagger worth Rs. 177/- was given to him on August 5, 1692.[30]

On Hindu and Muslim festivals, hymns of birth, marriage, and some and women used to be made of silk for the delight of the children. This representation of living beings was considered unlawful and orders were given for its suppression in Ramzan, 1666.[31]

On Thursday nights, time as usual, lamps used to be lighted on the tombs of the saints and other persons respected in their days by the people. Aurangzeb stopped these practices.[32]

The wine manufacturers of Chandpur had constituted a close community and did not allow others to practise their trade. On complaints being received against them and permission for playing Gaya trade being sought for by outsiders, the dealers were consulted who had down that the monopoly was not allowable under the teaching. The industry was thereupon thrown open in 1692 A.D. (1103 A.H.).[33]

Sometimes after a change in the original law of the land was mentioned. Deities in the state, mostly defaulters in land revenue and state servants, used to be imprisoned and their property attached. It was discovered that this was against the tradition which mentioned

22. Shamim, 13, 1 and 6.
23. Shamim, 22.
24. Ibid., 1, 100.
25. Ibid., 16.
26. Shah-i-Jahan-nama, Inner No. 101.
27. Ibid., 1, 100.
28. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, 1, 100.
29. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, 1, 102, 103.

only hypothetical. Orthodox were Muslims, given that the property of idolaters should not be admitted.[illegible]

Aurangzeb made several regulations for the purpose of controlling private Hindu life in state. The desire of the Muslim law however gave their decisions, against it and the practice was therefore [illegible].[illegible]

(4) Hindus in the public service

Akbar opened the ranks of the Mughal administration to the Hindus and Muslims alike, with the result that out of 127 living mansabdars of 1000 and above, fourteen were Hindus at the time the Ain was completed.[illegible] Twelve Jahangir, out of 67 mansabdars of 3000 and above, six were Hindus.[illegible] In Shah Jahan's reign the number of mansabdars was very much increased. At the end of year 31, there were 366 mansabdars of 1000 and above, out of which 30 were Hindus.[illegible] When the war of succession broke out, Mahabat Khan, Raja of Jodhpur was the premier noble of the empire holding the status of Khan Khanan and 800 horses out of which 3000 were Do Aspa and 500 Sesa Aspa (holding two or three horses). He was held the highest office which was open to an Imperial subject. In the revenue department, many Rai-i-Rayan Rajahs Hindu was the Imperial revenue minister at this time.

Thus when aurangzeb deprived the right of Hindu forces to allow them to dispute for him, the Hindus occupied a very important position in the public service of the empire.

In the subordinate ranks they monopolized the revenue and accounts departments. The Kanungos had an duty for doing routine work and conducted in actual the state revenue by joining the array. Besides this the personal secretaries of most of the secretary heads were also Hindus.

[illegible] Khafi Khan, II, 341. [illegible] Khafi Khan, II, 341.
[illegible] Jahangir's Memoirs of the Emperor in vol. II.
[illegible] Bernier, Indo European Travelers, p. 78.
[illegible] Shahjahan 29th; 7th. [illegible] the Religious Policy of Shah Jahan in the present series in the [illegible], vol. [illegible], pp. [illegible].

Such were the problems which Aurangzeb claimed the empire. Unfortunately for us we have no detailed official history of Aurangzeb's reign. Mohammad Kazim was allowed to write the history of the first ten years only. The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* and the *Waqaiat-i-Aurangzeb* do not give us the detailed account of the reign, the standard for which was set by Kazim. Of course there are the voluminous Jaipur Records and the Firaq Letters of Aurangzeb's reign. But from them we can only derive fragmentary glimpses. The merit is that it is a rather difficult to assess the position of the Hindus in the public services of his reign.

I have compiled the following list of the Hindu mansabdars in Aurangzeb's reign mainly from the *Alamgir Nama*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, *Waqaiat-i-Aurangzeb*, the Firaq Letters of Aurangzeb's reign and the Jaipur Records. I am thankful to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar for kindly allowing me to use his transcripts of the Firaq Letters and the Jaipur Records. This list includes all mansabdars of 1000 and above, during his entire reign.

Commanders of 7000

1. Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur.
2. Dilawar Khan[illegible] Singh of Jodhpur.
3. Rao Kirat, Singh's grandson and a cousin of the emperor.

Commanders of 6000

4. Mohamma Raj Singh of Kotah.
5. Kartalab } Chiefs of Kotah.
6. Sarbul Bahadur } Brothers.

Commanders of 5000

7. Bagdhal (only for a short period).
8. Bhoja, Singh's Dewan(?), died. After Bhoja's escape from Agra in the Deccan. He sought freedom by becoming a Shaikh. It is interesting to note that his name was then changed to a Muhammadan name of 1000, as he was afraid to be Hindu's non-Muhammadan.
9. Rupi Bhim Singh of Bundi.
10. Bhim Sh Singh of Kota.
11. Rup Sen Singh of Jaipur.
12. Abhaya Karan, Singh's son-in-law.
13. Mohamma Ari Singh of Udaipur.
14. Mohamma Amar Sing II, of Udaipur.
15. Prem Nawab of Orchha (in the Deccan).
16. Bhikji.
17. Jagdis.
18. Bhagat Banaras.
19. Bhoja.
20. Bhikhan.

Commanders of 4000

21. Raja Chuda Sen Bundela.
22. Ramesh Sing, son of Gokula.

12. Jodhpur Rathi.
13. Kotwaji.
14. Raja Indra Dev of Dhandhera.
15. Raja Mohan Singh of Amber.
16. Raja Rai Singh Rathor.

Commanders of 1000

17. Raja Bhoja of Bhawar (Pratap).
18. Raja Indar Singh.
19. Pilu Singh Rathor.
20. Raja Gajsingh Sisu.

Commanders of 1000

21. Rao Rup Singh of Kishan Garh.
22. Raja Fateh Singh Rathor.
23. Rao Gajpat Rathor.
24. Raja Jagdev Pawar, Regional Deputy [illegible].
25. Rao Dhar Singh Bada.
26. Tirna Sri Bundela.
27. Dinga Dev Rathor (Ex a short period only).
28. Raja Kirat Singh (Lachwala, son of Raja Jai Singh of Amber).
29. Krishna Dhaj Bundi.
30. Rao Kara Sharma of Bhawar.
31. Tilaj Dev.
32. Jaisingh.
33. Pandit Dhanda. He was a zamindar of [illegible] under Bhaj Gahra. In Aurangzeb's reign he had a salary of Rs. 10,000 a year.
34. Nawab Singh.
35. Rao Dalip Singh of Unda.

Commanders of 1000

36. Rao [illegible] Dass.
37. Raja Fort Singh Bundela of Tirna.
38. Pilu Bhagwan Singh Rathor.
39. Anop Singh Gaurkhed.
40. Raja Jaso Singh of Kota, son of Raja Kishor Singh.
41. Raja Jaswant Singh Dhandar of Bhawar.
42. Durga Das.

Commanders of 2000

43. Raja Ari Singh (II) of Amber.
44. Raja Bidar (Bir), Bhawar Jaya.
45. Rao Tilawar Singh of Indar (Pratap).
46. Pritam Singh Rathor.
47. Chatra Singh Bhadoria.
48. Rao Chaur.
49. Rai Singh Sisu.
50. Dalel Singh, son of Raja Prem Singh of Jaisalmer (Deceased).
51. Jajaji.
52. Mankoji.
53. Bhoji.
54. Chur Bir.
55. Pangji.
56. Rao Jagat Singh Dhaka.
57. Ajit Bhi, Prem's Son.
58. Bahadur Singh, Raja Bhoja Indian.

Commanders of 1500

59. Anop Singh Bundela of Bangar.
60. Rao Mohal Singh Bundela.
61. Dhuj(ra) Bundela.
62. Dhar Singh of Gwalior.
63. Raja Fateh Chand.
64. Rao Sarandhar of Sunnara.
65. Rai Singh.
66. Gandhaj Chohan.
67. Anop Singh of Bawar.
68. Raghunath Singh Rathor.
69. Dalel Singh Bundela.
70. Bhar Singh, son of Raja Raj Singh Rathor.
71. Mukuth Ram Rathor.

[illegible] Raghunath Singh Bhoman.
[illegible] Rai Sawanand.
[illegible] Raja Indar Man Bundela.
[illegible] Nimbalkar Bhonsle.
[illegible] Dabaji.
[illegible] Ramchand.
[illegible] Rao Aniruj Singh of Bikaner.
[illegible] Rao Sridhan Singh Sandu.

Commanders of 3000

[illegible] Bhagwan Singh Sandu.
[illegible] Raja Mulu Singh Shekhawat of Bhadawaj.
[illegible] Raja Prithvi Singh Gaurhawat of Unnao.
[illegible] Raja Dhir Singh of Dhandu (Punjab).
[illegible] Raja Kishan Singh of Bandhu.
[illegible] Raghu Nath Kunwar.
[illegible] Bhandar Dass Bhatia.
[illegible] Kishan Singh, [illegible] of Kunwar Jaswant Singh.
[illegible] Rattan Singh Bhadauriya.
[illegible] Bhoop Singh, son of Tilokch Singh.
[illegible] Khiri Ray Sisodia.
[illegible] Dhira Singh, son of Raja Prithvi Singh of Srinagar (Garhwal).
[illegible] Kanthaka, son of Rana Raj[illegible] of Nagore.
[illegible] Bhawani Dass Bhadur.
[illegible] Bura Singh, son of Karan Singh Bundela.
[illegible] Bhir Singh, son of Bura Singh Bundela.
[illegible] Bhoj Sahi Bundi.
[illegible] Bhawani Dass.
[illegible] Anpal Singh Bundela.
[illegible] Arjun Gaur.
[illegible] Dhuj Bal, son of Raja Bhim Singh.
[illegible] Lal Singh Bundela.
[illegible] Arjun Singh.
[illegible] (Bhatia).
[illegible] Rule Rana Bhim Kunwar.
[illegible] Bhoj Bhiji Singh of Dungarpur.

[Beside these Mansabdars enumerated in the column the following Mansabdars, we also mentioned in a long as all in respect that they probably held mansabs of 1000 or more.]

[illegible] Rao Mukund Singh of Kota.
[illegible] Rao Kishor Singh of Kota.

[A son of Kishor Singh, Rao Bhim Singh, is mentioned above as a commander of 1000. He is therefore very likely that Rao Bhim held the mansab of 1000 or more.]

[illegible] Raja Prithvi Singh of Amber.
[illegible] Raja Jaisa Singh of Gidar.

[Raja Bhawani Singh of Kidar had a mansab of 1000. Bhoja of Ghoji and Man Singh were from both are equal or a slightly lower rank.]

[illegible] Raja of Kishtwar.

[Raja Kishan of Kishtwar [illegible] Kishan was a commander of 1000.]

[illegible] Raja Jaising Chief of Bundi.
[illegible] Raja Dalel Singh of Bhadauriya (Bhoja) in the Punjab.
[illegible] Raja Bhadur of Jaisalmer.

[Another Raja of Jaisalmer, Bhoj Bhadur, who mentioned in mentioned, was a commander of 1000.]

[illegible] Raja Bahadur Chief of Bundelkhand.
[illegible] Sewal Singh of Kotkhai.
[illegible] Raja Jaisa Singh of Bundi (Bhoja).
[illegible] Bhoj Sahi Singh of Bundi.

[illegible] Raja of Bundlia were [illegible] [illegible] was a zamindar of [illegible]

[illegible] Rai of Kumaon (Kalyan Singh).

[illegible] Prince Rai, his son and successor.

[illegible] Hindu Rulers of Bhurela.

[illegible] Bhadauria, one of the chiefs.

[illegible] Raja Singh, a brother of [illegible].

[illegible] Bawal Singh (or Rao Singh) of Dhar (Dhar).

[illegible] Bhoj Singh of Jhabua.

[illegible] Kishan Singh.

[illegible] Dhar Jai (Dhar), Dwarkadhish.

[illegible] Bhoja Dhwaj, Dhwaj [illegible] to the dominion of Kalpa; he was appointed a Pandar of Bhoja.

[illegible] Rai Sing (Rajo).

[illegible] Bhoja Singh Rao.

[illegible] Dhar Dwaj.

[illegible] Rajat Dhwaj.

[illegible] Bhadrat Vijaya.

[illegible] Rajbai.

[illegible] Khalbai.

[illegible] Dhanji.

[illegible] Tara Kalyan Vijaya.

[illegible] Dwaj Avatar of Dwaraka.

An analysis of this list yields a few interesting results. We have to bear in view the fact that it includes all appointments made during the reign. Thus the large number of the Hindu functionaries does not necessarily indicate any liberal policy of Aurangzeb. It is hardly to be credited to the long reign. Thus we have Dhir Singh of Lajpur, Sai Singh I, Bhim Singh, Bodan Singh and Jai Singh II included in the list. Similarly Bhagwat Singh is appointed by three Rajas, Raj Singh, Jai Singh and Amar Singh. Minister are Rao Karn, Raja Jaswant Singh the elder, Surya Singh, Anandi Singh and Budh Singh in succession, the last outliving Aurangzeb. In Kota, Sujan Singh, Kishan Singh and Bhim Singh succeeded one another during the fifty years of the Mughal emperor's long reign. We extract therefrom one-quarter (the list of 100 candidates with profit with 11 Hindu candidates all of whom were living at the end of 1695, year of Shah Jahan's reign.

We definitely know that out of the forty-three of these names, only not more than ten survived Aurangzeb. Out of the twenty-nine nominations of 1695, eight were dead, one was a child, one had retired to Ujjain in the mission, and was probably dead, six other were known to be living. Thus out of the forty seven grandees in the list only sixteen are known to be living. It is thus safe to conclude that the number of the living nobilities was fifty at the time of Aurangzeb's death against fifty one twenty five and of Shah Jahan's

reign. We definitely know that only seven (6+1) of these accusations were living at the time.

Thus towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign there was a smaller number of Hindus occupying the months of 1000 and above than the number of similar accusations towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign. But this increase in number became still more significant when we remember the increase in the ranks of the accusations.

The total number of accusations was necessarily in the reign of Aurangzeb. Figures are available for the year 1027 when under Shah Jahan there were 500 accusations[*] in all, whereas in 1081, the number of accusations had risen to the figure, 1000.[**] During the first seventeen years of Aurangzeb's reign the number must have been increased still further.

This doubling of the number of accusations of all classes does not show proportional increase in the number of the Hindus who held records of 1000 and above. This is a point to assert that the number of the Hindus holding such ranks DOUBLED the end of Aurangzeb's reign had gone down. The percentage of the Hindus in the higher ranks of the state would not have been quite (100) 6% of what it was towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign.

This fact is supported by another way in which. When Aurangzeb became the emperor, we find that the prime minister of the empire was Hindu, the finance minister also was a Hindu. Kishanji Jaswant Singh served as the governor of Gujarat, as the leader of the Shah Mughal expedition against the Afghans, and then as an ambassador of a royal prince to the government of Kabul. He was imputed to have shown where have with was imprisoned. Rajo Jai Singh, who in his own against Shivaji in the Deccan, unrestrited the military civil and military authorities in the Deccan and became the highest ruling authority besides being a leader of the Mughal expedition.[*] After subduing all hostile forces so by an official order and prince was released, the emperor added to his salary a yearly allowance of Rs. 18,000 a year.[**] Not towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign we do

[*] Sudhindranath Mitra, 11.
[**] Kanti, 108.
[*] Dwarka Chandra, 1. 24.
[**] Kanti, 108.

[illegible] a single Hindu provincial governor, while two other Rajas [illegible] of these two Rajas commanders, as Hindu [illegible] Raja Raghu Nath as the finance minister either. Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mu'alla [illegible] order which Aurangzeb issued forbidding the employment of Rajputs either as higher or provincial governors.[illegible]

When the prime commander of an expedition commanded an [illegible] pressure to the status of Indra Singh and Bikramji Singh, Aurangzeb promptly replacated the prince and issued down the commandation.[illegible] Deliberately then, Aurangzeb shut out the Hindus from the highest offices, though not from the highest ranks of the imperial services. [illegible] as have gone being were commanders of the highest ranks. He's [illegible] was a minor [illegible] Aurangzeb was trying to convert to Islam.[illegible] He drew a salary without filling any office. Among the Rajputs [illegible] commanders of 5000 who were Rajputs who were really given the prince of their subordinates, most of them had been given by appointed to their commands. Among the remaining five, two were relatives Raja of Udaipur, one of Jodpur and the rest also held hereditary lands. Thus under Aurangzeb, though some Hindus enjoyed high salary and the prestige of being the highest grade commanders, they were not called upon, in the latter half of his reign, to fill any high administrative offices. They positive not [illegible] in this way as well.

The study of the Jesuits, of which known who held hereditary offices as ruling princes also yields another results. Raja Raj Singh was a commander of 5000, but on his successors it was reduced successively to 4000.[illegible] Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur was a commander of 7000.[illegible] The hereditary of his house show increasingly declining tendency. His grandson Dhan Singh rose to be a commander of 5000.[illegible] Raja Ratnan Singh had a commander of 4000.[illegible] Raja Jai Singh II had for lowest command ever held by a Kachwaha prince, that of 3000. To

[illegible] Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mu'alla, No. [illegible]
[illegible] Bhim Lahari, Bhu. II, 170, Kalyan, 1st.
[illegible] Kalia, 146.
[illegible] Khandi-i-darbar, 24th Aurangzeb Regnal, vol. II, letter No. 16, 18, Bhim Lahari Hindi H.S.S.S.
[illegible] Aurangzeb Khandi, vol. VII, letter issued July 5, 1691.
[illegible] Ibid., 4 Ibid.
[illegible] Vinod.

Jodhpur, after Maharaja Jaswant Singh came to Jaipur. Raja Indar Singh, a nephew of his, was no doubt at first appointed to the command of 500 and to rule over Jodhpur. But the Rajput was followed and Jodhpur was "occupied" (though the Rajputs did everything to make the occupation as difficult and as costly as possible. Raja Rajrup of Faujpur (in the Punjab) was a commander of 1000.[77] His son and successor Harchara is only mentioned as holding the rank of a commander of 1000.[78] Raja Bitto Singh, the founder of the house of Bikaner, was a commander of 5000,[79] but his son and successor Sujah Sinh rose to the command of 3000 only.[80] Thus the fortunes of many the Rajpu[illegible] houses at well defined cadet arrangement. We have to remember that we have been dealing here with houses which held hereditary lands. The connections of the union cannot be explained (therefore simply by the fact that the jagirdar depended on the personal assets of the newcomers.

Thus Aurangzeb adopted a large-hearted policy with reference to the Hindu nobilities. A grateful, and comparatively greater, solidarity in the conduct of such Hindus was accomplished by conferring upon the Sunni Muslims left by their predecessors. Thus there was a deliberate attempt at increasing the part the Hindus had been playing in the administration of their country.

The party officials could argue to him no better. Various rules were made to limit the monopoly of the Hindus in the subsidiary jobs in the revenue department and in the clerical establishment. There is a general order in the Fatawa-i-Faqqaha-i-Hindiyya the employment of the Hindus.[81] There dates to the order preserved in the Mawa-i-Alamgiri and Khawaid-i-Jahan forbidding the employment of the Hindus in the revenue department and as personal assistants to various executive heads.[82] An attempt was made to enforce these orders. Not the

77 Khafi, 92. 78 Kamwar, 1006.

79 See the general orders given in Irvine (Sir Jadu), Bikaner, Journal, 1908.

80 Khafi Khan, Lahore Ms. dated September 13, 1664.

81 Malcolm, Indian Ms. in A. Kamwar, II, 204.

82 Khafi Khan, II, 300.

Khafi's antipathy of Sunni Islam was due to the fact that the Shiahs preferred entry to Sunni Muslim offices. Aurangzeb nevertheless was a prince far-sighted enough to support the cause of a Shiahi for an appointment.[illegible] He, however, could not succeed in overcoming the complaint of the Shiahis to Sunni party offices. The attempt failed.[illegible] Some Khafi Khan's records of correspondence gave place to Khafi Khan[illegible] others in the various departments changed their religion to retain their places,[illegible] yet Aurangzeb ordered that one of the not powerful architects to marry offices should be a Shiahi.[illegible] In his extremely poor he received all the grants made to the Rajahs.[illegible] He naturally tried to replace Hindu public servants by Muslims whenever he could. Twenty Hindu contractors of the royal granite were dismissed to give place to Muslims on July 27, 1700.[illegible]

The number from [illegible] caused a feeling of uneasiness among the Hindus. One Sayyid Amir began in Shajahan in the twenty-eighth year of his reign. He was [illegible] in 1[illegible] a year. The governor [illegible] that he should have to [illegible] a Hindu, to which Sayyid Nasir Bahadur replied that he had not to allow him to appoint office requiring a designation for a Muslim to many under a Hindu. A Hindu foreman was appointed to the office of quarries.[illegible]

Aurangzeb [illegible] in the [illegible] of the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims by [illegible] on November 21, 1702, but the Hindu in the army was to employ Muslim servants.[illegible]

The ruling price in this as in many other things in this reign seems to have been the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Raja Raghu Nath Rao, Raja Jai Singh and Bikramajit Dawant Singh had been the three chiefs on Aurangzeb's appointment. One other candidate died and with the death of the last in this appointment. The Rajput was

(8) Gazetteer of Aurangzeb, [illegible] Sir. Sir Sirajuddin Sayyid, July 18, 1694.
(9) Khafi Khan, 14, 108.
(10) Ibid.
(11) Ibid.
(12) Ibid. Khan, 15, 108.
(13) Ibid.
(14) Ibid.
(15) Ibid. Khan, 15, 108.
(16) Ibid.
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(988) Ibid.
(989) Ibid.
(990) Ibid.
(991) Ibid.
(992) Ibid.
(993) Ibid.
(994) Ibid.
(995) Ibid.
(996) Ibid.
(997) Ibid.
(998) Ibid.
(999) Ibid.
(1000) Ibid.

tions of his invasion to conflict. Religious further arranged the Hindus, particularly the Rajputs. It is not right to say that after the Rajput war no Rajput served under Aurangzeb, the fact was that except those bent on opposing and not independent hereditary principalities, few Rajputs could be found to serve individually under him. As long as Rajputs and Deccanis had concentrated there was some work for Rajputs under him. But after their conquest the Marathas started fresh fields to attract Rajput valour. When Marathas were crushed by holding the commanders personally,[29] the Rajputs were no longer in demand. Besides this Aurangzeb's prejudices never got various vacancies absorbing the pride of the Rajputs.

Thus Aurangzeb deliberately worsened the position of the Hindus in the public services. Higher offices were closed to them; the Hindus were openly predated. Remitted of the Hindus from the revenue department was attempted through Hindus of no avail.

(ii) Destruction of Hindu Temples

Early in the reign of Shah Jahan, it had been brought to the notice of the Mughal emperor that the building of new temples and repairing of old ones, though in conformity with the liberal principles of the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, were in conflict against the Muslim law and usage. Shah Jahan had his prime minister to achieve this reformation but later in his reign it fell into disuse and several temples were repaired and added to.[30] When Aurangzeb came to the throne, he issued the following order soon after on February 18, 1659 probably in connection with a dispute as to the right of building charge of the ancient temples of Benares.

"It has been declared according to the canons but that long standing temples should not be demolished but no new temples be allowed to be built.... Now royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall be molested or stopped in building his own house and place Hindu customs in these places."[31]

(29) Shah Alam, II, 316.

(30) Cf. the present writer's article on the Religious Policy of Shah Jahan in the IHQ, vol. XII, pp. 12-40.

(31) Zakhi, Idris, p. 130; it has also to be the Jaunpur Gazetteer, vol. II, p. 5.

This honour did not last long. In 1661 Aurangzeb [illegible] and [illegible] when he considered to be the tomb of Islam, and [illegible] in the Vicinity of Bikaner, Rand Bhan, in [illegible] Dhamar. In the military operation that followed, many temples were destroyed, signalizing the victories of the Mughal arms.[illegible] Towards the end of the same year when Mir Jumla made war on the Raja of Koch Bihar, the Mughals destroyed many temples during the course of their operations as a sign of their victories. Idols were broken, and some of the temples were converted into mosques.[illegible]

But these were military measures. Such iconoclastic [illegible] were in the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan in the [illegible] of military operations. But [illegible] Aurangzeb began to [illegible] religious persecution. The temple of Somnath was destroyed early in his reign.[illegible] This seems to have been one of the results of the order sent to his officials in Shabban Ahad Dowazdar 10, 1102.[illegible] This order yet no mention of Shah Alam's appointment of Aurangzeb's order was to the prince Khan-i-Jahan Lodi [illegible] temples. By the order of 1102, Aurangzeb gave [illegible] for the general destruction of temples in Gujarat. It is [illegible] why these temples in Gujarat were singled out for destruction when temples elsewhere were not touched yet. Many temples were destroyed, but only some temples still existed in his days which had once been destroyed and whose identity had been assured by the Hindus.

A similar order seems to have been sent about this time to the governor of Orissa. It bears no date, but as it refers to new temples only and refers the destruction of temples built during the last ten or twelve years, it must have been issued in 1102 and presumably within twelve years (hence) of Aurangzeb's reign. The provincial governor (Qarqin) issued the following order to his officials:—

> "To all Fujdars, Karoris, Qanungoes, Muqaddams, Deshmukhs (chiefs of Hindu temples) and other officers (sic) Belief to Mohammad to the Providence of Orissa.

[illegible] Kamta, 300
[illegible] Kamta, 307; Khafi Khan, II, 181, 190
[illegible] Bhati, Supplement, English translation, 140
[illegible] Khafi Khan, I, 181, 301

"The Emperor Bedreddi, [illegible] Khan, has sent a letter written according to the instructions of his adoptive to say that the emperor, [illegible] Trag, Sir, [illegible] letters of the governor of Orissa that in the village of Bidhuni in Balasore a temple has been built, has heard by report [illegible] the destruction and the destruction of all temples built recently in this province. ..... Therefore, let [illegible] immediately on the receipt of this letter [illegible] destroy the above mentioned temples. [illegible] Khan, the [illegible] to cause their all temples. Report of the destruction of temples sent to you to the court under the seal of Islam and checked by your Majesty."[illegible]

This order was obviously provoked by the building of a new temple in a village in Orissa. It is apparent from a perusal of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi already quoted, that early in Aurangzeb's reign it seems to have been ordained that no new temples were to be built and old ones repaired. Similar orders had been issued by Shah Jahan as well in [illegible] years. Thus [illegible] was obviously not a new law. It simply declared and revived an old interpretation of the Muslim law which had become obsolete. It was particularly in that instance that the news letter had mentioned the building of a temple in an insignificant village of Orissa. Perhaps this order fell more lightly on the officials in authority because of the complacence of those very Muslims who might have ignored the order. The governor addressed his instructions to the military officers serving as faujdars of provinces, zamindars heads of the Hindus serving as Fiqdars, heads of revenue departments in the Sarkar, agents of the Fiqdars and zamindars. Even this royal [illegible] all Mughal officers, civil and military. As usually there was not much love lost between the representatives of different departments in the same locality, the governor exacted that no one of them should be remiss in performing the duty in this connection but [illegible] to see to completed against. However there was still the fear that in any one locality all of them might conspire to leave this work undone. Thus this was provided against. Their area numerous were and to be treated. They had to get them checked by the Qazis and some Muftis.

[illegible] Bernier, [illegible]

Almost [illegible] since Aurangzeb's attention was turned towards Bundelkhand. Many many beautiful temples had been ruined by the piety of the Bundela Rajas and rich men particularly during the reign of Jahangir and Jahangir. Aurangzeb picked out for attack what looked like a work of repair to the famous temple of Bankey Bihari. In rebuilding this had some have made of wood but however his work in every way entitled progress being ugly. Under Shah Jahan, Dara Shikoh had built at his own cost a building of stone. Now building being a work of repair as well as a new structure, it was an infringement of a Bundela's will from grave. On October 14, 1666, the received by the Faujdar of Bharkara was reported to the imperial court.[illegible] Some time after the death of Raj Singh, Aurangzeb is alleged to have demolished the Lalta temple near Bidar.[illegible]

It was from years later that at last a general order was issued for the destruction of all the schools and temples of the Hindus. On April 8, 1669, it was reported to the emperor that the Brahmans of Benares, Multan and particularly of Thatta were doing their temples or schools, which attracted students, Hindus and Muslims alike, from great distances. From Jahangir's [illegible] and Jahan also to tolerate the giving of a Muslim passport to a Yogi for [illegible] on rich grave matters. It was felt almost impossible that Aurangzeb should have been spared to such a reform. But whatever Jahangir had held the very Muslims concerned policy and prejudiced from Aurangzeb goes as under for the punishment of those whose only offence was the imparting of religious education to those who came to them.

"Orders in accordance with the representation of Islam were sent to the governors of all the provinces that they should destroy the schools and temples of the infidels and put an end to their educational activities as well as the practices of the religion of the Kafirs."[illegible] Ex-Royal who was at Bhopal in 1708, heard about these orders and reported.

"In the month of January, 1669 the governors and native officers received an order from the Religious Emperor prohibiting the practice of Pagan religious

[illegible] Gazetteer of the Amritsar District.

[illegible] Khafi Khan, II, 268

[illegible] Khafi Khan, II, 268

throughout the country and during three of the longest and most bitter of Aurangzeb's wars ..... in the topic that most people would associate the Hindu religion.[116]

It is rather difficult to understand the reasoning of the great official historian, Sarkar, as to follow Aurangzeb's line of thought. Temples were only from certain parts of the country, not from all over the empire. If any party was guilty of the violation of self Hindus injunction, or merely illegal law, they were the Muslims concerned in these unprecedented questions. The temples had rather been denied against these persons. For the fault of certain Brahmans, in during all the places of religious worship of the Hindus was to itself criminal. It is more reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the orders officially attributed to the character was only an occasion, if not the excuse, for Aurangzeb's enunciating on a militant policy of religious persecution. He never been already insulting (he asked to launch from a general attack on Hindu places of worship). It formed a part of his plan of governing India according to what he considered to be the strict letter of the Muslim law.

This general order formed a parting of ways between the old and the new Mughal religious policy. It made [illegible] place of a secular state in India a dream. It [illegible] help on the internal practices of Akbar, but the modern Muslim ways of government in India as well. It made the Muslim rulers of India once again the temporary and wielders of the sword of Islam rather than her rulers. How could they a Prince (Shah) or a Bikaner Lady) had told to endorse on such a policy but even they had not thought to publish to endorse on such an imaginary programme. Aurangzeb in becoming (with this attack on Hindoos) did go against the practice of the most of the earlier Muslim rulers in India and elsewhere.

Soon after the order was issued, news of the destruction of temples from all parts of the country began to arrive. A royal messenger was sent to demolish the temple of Bikaner (now in Jaipur but probably then included in the imperial district of Ajmer) in Mar

[116] Sarkar's Fragments, Aurangzeb

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible].[106] In August 1669 the temple of Vishwanath at Benares was demolished.[107] The prevailing point of the temple was just in time to removing the idols of Vishwanath from the temple and throw them into a neighbouring well which thus became a centre of pious interest ever since then. The temple of Keshi Rai in Mathura was also destroyed about the same time.

Then came the turn of the temple of Keshav Rai at Mathura built at a cost of Rs. 5,00,000 by Raja Bir Singh Deo[illegible] in the reign of Jahangir.[108] It had excited the religious frenzy of many Muhammadan leaders who lamented that yet Aurangzeb's opportunities and power.[109] It had been built after the style of the Vishwanath temple of Vishwanath which Man Singh had built at a cost of Rs. 5,00,000. But Bir Singh had impressed upon his spiritual and spend more than the money as much as Man Singh had lavished on his shrine at Vishwanath.[110] It had become a centre of pilgrimage for all India. The idols, studded with precious stones and adorned with gold works, were all carried to Agra and there buried under the steps of Jahanara's mosque. The temple was levelled to the ground and a mosque was ordered to be built on the site to make it a monument of religious contempt by the emperor.[111]

The wealth that was already concentrated in the Hindu world. The prince of the temple of Somnath Kathiawar by the Rajputs temple safety in Rajput. The idols were removed and the priests safely made out in the night. Imperial treasuries offered as place of safe asylum either to the god or his votaries. After an adventurous journey, they at last reached Jodhpur. Maharaja Jaswant Singh was away on imperial errands. His subordinates in the state did not feel strong enough to house the god who may come within the wrath of the Mughal emperor. Dependent had, the head of the priesthood in charge of the temple, went to Rajmahal to Maharaja Raj Singh to beg for a place to be able to serve his religion in peace. The Rana gave unlimited help and assured to

[106] Manucci, Storia do Mogor, iv. [107] Ibid., iv.
[108] Khafi Khan, The spelling of the name I remember is uncertain.
[109] Tarikh-i-Alfi (Lal), iii, 38. [110] Ibid., iii.
[111] Manucci, S. 131, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, 98, 99. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, 101, 102.

[illegible] [illegible]. The party left Champaner on December 5, 1771, and was night royally received by Maharawal Raj Singh on the Frontiers of his state. It was decided to house the god in Udai and with the religious ceremony the god was installed on March 19, 1772.

Rewa thus became the centre of Vaishnavism in India. The very village of Eklingji has now grown into an important town which after the name of the god is known as Kailashnagar.

In Rajasthan, the Vaishnava sacred emblem Pidgarwa (the) of Rajan similarly brought down from Tyrolikar had been located a little earlier.[illegible] It (Pidgarwa), though has remained, photos of Vaishnavism in India today. Thus thanks to Aurangzeb's religious zeal, Udaipur state became a new Tyrolikar to the devotees of the Shakti cult.

In Gujarat, the Hindus of Surat discovered an ingenious method of saving most of their temples. They agreed to make certain payments for them. The tolerant and liberal Maharaja Jaisingh and the nawab Ali as Jaffi (as Hussain Jaffi) in person under their selection (Jagirdar Fathwa to Cofia, XIII, 142).

These concessions were based on certain opposition to some quarters at least. In March 1707, Al and Jaffi (and a Hindu officer who had been sent to demolish the Hindu temples to and around Ujjain was killed while many of the followers on account of the riot that had followed his attempt to demolish the temples there. He had succeeded in demolishing some of the temples but in one place, a Rajput chief had opposed his mission successfully. He had compensated the Hindu Kings and destroyed in battle and many of his men.[14] In Gujarat, somewhere near Ahmedabad, Hindu were to have taken possession of a temple and prevented Friday prayers there. Imperial orders were dispatched to the provincial officers in Gujarat to secure the use of the temple for Friday prayers.[15]

We have already noticed that Dr Ranat found of the general order issued by Aurangzeb for the destruction of Hindu places of worship in January 1679. In the old Bengal it took some time

(13) Ojha, History of Udaipur, I, 31.
(14) Mass Latest of Bundi 87, 1911
(15) Bindri Journal, I, 45.

to process actually the policy laid down by the emperor. But at least in the first half of the year [illegible], determined efforts were made to all Faujdars with orders for carrying out the emperor's instructions and destroy all the Hindu temples.[illegible] It should be noted however that all these acts of destruction of temples were due more to his proselytising zeal and faith in Islam than to any India to hurt Hindu feelings.

The records of the religious General for some years. This may be either due to a clothing of the imperial and in the name of the construction of the temples or the violent human and military aid which he received by the Hindu chieftains.

This fact is known in 1679 when Aurangzeb's first treaty war with a emperor. Rajsingh (Jaswant Singh died on December 10, 1678). When Aurangzeb heard of it towards the end of the month, he acted patiently for some time and then on March 9, 1679, orders were given for the overthrowing of the idols by the crown. Above this Gaya Dwish Khan had been sent to Khandela where he demolished various temples in the neighbourhood on March 8, 1679.[illegible] This was followed by the dispatch of Hasan Ghazi to Udaipur. He destroyed many temples (Gokul Das) in 1680 and he on evidence of his "zeal-religious conduct" he brought carloads of idols from these temples to Delhi. These were placed in public places in the court and the Udaipur Rajputs.[illegible] Even Aurangzeb was not yet at war with Udaipur which had really been converted into a consolidated property. The destruction of its temples therefore was not an act of malice. It was an attachment that the state was no longer being governed by a Hindu Raja but had now passed into imperial hands. If general Aurangzeb had not yet extended his religious repulsions to the state.

Aurangzeb's dealings with the Raiputs of Jodhpur resulted in the Rajput war. Thapar showed little opportunities for the purpose. The Rathores had had to be invisible having Thapar to post into the hands of the Rajputs. The royal temple in front of the palace was destroyed. When Aurangzeb

[illegible] Mishra of Neem, 1, [illegible] quoted, by Sarkar.
[illegible] Hasan Ghazi (Ms), March 8, 1679. [illegible] Hasan Ghazi, [illegible]

visited Bihat Nagar on January 16, 1666, he ordered that the three temples that were standing on the edge of the lake be destroyed. On January 26, it was reported that the number of temples destroyed in and around Udaipur (at some including the four already mentioned) was 172. Aurangzeb's visit to Chitor on February 22, 1666, was followed by the destruction of 63 temples.[116] Thus in the state of Udaipur alone 235 temples were reported to have been destroyed. These did not include the temple of Dwarkanath in Western Mewar.[117]

Udaipur was at war with Delhi, the destruction of its temples may have formed a part of the religious military campaign undertaken with a view to compel the Rajputs to sue for peace. But it produced lamentable effect. Bhim, a younger son of the Rana, enticed by pleading Akbar Nagar and demolishing many temples, big and small, there.[118]

But Aurangzeb did not confine his iconoclastic activities to the worship shrine alone. Orders were given to demolish Hindu temples in the friendly state of Rajputana as well. An imperial agent, Abu Turab, was sent for this purpose and he accordingly set fire to the temples and there were probably a panic. Most of the temples he was able to destroy easily,[119] but there was some opposition in one temple. Some Rajputs resented politely these sacrilegious, they could easily deal with, the minions who were sent to demolish the temple. The imperial agents had seen to bend being a coward. The allow in charge of the party themselves complained to the Raja's officials. A Pujhari was asked to accompany the imperial agent to assure that the imperial officials were not molested in their task of pulling down the temple. There was a skirmish between the soldiers accompanying the Pujhari and the Rajputs in the temple. Yet before all the Rajputs had been killed,

113 Bhanot-Khosla, 88, 90, 98.
117 Abu-l-Fazl, Iqbal Nama, 98 and 99.
118 Tabir Chan, I, 90; Ram Prakash, XXII, note 8; Amar Sarah, XXI, 9-1a.
119 Bhanot-Khosla, 98.

was to provide for the imperial agent in destroying the temple.[illegible] Idar Nizat reached the court on August 10, 1680 and reported that he had demolished as many as [illegible] temples in Amber.[illegible] A letter from one Bhagwan Das to Raja Ram Singh written probably about this time refers to the destruction of Gopi temple (?) in Amber by Dilawar, an imperial messenger.[illegible]

At Ajmer the war with the Rajputs was over. Aurangzeb decided to leave Ajmer for the Deccan. His march seems to have been marked with the destruction of many temples on the way. On May 18, 1681, the imperial detachment of the Deccan was ordered to destroy all the temples that came in the way.[illegible] Hence Kirat Chand Bhaj, a mansabdar with 50 orders was sent to raze the temples of the Rajputs.[illegible] On September 27, 1681 the emperor issued orders for the destruction of the temples at Lakhori.[illegible] On October 13, 1681 when he left Ajmer, Aurangzeb ordered that "all the temples in the neighbourhood had been closely this church be demolished. Aurangzeb however was content with the closing of the temples and ordered that they be allowed to stand as there were no Hindus living in that area.[illegible]

When Aurangzeb came to Mewar and defeated the Rajputs, he was with more opposition from some of his chiefs. Saadullah Khan, his father-in-law, was opposed to the campaign. He even [illegible] recommended against the destruction of the Hindus in the affair. He was forbidden royal presence.[illegible] Naturally other officials was opposed. The emperor yielded to criticism by ordering the destruction of temples in Udaipur and their commander-in-chief temples in 1681.[illegible] The full and complete of Mewar was similarly concerned. Though here the destruction of temples seems to have been delayed probably for several years till 1687.[illegible]

(32) Jaipur Records, II, 32.
(33) Khafi Khan, 266. (34) Jaipur Records, III, 14.
(35) Dhara Indian dated May 21, 1681.
(36) Jaipur Records, Letter dated September 8, 1681.
(37) Dhara Letter dated September 27, 1681.
(38) Dhara Letter dated October 13, 1681.
(39) Khafi Khan, II, 266. (40) Khafi Khan, II, 269
(41) Ibid., II, 302.

Elsewhere the same policy was being followed. About this time, on April 14, 1667 orders were issued to the provincial governor and the Diwan Bahar to demolish the temples at Benares.[36] In 1668, the Govindeva temple at Vrindaban was demolished.[37]

A Jaipur letter dated February 14, 1668 reported that in Kamwar in Jaipur where the temples had perhaps already been demolished, a religious fair was held and idols were publicly worshipped. This happened twice in the course of a year. The Center complained to the emperor in that religious action may be taken against those responsible for it.[38]

Ghasim Khan, governor, accompanying the expedition against the Ahoms reported on May 20, 1669 to the emperor that Kishan Singh, one of the Bhojpur chiefs accompanying Dhiraj Singh, had set up a temple in the fortress of Sarthal Singh.[39] In December 1669, it was complained to the emperor that the Rajahs in Dhamri that had even been removed back places of residence for the Hindus Angkrim, had again been opened for public worship.[40]

In April, 1669 it was reported to the emperor that the Jagirdar Sawai had tried to prevent public idol worship in Lalsaghaya near Jaisalmer. The "Hindu priests of the people were treated by men sent thither by the Bhojpur."[41] Rajdev, a newspaper, was sent to demolish a temple near Chandpur. He came back after pulling it down on November 21, 1669.[42]

Bijai Singh and several other Hindus were reported to be carrying on public worship of idols in a temple in the neighbourhood of Ajmer. On June 20, 1704 the governor of Ajmer was ordered to destroy the temple and stop public celebration of that worship there.[43] In 1708

36. Khafi Khan, Ed. Lal, p. 184.
37. Khafi Khan, I, 205, 207.
38. Akam Records, XVI, 35.
39. Akam Records, XVII, 38.
40. Akam Records, X, 114-115.
41. Sawai Jaipur Akhbar April 4, 1669.
42. Rajdev, dated November 30, 1669.
43. Rajdev, dated June 20, 1704.

A.H. 1116/1704-5 A.D.) orders were issued for the destruction of the temple[186] temples at Sirohi in Gujarat.[187]

He learned that, a court official in the army, reported that many soldiers went to worship idols in the temple at Pranadhar. On January 4, 1708 orders were given that the temple be demolished and desecrated.[188] The temple of Bikramdhun in the Fort was demolished on March 3, 1711.[189]

Besides these some others dates are available from one source whose whose the dating can not infrequently known.

The Gyan Bapi at Jaunpur (in Bundelkhand) is assigned to Aurangzeb's reign. It is built of materials taken from a Hindu temple.[190] While passing through Udaipur in Bundelkhand (about 1669) Aurangzeb is said to have ordered the Bara temple there to be demolished. The orders were keeping unfilled, for temple was converted into a mosque.[191] The temples at Bhojpur near Bhilsa[192] and the temple of Kirathi Bai in Gujarat[193] were also destroyed.

In a small village, in the district of Sirhind, a Sikh temple was demolished and converted into a mosque. An Hindu was appointed who was subsequently killed.[194] Several other Sikh temples were destroyed.[195]

In Orissa some time before 1670 the temple of Kalapur was demolished and converted into a mosque.[196]

The private house of a Brijan, Devi Singh, in the Pargana of Alij, which was used as a temple, was converted into a mosque.[197]

Aurangzeb urged the appointment of an officer on special duty in order to destroy the Hindu temples in Bhikhnipur. He discovered that it was not possible for the idolaters worshipping the royal army

186 Dhamvi-Khwafi, I, 414.
187 Khafi Khan (and Farman 3, 1701).
188 Ibid., (and March 4, 1708).
189 Dhirendra Nath Pathak, 'Fall, 1970.
190 IMA., VII, 86, 90.
191 Khafi, 195.
192 Kalwar
193 Fraser Bunce, II, 46.
194 Ibid., VII, 86.
195 Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla
196 Dhami, 171.

on the march to destroy all the temples during the short time at their disposal with the limited number of men available in Bihar.[106]

He stopped the public worship in the Hindu temple of Dwarka.[107]

When Aurangzeb temporarily limited the Gaurna temple at Tirupati from its vows, partly on account of the large revenue he is alleged to have derived from the pilgrimage of the Hindus to the temple and partly for fear that its destruction might cause rebellious difficulties to suppress.[108]

Aurangzeb destroyed many Hindu temples. Among these are included one at Mayapur (Hardwar) and another at Ayodhya.[109] "All of Rana the Kirtigad with worthipers, even those that are destroyed are still resented by the Hindus and visited by the offering of alms."[110]

Some Hindu temples built in the reign of Aurangzeb are known to exist in the town of Bishalgarh in Bengal. Three temples then built in the reign according to the inscriptions to be found on them. Two were built in 1688 and one that built in 1693.[111]

He ordered the following lands in Orissa to be kept filled with water at the expense of the state.[112]

Thus Aurangzeb gave orders for the formation of all the Hindu public temples, yet he had been guilty in dishing down those that were built in no recently Hindu population." It followed to be to be believed, his officers allowed the Hindus to take back their temples from them on payment. In the month which he spent the last twenty-seven years of his reign Aurangzeb was content with "seeing many Hindu temples showing as he was afraid of them causing the feelings of the Hindu subjects in the Deccan where pushing form of rebellion was not so most serious. But the discontent occasioned by his orders could not be from brought to an end.

[106] Gladwin manuscripts, Mass. Hist. Soc.
[107] Khafi-Khan(?), supplement, English translation 196.
[108] Manucci, Ed. Irvin, III 1966, 1.8, 195.
[109] Ibid., 196.
[110] Jai-Kaishwar Journal Report, VIII, 194, 195, 196.
[111] Khafi-Khan(?), supplement, English translation, 197.
[112] Ibid., 198, 1200.

(ii) *Punitive Regulations against the Hindus*

Besides the numerous restrictions said for the purpose of reducing the number of the Hindus in the public services, many other restrictions were imposed on them, including their religious practices. A pilgrimage tax was re-imposed.[117] Shortly (p. 166) talk to that of the time of the religion of the city from, Lakhs of rupees were paid in the state. The celebration of some of Hindu religious festivals was stopped. The Holi meant to be celebrated by imperial orders issued on November 10, 1665.[118] It was not a public order alone prescribed for the purpose of keeping peace and order during the Holi days as Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has suggested.[119] Raja Bishn of Bicaner and Kishan Singh while serving in the South in 1681 made arrangements for the celebration of the Holi. The orders tried to stop the celebration, but as Bishn and Kishan Singh were officers of high ranks, the emperor's officials were of no use. He reported the matter to the emperor by whose order the celebrations were stopped.[120] In 1694-700 soldiers were placed at the disposal of the owner for the purpose of preventing the celebration of the Holi.[121] Of course the emperor was not always able to stop the celebrations. In 1702 Khafi Khan was a witness during the celebrations and many persons were wounded.[122] The celebration of Dipavali also was prohibited in 1702.[123] In 1705 Hindus were not allowed to burn their dead on the banks of the river Godavari in Aurangabad.[124]

An order was issued to the jagirdar of Bharuchkhal to close the hot water springs dear to the public. The Hindu pilgrims worship these springs. Muslim pseudo-saints were by a cover. The pseudo-saints of worship was condemned.[125]

(117) Manucci, I, 91. Collected as distinguished as by way of Rs. 10 L. per head.
(118) News Letters, November 10, 1665 and April 1, 1666. Manucci, II, 34.
(119) Aurangzeb, II, 190n.
(120) M. the present writer's article on Raja Bishn Singh of Bicaner.
(121) Khafi Khan, II, 301.
(122) News Letter, Agra, dated May 5, 1702.
(123) Khafi Khan, II, 391.
(124) News Letter, Gujarat, 31.
(125) Krishnadas Sanghvi, Letter No. 130.

Zunnar of all sorts was prohibited.[106] It was laid down in the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* that the Hindus should not be allowed to look like Muslims. In furtherance of this it was ordered in 1666 that merchants, Rajputs and Kayasths or Hindus be allowed to ride on *Iraqi* or *Persian* horses, *ass-elephants*, or not a palanquin.[107] A Hindu theologian in in 1668 in Multan had his horse and saddle confiscated.[108] The Bodhisattva of Akmal Bagar was discovered in 1669 riding a palki and at once the imperial orders were on hand against him.[109] It seems that the exception in favour of the Kayasthas was not made. In 1668 orders were given that the Hindus engaged in not allowed to engrave the name of the Hindu gods and goddesses on the seals of their rings.[110] The *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* assigns to the year 1668-1669 the order prohibiting the carrying of arms in public by the Hindus.[111]

A further distinction was made between the Hindus and the Muslims in the matter of taxation. On April 20, 1668 it was ordered that the custom duties on the Muslims be fixed at 2½ p.c. throughout the empire and at 5½ in the case of the Hindus.[112] Manucci suggests that this concession, or rather a private one, the total abolition of the custom duties to the Muslims and Aurangzeb's thanksgiving after his accession (there in 1668).[113] Whatever as the discussion was granted about four years after Aurangzeb's accession, the reader judged does not seem to have been likely. The emperor also found that even the levy of 2½ on the Muslims was unlawful. On May 6, 1672 orders were issued totally forbidding the levy of the tax on the Muslims.[114] This privilege was abused by the Muslim traders. The goods of the Hindus were passed as belonging to the Muslims usually for a consideration.[115] Aurangzeb was then compelled to re-impose the tax on the former extra, 2½ on the Muslims,[116] on March 5, 1702.

106 *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*, 194.
107 Khafi Khan, dated December 3, 1666.
108 *Ibid.*, of April 28, 1668.
109 *Ibid.*, of November 3, 1669.
110 *Ibid.*, I, 365, 366.
111 *Elliot*, I, 335.
112 *Ibid.*, I, 366, 367.
113 *Ibid.*, of March 27, 1668.
114 *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*.
115 Manucci, II, 368.
116 Khafi Khan, II, 282, 283.

Further the tax on the pilgrims from the pilgrims was realised at the rate of [illegible] from the Hindus and [illegible] from the Muslims.[illegible]

In the year 1081 A.D. it was ordered that in a future year the Muslims should pay [illegible] on the price of their mills, and the Hindus [illegible].[illegible]

The existing charges also shifted and were fixed in 1090 A.D. at [illegible][illegible] for the Muslim and [illegible] for the Hindus. But the biggest difference lay in the imposition of the Jizya.

(1) *Imposition and Collection of the Jizya under Aurangzeb*

Much has been written on the principles underlying the imposition of the Jizya by a Muslim king on his non-Muslim subjects. Its origin has been traced, its nature analysed, and its relation with the general religious policy of the Muslim kings investigated. But historical origins and theological predilections could not guide with the actual practice of a particular King in India or elsewhere. In what follows an attempt is made to analyse from the official papers the practice and policy followed by Aurangzeb-Alam. He re-imposed the Jizya on the Hindus in April 1679.

To go back a little, the Jizya had been levied by the Muslim kings of India from those Hindu subjects who were alien the fold of Islam. At first the Deccanis had been exempted but Firoz Shah Tughlaq failed to find any justification for this exemption. As a part of his general policy to make the Kingdom of Delhi uniform as much as possible to his conception of an ideal Muslim state, he imposed this tax on the Deccanis as well. Thenceforth the tax was collected from Hindus of all classes till Akbar thought it fit to relieve his non-Muslim subjects of this humiliating burden. His successors practised the same policy and continued this departure from Muslim practice.

[illegible] Wise Letter, dated June 6, 1705. The Great based at the selection of the trade taxes on the Muslims early in 1691. Bernier Proposed, [illegible], p. 31. He stated were that this was done only a view to compel the conversion to simple Islam.

[illegible] *Mirat*, I, [illegible]. [illegible] *Mirat*, I, [illegible].

But when Aurangzeb came to the throne, things took a different turn. Aurangzeb was a pious and zealous Muslim who considered the kingdom of Hind as merely a Muslim king and it seemed to him unconstitutional not to govern according to the injunctions of the Koran and the traditions. He was determined, like all contemporary Kings of India and Europe, to rule his kingdom as a servant of God. To him Akbar's policy of toleration looked like an abomination just as, about the same time, Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence seemed abominable to his Christian subjects even though it granted toleration to their fellow Christians.

Akbar was an exception to the age. Aurangzeb was minded to be the norm. Previous, Akbar's policy of toleration had not been willingly accepted by many of his officers and they had no enthusiasm for it.[77] This force was an approximation of opposition from the Mughal officialdom. If a strong King desired to pursue the liberal policy of the Muslim rulers of India, the Muslim Sovereignty was threatened by only effective check on the despotic powers of the Muslim Emperor. India could not normally be expected to survive the designs of a King who looked on to Islam for administrative guidance. Thus everything favoured a change in policy.

Of course there remained the vast majority of the Indian subjects, the Hindus. Aurangzeb fell into the error common to the century of Emperor-hating Indian Muslim and Scholarship.

By 1679 Aurangzeb had advanced far on the path of Fundamentalism to make it possible for him to order the levy of the Jizya on non-Muslims on the representation of Ancient Rites, Hindu-Muslim, in order to oppress the Hindus.[78] It was to be paid by all and sundry in Muslim

(77) Akbar Shah and Rawshan-ul-Dawlah, or Dowlah, were very, as mentioned above, Muslim light on the subjects of the religious toleration, Akbar's religious policy. Religious Liberty is, in fact, a permanent result of the failure of Muslim to govern towards Prince's Investiture.

(78) Shah-Jahan suggest that the Muslim had the priority in the matter and represented by Aurangzeb the majority of the subjectional being accepted from the payment of the Jizya under a King of Aurangzeb's plan. (Bernier's Travels, 174, Bernier's Travels, 1, Bernier, Aurangzeb's Jizya, 174, Bernier's Travels, 1, Bernier, 98)

India and Rajput States, by officials and non-officials, Hindus and non-Hindus, chiefs and fighters. Aurangzeb's imperative command from all religious inquisition is that it was laid on the persons living in Auchtany made as well.[98] The inquisition was followed by a public protest by the Hindus at the capital and in the suburbs. They waited till Friday and when the emperor came out on an elephant to say his Friday prayers in the Friday mosque, they made a demonstration and blocked the path of the royal elephant. For some time Aurangzeb was non-plussed. As all efforts at securing a path for him failed, after a delay of an hour or so, he ordered the mouth to be covered (weighing under four seers) of the protestors. And Fazl Khan[99] who himself ornament the incident tells us that this resistance for several days and many lost their lives for the Deys.[100] The Deys received a vigorous protest from Hindus.[101] It has sometimes been asserted that it was a substitute for military service which was obligatory on all Muslims. Mirza Ja'far, however, mentioned what steps were taken by Muslim emperors in India, particularly the Mughal emperors, to relieve this commutation on the Muslim subjects of their subjects. Theory apart, there is not a single case on record, as far as Indian history is concerned, in which Muslim and Muslim chief of India were called upon all the faithful to lift weapons for the defence of their possessions against external rebellion or foreign invasion. Not even if it was a substitute for military service at any time, is stated to be so when it was levied upon the Rajput States of Gujarat, Malwa and Rajasthan.[102] Even also one was to connect for the appointment of an Amin for the

If Khafi Khan is to be believed, some of the high-placed and important men at court opposed the imposition of the Jizya. It was Aurangzeb's intention to use it for spreading the Muslim religion among the subjects. The Rajput Rajahs opposed it. There was an earthquake some time after and some of the members put well to have once again urged Aurangzeb to relieve the Hindus. Khafi Khan, 99, 100.

98 Khafi Khan, 100, 101

99 Khafi Khan, cf. the English translation in Jarrett, 111.

100 The Mirat Sikandar, cf. Aurangzeb's order of August 9, 1669. Those Hindu Lodhas are powerful people in the Mandal villas in Jaipur and partly in the District of the Kotah, Bundelas. I have read the description of these cruelty under

Raja accompanying the emperor[108]. The appointment of the Kotwal of the Raja for the army, mentioned in the Daily Bulletin of the imperial camp, dated July 12, 1706, can be explained only on the assumption that the Khalsa in the imperial army paid the Tribute. In fact, there is nothing to suggest that the Raja was not levied upon the Khalsa forming the fighting force of the Mughal rulers.

It has been asserted that the officials did not pay this tribute tax.[109] But the actual practices of Aurangzeb's reign show that no exemption was made in favour of any class of Khalsa as far as the payment of the Tribute was concerned. The Court Bulletin of the provincial governor at Agra, dated May 3, 1704, contains an interesting news item which sheds fresh light on the question. Some Khalsa officials including a personal assistant to the provincial Bakhshi, a Diwan, and an agent of the court had among others delayed the payment of this tax. One of them pleaded that his Khalsa receipts was dangerously ill and that on account of his being busy with his affairs he could not pay the Raja personally and would like to send it by a deputy. His request was turned down. He was reminded that paying the Raja was a privilege and payment was therefore to be made in person and no leniency is possible. There are no doubts from Khalsa officials. These officials were and paid the Raja's tax personally.[110] It was levied in the state as well. The Delhi Bulletin mentions that on 13 May 1, 1709 period messengers of Raja Rose Singh were asked to pay the tax when they reached Dharkapur. They refused to pay as they had already

for the Sikh Guru Harkrishan who very kindly allowed me access to them. These Diary Notes were compiled by the official diarists from day to day and constituted the most reliable source of history of the period. Sri Jadu Nath Sarkar is the only scholar who has used them so far in his monumental history of Aurangzeb. His attention, however, was entirely confined to the political history as conducted in these reports. The manuscripts in Sri Jadu Nath Sarkar's library were then in a very tattered.

108 Court Bulletin, dated July 16, 1706.

109 History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 399. He has cited no authority for this statement and I have failed to find any record of Aurangzeb's reign bearing out his assertion. Mohammad Kaleem, usually followed by him, has nothing to say about the statement.

made the payment in Jaipur. Their letters were forcibly taken possession of, their seals (sapheenah) and seen returned only when the matter was brought to the notice of the emperor. It was ordered that all zamindarsh, private and imperial, should be taxed only in the place of their residence and no demand should be made on them while carrying the goat.[96] In this region, the Emperor was not left to his own devices for the collection of his tax. Imperial officers were sent to collect the tax. Of course, there only was tax for pleasure. Collection of a tax in always an unpleasant task and the boys of this widely hated tax division always created trouble. On January 16, 1692, for example, it was reported that the Jaipur-Kaya for the province of Bihar had sent a soldier in order to collect the Haya in the Jagir of Rori Singh, son of Bhoma Dev Singh. When he reached the place, Rori Singh's men fell upon him, pelted his head and face, and sent him back empty-handed. The emperor therefore ordered a reprisal in the Jagir of Rori Singh.[97]

Indeed, he seemed, needed doubt had could never come. His contact with sending his men to the Jagir of a Hindu-Rajah, he himself proceeded to the Jagir. At the middle that judgment his attempt of levying the tax, the Maharajah killed the Amin. The case was brought

[96] *Ahkam Diwanji*, vol. 8, pt. 1(iii) of the Jaipur State Archives manuscripts, of the papers preserved in the Record Office, Jaipur. Thousands volumes of these records covering in all more than 5,000 pages were copied by the Jaipur State Series. These include official correspondence of the agents maintained by the Raja of Jaipur at the Imperial court besides large documents of importance. These papers belong to the different years between 1661 and 1732. These are available for 1668, 1670 to 1675, 1680 to 1685, 1688 to 1692, 1694, 1698, 1707 to 1714, 1716, 1720 to 1727 A.D. Raja Sawai Jai Singh maintained forward and letters (Vis) the prisoners, letters received by the Maharajah, accounts, private letters and diaries of events and lists of manuscripts. When the Jaipur State Series was copied the Record Office, Jaipur, in 1956, 30,000 verses had been catalogued for the Desire Record Office. It is to be hoped that the more authoritative study, in the interests of historical scholarship, return upon the Record Office to the archives of Jaipur. Their collection is unique in India and is of rare great importance. So far the Jaipur State is the only private site has been able to utilize these records. I am grateful to Sri Jai for getting me (at discretion) of studying these records from original Jaipur for him.

[97] *Ahkam Diwanji*, dated January 16, 1700.

up before the Emperor on July 13, 1664, and the Moneyholder was dismissed.[178]

In 1668 the Kiladar of Dothaigur was reported to have made the task of the collectors at the Jizya impossible. Mir Abid Khan was thereupon appointed in the office, and Lutumma and four soldiers were attached to his establishment in order to facilitate his work. The Kotwal was ordered to punish the defaulters. So vigorous were his measures that instead of a total of Rs. 16,000 from the whole city as in the past year he was able to collect from the half of the city about Rs. 104,000 within two or three months. It was discovered however that his methods were too popular. He was thereupon transferred.[179]

In 1690 and 1691, the Jizya of Dalaupur and Ajitna in Gujarat was discovered to be in arrears. Officers had to be sent there in order to help the local Amin in the collection of this tax.[180] Elsewhere Gul Khan counted twenty-five years and found it impossible for any collection to be made. On August 12, 1705, his conduct was reported to the emperor.[181]

The incidence of the Jizya on the people was not inconsiderable. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has calculated that in the province of Gujarat it formed 4·02% of the government revenue. Further we learn from the Ahkam that from Mandal in Sarkar Rs. 30,000 was already collected and the collections were still going on.[182] If Mandal of 131 men in Mandal of the Ahmadabad, its revenue under Akbar was Rs. 19,000 only.[183] Today Amangarh, according to Gujar Mal, the total revenue of the whole of the province of Berar amounted to Rs. 1,01,21,270 only[184] which is very nearly the same as under Akbar.[185] Under Akbar it contained 142 parganas. The whole pargana contributed Rs. 4,79,000 as revenue[186] and the collection of

178 Court Bulletin for July 13, 1664.
179 Khafi Khan, II, 309 ff. 300.
180 Court Bulletin for August 12, 1705.
181 Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, vol. II, p. 184 note.
182 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, II, 22.
183 Mirat, I, 256.
184 Ibid., for Sarkar Berar, 1894.
185 Ain-i-Akbari, Jarrett's edition, II.
186 Ibid., II, 250.

Rs. 10,000 (Nos. [illegible]) accordingly would come to 4.76% of the total revenue of the Subah [illegible]. If we account for the collections that were still due, we could not be far from truth in assuming that Bakir's estimate from Orissa underestimates the percentage that the Dajja bore to the total revenue so lost in the province of Bihar.

Elaborate arrangements had to be made for the assessment and the collection of the tax.[illegible] A register of tenants was prepared showing the amount due from every tenant.[illegible] When the collection began, the funds for the purpose was endeavored to be raised from the local officials, Kotwals, Qanungos, Thanadars.[illegible] He reported the collections to the provincial Amin.[illegible] As we have already seen there was an Amin accompanying the royal army on march and separate officers were added to accompany the armies sent to requisitions and collect the Jizya from infidels. These officers usually did by occupy very high rank in the Mughal hierarchy of officials. One of the Amins mentioned by Khafi Khan was a Mansabdar of two hundred horse.[illegible] The Amin of Bihar, for instance, was a commander of 100, Amin of Burhanpur, Khandesh, Kandahar of 200. The Kotwals in Bihar were more fortunate and considerable, one, Mirzam, the Amin of Aurangabad, enjoyed the rank of a Mansabdar of 300.[illegible] The highest place occupied rises up to the mansabdar of six hundred.[illegible] The Bihar-Khangah mentions the appointment of an Amin supervising the work of all the parganas in the Subah. As we have already seen the work of these officers involved considerable risk including danger to life.

As Bakir has pointed out there were three grades of assessment.[illegible] These governing property worth 200 dirhams, i.e. silver weighing 14 tolas, 10 mashas and 3 ganda gold 12 dirhams (Rs. 2.12.) as the Dajja.[illegible] This works out at 1% of the property and not of the yearly income as Barbar has erroneously stated.[illegible]

[illegible] *Khafi Khan*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Aurangzeb Nama*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Nuzur Bakir*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Nuzur Bakir*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Ibid.*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Bernier-Constable*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Ibid.*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Ibid.*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Ibid.*, [illegible]
[illegible] *Ibid.*, [illegible]

It was a capital levy capable of wiping out the whole capital in about 20 years. A money transaction dated February 18, 1704 states the rate of interest to be 4%.[107] This would mean that in the case of the poor, i.e. the owners of real property valued at only Rs. 50 the office levied that property was taken away in the 25th. The second class consisted of those whose property ranged from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 1,000 roughly. They were to pay 20 dirhams, i.e. Rs. 5/4/- in the 25th.[108] Rs. 1,000 at the rate of 4% would yield Rs. 40, hence the State really got at 5% of the income. Even the 25th is at a much lower rate. Those whose property was worth more than 20,000 dirhams were very easily let off paying 40 dirhams irrespective of their income. The rich paid the whole amount in a lump sum, the middle classes had the option to pay the whole in one or two instalments, and the poor could pay it in four instalments. In 1000 H. we find more than 1 case of wilful evasion (incorrect the year 1000), the result was to pay for both the years. When, however, non-payment was due to a clerical mistake on the part of the collecting agency, the Ulya was to be paid only for a year.[109]

Of course certain classes of people were exempted. Women, women, slaves of all kinds, the blind, the mentally defective, the unemployed, cripples, and beggars were not to pay the Jizya. Those who remained ill for more than six months were also exempted from the imposition.[110]

The imposition was to make the payments personally. He was to approach the platform on which the collector sat, stand opposite the collector, place the money in his own hands and spread them before the collector who took it off the citizen. The collector was further warned never to think of receiving the fees.[111]

Remissions to localities were, however, sometimes granted. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has cited two cases where Aurangzeb refused to grant remission of the tax even when recommended by the local officials.[112]

107 Akam Nama, 171, p. 85. 108 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, 256.
109 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, 256. 110 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, 86.
111 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, 257; Court Bulletin (Akam), for May 6, 1704.
112 Aurangzeb, 171, 172, 173. He bases his statements on Khafi Khan in one case and Ishaq-i-Akhbar in the other.

In one case Amina Bibi, Dhanji-Karna who was very much given to granting [illegible] of [illegible], had himself paid [illegible] of the [illegible] of the Jizya as well.[illegible] The chief Rashid Khan complained to the emperor that he had paid small sums of money to help the Hindu population [illegible] to pay the Jizya. Aurangzeb's wrath was roused. He told Amina Bibi, whenever she [illegible] should not remit the Jizya which the emperor had remitted in anticipation after [illegible] Khan never again granted exemptions.

[illegible] Aurangzeb [illegible] the records of the cases showing Aurangzeb granted, or was prepared to grant, exemption of the tax to [illegible] localities. On [illegible] 15, 1691, a petition from the inhabitants of Bahadurpura[illegible] was presented requesting for the remission of the tax. Aurangzeb thereupon called for a detailed report on the subject the same day.[illegible] Unfortunately, [illegible] any record of any further orders on the subject during the subsequent years. The collections from Dohad [illegible] again [illegible] for a year or [illegible] the representations of its inhabitants [illegible] [illegible].[illegible] On February 21, 1704, the collection of the Jizya was [illegible] throughout the Mughal province of the Deccan on account of the difficulties caused by Marathas raids.[illegible] On November 15, 1706, again [illegible] of the tax was [illegible] in Dohad [illegible] years.[illegible] After the conquest of Hyderabad the Jizya along with certain other charges was remitted.[illegible] How long the remission continued is [illegible] to say. It could only have been of a temporary nature. We are told, however, by another contemporary writer that after his conquest by Aurangzeb, the Jizya was levied and collected by them in the Deccan.[illegible] Thus it is clear that Aurangzeb was not always 'lead to the principles of pity and political expediency alike' in levying the Jizya. Cases of remission were decided on concrete [illegible]

[illegible] Khafi Khan, [illegible]. [illegible] Court Bulletin of the same date.
[illegible] *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, [illegible] 70 [illegible].
[illegible] Court Bulletin of February 21, 1704.
[illegible] Ibid., for November 15, 1706.
[illegible] Mirza Nasir: *Futuhat-i-Alamgiri*, MS. [illegible] 14.
[illegible] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, [illegible] 346.

and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Aurangzeb was actuated by bigotry or obstinacy in this respect.

Thus the Jizya formed a part of the general policy of Aurangzeb to govern according to the Muslim law. He did not stop to consider how it would affect his non-Muslim subjects. If they resented the imposition, he could not help it; he would not be false to his Creed. If the poorer among them discovered that it took away the bread of their mouths and they endeavoured to compensate for them to maintain themselves, that was none of his business. If they wanted to evade the payment, the way was open to them. They could accept the true faith and escape this burden if they found it too irksome to bear. But it is difficult to doubt that many of the conversions were due solely or mainly to the burden of the Jizya which was pressing so heavily on the poorer classes.

It is well to remember however that the Jizya was levied by Aurangzeb at a time when religious zeal was strongly active; that he was the ruler in the civilized part of the world. It was not unknown the existence of any law of religion that Aurangzeb entertained towards the Hindus at their time. It was imposed because the conscience of the Muslim State with which Aurangzeb was familiar made it obligatory for him to do so. He was merely following a custom in the enforcement of this particular tax and although it formed a heavy burden to the poorer classes, the wealthier section did not find it exceptionally irksome. To Aurangzeb it was nothing but fitting the price of toleration that a non-believer was optionally required to pay in a Muslim State.

(To be continued)

Sir Sidi Ahmed

Provençal 'Eating' and 'Drinking'

I.

In his *Indogermanische Forschungen* (vol. 3, p. 194), Rhys says: "Un mot dont l'étude des Dialectes, scientifiques soit la des Dialectes, [illegible] connaître, implicite ou sub-sub, [illegible] Rhys a classification and discussion of numerous [illegible] the interdialectal distribution of terms, the similarities and divergences in the preference of old words, the degree of foreign influence (whenever this can be traced) and the mutually overlaidness of terms in the different speakers. In Provençal, the numbers of which hardly be simplified (I use Table, such semantic groupings would particularly be useful in connection the influence of Italian (formerly also overlaid in Lit) and Rhaetian on the native vocabulary.

In this paper I have tried to adapt the approach to the Provençal words for 'eating' and 'drinking'. I have restricted myself to the discussion of the verbs *manjar* from *jant* (all of the general words for 'food' and 'meal.' Specialized terms abound in such of the specialist for variations of 'food' and 'drink'; but since most of these fall under the category of 'cultural' words which would by their very nature be marked more by divergence than by similarities, their study may perhaps not be so fruitful for the immediate purpose of this study.

The results of my survey are summed up at the end of this paper.

'EAT DO'

	Dutch	Middle Dutch	Frisian	Tokaqui	Tulu	Tik	Mbuti	Kuwaiti	Mohu	Bedeki
1. 'Eat (sg)'	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
2. 'Eat (pl)'	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 'Eat (imperative)'	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]						
4. 'Eat (imperative)'	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]			[illegible]		[illegible]
5. 'Eat (sg)'			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	
6. 'Eat (pl)'	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]						

'DRINK DOG'

	Dutch	Old	Kuwaiti	Tokaqui	Tulu	Tik	Mbuti	Kuwaiti	Mohu	Bedeki
1.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]				
2.	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]					
3.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4.				[illegible]						

Besides the forms listed above, which a number of Dinka Fanali words, many of which occurring in Religious texts are used as prefixed or 'verbs used alike to express all the related significations of a semantically compact group,' as distinguished from *Prepositions* which are restricted to specialized significations only.

The meanings of Bona Dinka words are usually secondary developments.

ɔɔnɔ—'to eat' implies 'to consume,' 'to experience good or evil'; *ɔɔnɔdhɔnɔ*, [Tiet], 161].

ɣɔɣɔ—'to eat, drink'; *adhil ɣɔɣɔ-ga* [Pantyawi V, 29]. Cf. ɣɔɣɔ-k in the table above.

ɔɔ—'to eat', 'to consume', 'to feed to one's satisfaction' besides 'to be full', 'to experience fully'. *Ɔɔkhɔ-ɔ-ɔɔ* [Ajing., 104] cf. Tif. *ɔɔ*—'to be replete,' 'Kann, den Völkern.'

ɣɔ̈l—a very old protected key 'nothing (for your drinking) all kinds of things'; *ɣɔ̈l-ɣ-ɣɔ̈ɣɔ̈ɣɔ̈ɣɔ̈* [Pr., 79] which corresponds the verb with the prefix *ɣɔ̈l-* 'food.' Jalaw in Bjɔ̈ɔ̈l is a Bangalese name, meaning 'food.' *Ɣɔ̈l-ɣɔ̈* 'food' may very probably be related to *Ɣɔ̈l*, *Ɣɔ̈l-ɣ*, and the word 'food' may have been derived. Also cf. *ɣɔ̈l* 'to take food'; *Ɣɔ̈l-ɣɔ̈*.

ɣɔɣɔ—'to feed (you)', 'to eat'; *ɣɔɣɔ-ɣɔ̈l-ɣɔɣɔ* [Pr., 116] 'having consumed (food) kin wrong'. Cf. *ɣɔɣɔ* 'chewy, spur' and *ɣɔɣɔ* 'for cattle to graze upon'. Cf. also Tif. *ɣɔɣɔ* 'pasturage' and (more generally) 'food'.

ɣɔɣɔ—'to eat (grain, kidney etc.)'; *ɣɔɣɔ-ɣɔɣɔ* [Ajing., 99], *ɣɔɣɔ* [Pr.]. This does not appear to be a protected like *ɣɔ̈l-ɣ*, *ɣɔɣɔ-* and *ɣɔɣɔ*.

ɣɔɣ—'to eat' besides 'to enjoy, enjoyment'. Cf. *ɣɔɣɔ*, *ɣɔ̈l*, *ɣɔɣɔ*, *ɣɔɣɔ*.

ɣɔ̈l'l—'to eat' [Ajg.]. Cf. *ɣɔ̈-ɣɔ̈* 'to be consumed,' *ɣɔɣɔ-ɣɔ̈l* 'to consume like food into the mouth.' *ɣɔ̈l'l-ɣɔ* as a noun is employed in preference for 'food' [Ajg.]

ɣɔɣɔ-ɣɔ̈l—'to eat'; 'to drink with the hand.' This is not a Religious form. It is not mentioned in Tif'ngarem but only in Ordinary signals. Perhaps the meaning 'to eat' emerged up in the

language of the religious doctrines as a kind of 'value', expressing, demanded by certain religious formulas.

Tel. [illegible]—'to [illegible],' 'to say,' 'to think' is perhaps Ta [illegible] 'handle'].

Mal. [illegible]—'to say' [used in the world], [illegible] 'to say' [used in the world], [illegible] 'to say,' respect 'to say, think or [illegible]' are in [illegible] use.

II.

Remarks on [illegible]

1. 'Say' type

The Kui and the Uralī representatives of this widely represented type have [illegible] [illegible] (for which, see my DPI, 12, colloquial Tamil [illegible] [illegible] (in Kannada colloquial [illegible] (Ellis, Trans., p. 127, fn. the disappearance of [illegible] [illegible] in some of the forms of Uralī verb [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Semantically [illegible] 'to a [illegible] [illegible]. 'Whenever is [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Indic 'to drink, partake of, etc.' used for 'having a meal' in the Rig Veda' course of Rishiles.

Kuvalai [illegible] 'to have a meal' colloquially 'to consume rice, food and drink.'

The base ay-, used largely for 'having meal,' and the Tamil form [illegible] will be discussed below. Telugu uses the 13. Dravidian commonly for 'meal'; which 13. base is mentioned in the Tamil [illegible] Dalam to contain the Sanskrit [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] which of course are 13. [illegible].

It may be noted that the derivatives from ay- in the different Dravidian Tongues, viz., [illegible], Kan. [illegible], Tul. [illegible] preserve the dominant sense in viz., viz., 'taking things other than the staple food.' A glutton is described as [illegible], [illegible] in Tamu., [illegible] in Tulu, [illegible] in Mal.

8. 'Sap—' type

A very widely represented type with [illegible] [illegible] Kanarese has [illegible] (G.N., p. 408). Further, the past stem in Kan. and Kodu is [illegible] with the [illegible] of [illegible], the Dravidian past affix. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

food or meals, the 'food' of animals being emphasised with *ulai* or its derivatives.

Kann. *ulu* 'meal', Mal. *ulu* 'to have a meal (for human beings only)', Tuḷu *uḷu-pu* 'food', Badaga Kann. *ḥuḷpu* *ḥiv* 'to eat truth,' Mal. *uṇṇaka* *ttiv* 'to eat enough' and Kann. *uṇṇ* *kuḍi* 'to drink water,' Mal. *kuḍi* *ttiv* 'to drink water,' Tuḷu *kuḍi* *ivuni* 'to drink water,' Ebumbaka Gond. *pakuti*.

(ii) In the older stages of Tamil, Mal. and Kannada, however, *uṇ-* is associated with a large number of verbals including those for which the modern colloquials would use *kuḍi-*:

Tam. *kaḷiccu* 'to drink toddy' [Pur., 132]
ooṟiccu 'to drink toddy' [Pur., 98]
maṟiccu 'to drink poison' [Pur.,[illegible]]
muleccu-p-pacu 'to drink mother's milk'
ooru-n-eri *ooru* 'to drink (tears) of despair' [Pur., 84]
ooṟuccu-ooṟu 'to drink toddy' [Pur., 95]
u'ruccu-ooru 'to drink blood' [Pur., 3, 20]
vaḷiccu-vaḷi *ḥaṟpu* 'to drink the sword (just) (made poison)' 'River' [Nanak.]
ooru *ooru* 'to drink water' [Ettuttoḻai]

Kann. *ḥāl* *ooru* 'to suckle mother's milk'
ooru *ooru* 'to drink liquor, to be hot'

Mal. *muleppaṟu* 'to drink mother's breast-milk' [Kuṟuntt. 9.]
ooru *ooru* 'to drink water, to be hot' [R.D.]

In these contexts, the colloquials (and the more modern literary dialects) would use *kuḍi-*.

In the following in which *uṇ-* is used in the old Tamil texts, the modern (spoken) would use *tin-*; here the illustrations are, however, free, since the dedicated lexicons *uṇ* and *tin-* was observed only in the old texts.

vaṟṟiccu-p-pūṟpu 'Fruits owned for eating' [Tol.,]
ooṟiccu-p-paṟaiccu 'Where the drum pain' [Kuṟuntt., 107]
uṇṇiccu-uṇṇiccu-ooru 'The house owner (is reminded of lack of provision)' [Tol.]

8. In a very general way, it may be said that while one dentale in the dialects basic the 'taking' or 'drinking' of something that serves like food, this is applied to the 'taking' of things other than food.

[illegible] 'where fish's are eaten' [illegible, 177]

[illegible] 'to eat food' [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

This extended use of [illegible] in old Tamil texts is reminiscent [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] in [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] is applied not only to the simple food 'boiled rice' but also to 'food' and 'curry', where at least in modern speech [illegible] would be used] has led some commentators to postulate that [illegible] is a preferred word for all kinds of 'eating' and 'drinking,' while others maintain that the use of [illegible] in these instances (instead of [illegible] or of the regular preferred [illegible]) is only an exceptional usage.

On examining the use of [illegible] in old Tamil texts, I find that while [illegible] is quite or less distinguished in applications from [illegible], in 'consuming something that has more effect on the person (as) in (lack of) a regular meal' while [illegible], in 'taking things other than things consumed above', [illegible] (as the [illegible] would show) means 'drinking' also in quite a large number of contexts. Of course, there was the word [illegible] in old Tamil, to denote 'drinking'; but in the Sangam texts at any rate, perhaps not only has other meanings but it also not so common as [illegible] with the meaning 'to drink.'

(c) The signification of the Dravidian will be evident in the translations of the meaning 'to [illegible]' which are generally [illegible] in the central Indian Bhi and Gondi, and in the north Indian Kurukh and Malto.

Bhi [illegible] 'drinking water'
[illegible] 'to drink milk'
(Gondi) [illegible] 'they drink toddy, meaning, they are drunk regard'
[illegible] 'to drink milk'
Kur [illegible] 'to drink water'
[illegible] 'to drink liquor'
(Malto the [illegible] 'I drink water').

Regrettably, however, still similar to the sense of 'having a meal' is [illegible] the following, called from Grigson's excellent [illegible] — [illegible] 'I live with my parents' (literally 'I eat with the old man and the old woman.' But [illegible] 'to remain for the [illegible],' then [illegible] 'enjoying after the meal.'

Bilili: *ḫwn* means 'acting and thinking'; —*ḫwnrt* (?): 'drinking water'; *t dbilili hn ḫwnmwt* 'I have eaten nothing yet.'

It is very remarkable indeed that Kol, Khafi, Ḫsy, and Khety used all up, with the minimal count of 'Drinking,' without going to Ptah-hotep for this (but at the end) Proverbs opening did.

4. 'No swallow'

This is a purely north Dhwtiḥ.ty type. For the correspondence of *J* to *r* in the Sah. substantival form and for the spelling in the Rosc. text, see my "Dr. Florenzoni."

5. *swḫ*: 'No swallow'

In meaning, this set shows no difference from Pr. 4 above. Strictly it has at present to be demonated from the *swḫ*, swallow-type, the exact substantiality (?) *swḫ swḫwt* not being sufficiently clear.

6. 'Kayett' *mdw*

This form, according to Gardiner, signifies 'acting anything except *mdwt* (*ḫp*) *mdw*.' It is used with adjectives like *wbn* 'spotted dog,' *mdḥ* 'fatty,' *ḥrw* 'black,' *ḥbnwt* and similar things. With *mdḥ* 'tasted (?) *mdw*' *ḥrw* is employed. For the semantic differentiating of *ḫrw* and *ḫp* of the north Dhwtiḥ.ty specimen.

mdw (*ḫrw*) is some intermediate line (by accordings 'to gobble up,' 'to pay upon,' 'to drink up' 'to fill by wholesale.' Perhaps, therefore, it is related to Hom. *mdd*, Ptah *mdd*: 'to gobble up.'

Khety *mdw* is 'to act things like meat and food' (Brunn, Pyr. p. 32) while 'to eat bread' is denoted by *mrr*- which also means 'to press, bruise' (*ib.*, *mdd*, Ex. *mdp*.). 'To leave a meal' is denoted by pap: *ḫp* 'to eat bulbul (?)'

8. Thus *ḫpp*: 'to leave a meal.'

Tomb *ḫpp*: is the common colloquial term for 'having a meal' amongst many concordances. It does not appear to have been generally recognised as a Dhwtiḥ.ty word. Pierre Dijkat *ḫpp*, a late (18th century?) dictionary, however, mentions it.

1 The Tomb *ḫpp*, however, also has some Dhwtiḥ 'meal' from Hwrkhopsis (Lahun).

In Telugu, *cāpuṭ* 'to eat a meal' is said to be a Kinship word; the verbal stem *tinnā-* 'meal' [illegible] 'to enjoy physical' also exists. The Kannada form *tinnu* pertaining 'to have food' occurs in a DDA cognate word.

I consider these forms to be related to the following, all of which are from Ta. Lit provides 'sacrificial offering, etc.'

Tam. *ādiyan* 'boiled rice,' 'food'
Tuḷ. *ādanu* 'food' [polysemic word]
" *pādanu* 'sacrificial food,' 'meal'
[illegible] *Bhojana*[food].

Through Kann., *pādanu*, while do not have the meaning 'food,' 'to have food' but the signification 'sacrificial offering' (Lit provides), and the latter means 'gravy, soldiery' (Lit provides).

Tu. *pādanā* 'to have food' and *pādanu* 'food' show the vowel *ā* between the verb and the noun. Dravidian *ādanu* and *pādanu* 'to have,' etc.).

Tu. *ādanā* and Tam. *tinnā* appear to be the intervocalic variants of an original *ka* prefixed. *Cpvanā*[illegible].

Tam. *ādiyan* and Tuḷ. *ādanu* 'boiled rice' may also have been derived variants of provided 'sacrificial offering of boiled rice' *pādanu*[illegible] offering.'

It is very uncertain that Ta. *Nāṭā* a word which should have exclusively been restricted to religious *Bhoj*, such sacrificial offerings are only possible among the Brahmins or those who were which that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] very widely and almost become an indispensable expression in everyday vocabulary.

'Drinking'

1. 'Kuḷi-'

This is a Dravidic Brahmin type. *Kuḷi-* is the most common word for 'drinking' in the colloquial of Tamil and in both the colloquial and the literary dialects of Mal. and Kannada.

I have not met with *kuḷi-* with the meaning 'to drink' in the Sangam Tamil texts which are up to parts. The which [illegible], not [illegible], or one of the [illegible].

Tel. ṇa kuḍiyu (ṇaṭa chesu kuḍiyu) with the meanings 'to eat', 'to enjoy' and 'to drink.' Telugu kuḍi is another word with the same meanings. This latter may have been an assimilated variant of its older 'kuḍip-, 'kuḍip-' recorded with kuḍi- for the charge, of Tul. verb. 'to drink, hang down' and Kurg. kuḍi 'hanging room.' The modern colloquial word for 'to drink' in Tel. is tāgu <Ctdp.

In Tulu, while the commonly employed verb is pavu-, the form kuḍu- signifies 'to drink toddy' [kuḍiṭhu 'a drinker'].

9. Tam. pavu-

This is a Sangam Tam. word signifying 'to drink', 'to gulp', 'to swallow'—called pavuṟi 'boiling drink liquor' [Pur., 6. 10]; other pavu- 'to swallow the food' [Pur.].

Old Kan. pavu- is 'to sip', 'to drink', 'to salute', 'to enjoy'; used in old texts like Bhāmaṇīpraṇaya and Ṛṣyaśṛṅgāyana.

Tulu pavu- is the indigenous verb. Pavu-, among the 'lowest' castes of Tulu country, is exclusively in 'boiling a hook' sense (now used only [qtd] pavuṇḍi 'hooper').

The type does not appear to be represented in other Dravidian dialects. It is not known if the indefinite co-lexical suggestion of the Tamil lexicon that it may be connected with Kan. pavi 'to drink' has anything in it.

III

Words for 'food', 'meal', 'satisfied'

A list of the general words is given below; the specific names for different varieties would be too numerous to be mentioned here.

Tamil ūṇ, | 'food'/'Cop.'
uṇavu, | 'food'/'Cop.'
uṇṭi | 'food'/'Cop.'
mūṭi | 'food'/'Cop.'
ūṭu | 'satisfied' verbs
mūṭṭu | 'satisfied' verbs

uṇṭiṭṭi 'what is eaten,' 'food,' 'settled river' <Cop. 'to eat'>;
cf. Kan. uṇṭigi 'what is eaten'
uṇṭu 'food' <Cl.A. ulma (see above)>.

Tonal. [illegible] 'Seed' [Pre.] [illegible], 'what is sowed together', cf. Rawa. [illegible], Tiil. [illegible] 'Scattered seed'. Rickel [illegible], p. [illegible], suggests that Lata Rit. [illegible] 'Seed,' 'Scattered seed' may have been derived from Brerdikan.

[illegible] } 'Scattered seed'
[illegible] }

[illegible] 'Scattered (seed)', cf. [illegible] 'to sow'.
[illegible] 'sowed,' 'Seed' [see above].
[illegible] 'seed' [in Blagoveshchensk, a word showing many [illegible] adaptations from Old Kit and Kilak] is nearly [illegible] obviously to Old Malayan 'Seed', cf. Tiil. [illegible] below.

Dial. [illegible] 'seed' <Gap>

[illegible] } 'sowing' [illegible] is [illegible], applied to the 'seed' of [illegible] 'gathered and [illegible]' to that of [illegible] [illegible] } [illegible]

[illegible] 'Scattered seed'
[illegible] [Beni Tá [illegible] 'Seed of fruit' [illegible] [illegible] 'Sower' [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 'to the (previous) field' [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Vanipoli [illegible].

Tiil. [illegible] 'Seed' [illegible] 'what is sowed' <Compb. 'to sow'.
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] 'Seed' [illegible] above.
[illegible] 'Scattered seed'; cf. Tonal. [illegible] above.
[illegible] 'Seed' [illegible].
[illegible] 'Seed' [illegible] [illegible] of Seed' [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] 'Seed' [illegible] of [illegible], Fiore [illegible] 'to grow'
[illegible] 'sowed' [illegible].
[illegible] 'Seed,' a [illegible] word, from [illegible] 'to [illegible]
[illegible], a [illegible] word for 'Scattered seed'

Rawanda [illegible] [see above].
[illegible] cf. Tiil. [illegible] above.

[illegible] 'Seed' } <Gap>
[illegible] 'Seed' }

Kurukh: [illegible] 'satisfied'
[illegible] 'dhal'
Oraon [illegible] [illegible] ← Cons.

Note. parallels 'tend' or 'low' under [illegible] 'to [illegible]'.

[illegible] [illegible] 'food' (and by Bloch-Sen and [illegible] by [illegible] forms under [illegible] are derived from [illegible]:

Kui [illegible] 'medical drug,' 'meal,' 'rice water' is perhaps connected with Kui [illegible] 'water,' Oraon [illegible] 'service,' [illegible] Pan. [illegible] 'nothing,' [illegible] 'water.'

Kui [illegible] 'food,' 'meal-[illegible]'

Kupchi [illegible] 'medical [illegible], food'; cf. [illegible] [illegible], probably not Dravidian.

IV

The following interesting [illegible] from the above discussion:—

1. Three types among the words for 'drinking' appear to be almost pre-Dravidian, while among the words for 'drinking' no all Dravidian type is available.

2. Some verb-types are exclusively south Dravidian.

3. Two deep-lying types of words for 'eating' have persisted in the south Dravidian speaches without essential change; whereas in the words for 'drinking,' the tibbe and the [illegible] (of [illegible]) words are (Brahui ?) Tamil and in Telugu.

4. The semantic development of [illegible] in the central Indian dialects and in Kupchi is interesting, though it may be said to have been foreshadowed by certain contacts in old Tamil [illegible].

5. Among words for 'food,' 'medicine,' derivatives with characteristic structural changes (like [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] from [illegible]) are conspicuously absent in central and south Dravidian.

6. The semantic differences between [illegible] and the [illegible] in Dravidian and persistent in the dialects, are referred not only by the contexts in which they are used but also by the special connotations of their derivatives (in south Dravidian).

7. Ed. [illegible] in difficulty [illegible] in one common verb-type (Tam. [illegible], Tel. [illegible]), in one Tamil literary word [illegible], in Tel. [illegible] and in some forms for 'food,' 'meal.'

[illegible] T. Burrow

The Śārdūlagarudīyakā

The Śārdūlagarudīyakā forms a distinct group by themselves and can be clearly separated from other works which are found in three or four large additions made to them. Sometimes it is very difficult to differentiate between the verses of the Śārdūla project and the verses introduced into them, so a large page will pass by the name of Śārdūla-Bhāṣya as simply Bhāṣya. In very few cases traditions have tried to keep these apart which helps us to separate them from each other. In other cases they are mixed up in such a manner that it is now impossible for us to try to distinguish the various strata in the text of the Garuḍī in the present time. What we possess in these texts are the enlarged and supplemented versions of the original Garuḍīyas, and they are called by the names of the Bhāṣya or Śārdūl-Bhāṣya, the Garuḍa-Kumārīyas (sic) a collected edition by Śrīkṛṣṇa of the medical notes of these works. We with the help of Śāṅkara (sic) which medicines have healed during so on. It is usual to divide the collection of the Garuḍī works into three groups, the divisions being based on the consideration of the prestige of the medical the magic through which it may have passed before it [illegible] to present [illegible]. There are Garuḍas the text of which is preserved in an archaic form which we are currently able to represent both original and first from later additions. To this group belong the two Garuḍas on the first two days of the month, Śrāvaṇa, the other commentator on Rāma, has given us no hint to think that there are verses in the text of these Garuḍas which are a later addition to them, as is done by Śrīkṛṣṇa while commenting on the Indrayudhāka-Garuḍa where we find that there are many additional verses pointed out by him as belonging to the Śārdūla-Bhāṣya. The second group consists of these Garuḍas where some of the so-called Śārdūla-Bhāṣya are added to the original Garuḍa either to explain it or to supplement it. To this group belong the Garuḍas on the Jyeṣṭha and Dhanurdhāra. In the third group come the Garuḍas which are now called by the names of Bhāṣya and Śārdūl-Bhāṣya like those on Śrāvaṇa and others where it is not now possible to separate the original

and Pāyāsi and the later commentary on it. The importance of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta, therefore, lies in its being the most pure and unmixed representative of the real science of the Śrauta Sūtras in its refined, any changes.

The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta[1] is one of the smallest of the group and consists of 226 Sūtras. As usual the main function of the Śrauta is to explain the name of the text and the tribe of the various chapters, adding which necessary a history of its contents and sometimes giving some introductory information for the understanding of the text. Compared with other Śrauta Sūtras like the Āśvalāyana and the Dākṣiṇāyana Śrauta, we find in the present one less of the expansions similar and of the long digressions which we meet with in those works. And the usual (series of a Śrauta, the explanation of the terms in the text by the application of the various Anuvākas, is to be found in its fullest extent. The (a-priori) [illegible] in any form this explanation forms, in reality, the main function of a Śrauta, and what's like the (mention) of (illegible), the chronological application of the hymns in the text and the logical division and ordering of similar verses are of secondary importance. I will particularly refer to it.

The present Śrauta gives of no help in determining its proper date. It refers to a vast number of philosophical schools and spiritual which were current at the time. But no definite chronological conclusions can be based on them. Each one of these schools has a long and eventful history of its own and some of them can be dated back from the first century A.D. There are also a few persons referred to. So we have a reference to Ālāyana, Śaṅkha, Śaṭāyana (?), Jaimini (?), Pāyāsi (?) and others, but none of them can be put later than the time of Bādarāyaṇa (Jaimini), most of them being his contemporaries. So the recording which had some scholars to put down the date of some Śrauta's Ṛṣi that on the Vāsiṣṭhāyana-Śrauta[2] is in no way appli-

1 The Śrauta along with the text and Bhāṣya's commentary is published in the Ānandāśrama Series, Poona 1911. It is also found as an appendix to Dr. Fushe's edition of the text, Poona 1908.

2 Cp. Dr. Chaudhuri, Introduction to the edition of the Vāsiṣṭhāyana-śrauta, Vigoda 1906, pp. 16-20.

[illegible] to the present work, as it refers to an [illegible] which will compel us to assign it to a later date than the one given by [illegible].

Some importance is the question about the relation of the present Hymnbook to others. In v. 10 it appears that the Hymnbook refers to the Deberaldichy Nigaḥ which in many other places Bikhor would like us to believe that the fact of the composition of some works by the order of the Hymnbook is due to the fact that he had already treated them in his earlier work, the Hymnbook on the Ten Angel, the Lekha. That the general Hymnbook is later than the Deberaldichy Nigaḥ is further corroborated by the fact that the introduction to verses 86-100 is serving both a summary of the two mentioned in verses 20-42 of the other. If all this is accepted, we will have to say that the primary Hymnbook was written later than three two Hymnbooks.

Lewinsky[1] has raised an important question about the division of the work into Anonymoplegia. It is said in text from Gaster into the following fashion:—"Times in the morning of a thing by that part what word without prefix in [illegible], Jehoshaf or a [illegible] in pronunciation of [illegible] Bridge or the morning of which the Ship is turned, and Wing of the end [illegible]" is a definition appropriate for the morning. "If there begins to [illegible] Ten Commandments and Kingdomship. The world of [illegible] again falls into four divisions, Jehoshafatic, Nuranomic and Tabbaonic. The last of this division is further split up into three subdivisions called Rikhtim, Nahdhapsia and Akhmadhanagim. The last subdivision is found in two places in the Kinnothpiyyot Hymnbook where the matter deals with the word Hanjarim (96 f.) and Jerim (106 f.). Now there is a conflict[2] generated in the Gaonic or Saadanic and Rabbi from which we cannot to know that Saadia or Nigidanika adopted the first division, Kimchi adopted the middle one, and Bridge adopted the third division. If the tradition is accepted, and there is no reason to deny validity to it, and if Bridge is the first person to return the

1 Untersuch. über die Anonymoplegien, Breslau, 1874, p. 30.

2 Gaonic passage: "Mem jaha ain Kimchi [illegible] [illegible] Saadia [illegible] Nigidanika [illegible] [illegible] Bridge [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Not Gelong of Bhāskīrtti we are compelled to put the present Vāyaḍā after Jina and so above the first century A.D. at the earliest. The same conclusion can be arrived at by taking into consideration the allusions to mythological and semi-historical stories about the patriarchs of the Jain community found in the other Vāyaḍās especially the Āvaśyaka Vāyaḍā. But the present line of argument is not conclusive. Unless and until we are able to show that Bhāgu was the first man to receive this division, we are not justified in putting the Vāyaḍās later than Jina. What the tradition says is that while the other two writers were not willing to admit the four divisions Bhāgu did admit it. The difference of opinion, it will be seen very easily, is due to the very slight distinction that exists between these various divisions as it is based purely on the consideration of the relation thus taken by the Jainas to vanaḥkāra itself into the three traditions and not on any difference of a fundamental nature. It may just have been the case that the division was at first all one, and that some writers did not admit the three separate divisions as being religiously authentic, preferring to regard them as distinct from each other. We have a parallel case in the fact that Haribhadra refused to admit the *Pañcama Śruta* which, we have sufficient evidence to prove, existed before him and for a long time.

The late Śrī's for these middle ages is approximately settled with the help of the considerations. We find that the Āvaśyaka Vāyaḍā is often quoted by the canonical works like the Nandī-Sūtra, the Anuyogadāra and the Saṃstāraga which attained to their present form as early as the 6th century A.D., if not earlier. That the arrangement of the canonical texts as settled in the council at Valabhī includes two Vāyaḍās as books in the group called the Ṭīkā-Sūtra, as also the fact that the six Vāyaḍās have for their basis the other arrangement of the canon into works called Aṅgas and Upāṅgas leads us to suppose that they must be considerably older than the council period. The latest reference to a Jain patriarch is to be found in the Jinakaṇṭhābha Vāyaḍā, where it refers to Devarṣi Vādin[1] who lived in the third century A.D. So we can put the collection of these Vāyaḍās

1 Śatrunjaya Māhātmya, v. 31.

between 300 and 100 A.D., a period which will explain all the references found in the various Gītās. But it is much more probable that the reference to Gītāsāra is a later addition, in which case we can put the editor's Gītā earlier.

The Gītāsāṅgraha Māyāvādī, as was in vogue from its topical period, mainly occupies itself with the two and who is remarkable and commonly as a few verses. As regards the authenticity of this work we are told at the beginning that it was the Gaṇeśakumāra, the direct disciple of Lord Rudrāṇī, who got it in so many words having heard the substance of it from the mouth of the Gītā (19-20). The second chapter, it is further pointed out, was delivered by Kṛṣṇa to his twenty-eight sons at the battle Jāmbavī (28). The praise of Rudrāṇī is said to be a report of Rudrāṇī to her Lord Śaṅkara, while the conversation between Rudrāṇī and Śrīpati (particularly the second chapter 28, 29). The last chapter of the text purports to be a dialogue between Śrīpati and Vāgīśa, a disciple of Śrīpati (30). All this shows that the traditional information about the production of the text and its author differed from the information found in the text itself. None of these writers can be taken to be the actual author of the work in its present form which is certainly a comparatively late date.

The explanation of the name of the work is of some interest. The word Gītā means primarily a thread, and in its secondary application it means, according to one author, knowledge, as it is suggestive of the eternal reality. This appears to be a confusion due to the similarity between the Prākṛt forms of the two words Gītā and Gīrṇa which are in reality two different words of different meanings. The Māyāvādī explains the use of the word Sāra in conjunction with these words on the supposition that they are indicative of the real knowledge as provided by the Gītā. Now such a form is of two kinds, the Śaṅkhāvāra in which the technical terms and their explanations are absent, Śaṅkhāvāra-ubhaya which means a Gītā containing both having a very wide application. Every thing within is serious, and Jaiminīkṛṣṇa says, Kṛṣṇa explains to Arjuna four subdivisions of Śaṅkhāya, a secretion, Śrīpa or power, Pādya or material comparison and Gaṇa or song (8, p. 5). The other name is the

[illegible] Rudra Indra-nāra a more more complicated and recondite discussion. It is necessarily implied two other forms, Kevala or the means of being a Thing and Sādhya or the agent of the action also, in reality, is an other [illegible] the soul (A). The Jīvaga Kevala is either dry be Dravya or some criminal impulse or Pūrvad Karma when it is free in its natural activity. The first is called Mūla which includes the five Kāyas of bodies and the sense organs, or Uttara which is a further combination of the five Kāyas the eye, ear and others. The Pūrvad Karma is illustrated by the notorious Karmathāra (for Pāṇḍava, Kṛṣṇa and others. Viewed in another light it includes such mentions as the Sarvāpta Karma or pre-destined fate in a collection of the seven Kāyas (cf), Pūrvāta Karma or a thing like a cotton cloth, or Bhāgā respiring body, as a rock, and Bhāga without body, as the formation of a horse (I). The Karma Pūrvad means both the sky where all things happen, and also the collection of bodies in a way. The Kāṇḍa Karma includes time in general and the six stages a man passes through (Kāṇḍ). After the Jīvaga Karma, the Bhāva Karma (also Bhāva) are many divisions in which is found the Pūrvāpāra Karma which is the actuality that pertains to the present moment and grows the quotation of the universal works. It further concerns Bhāṇḍ the word of the Bhāṇḍāpāra, the traditional ordinary of the works A Bhāṇḍāpāra Of the Mūlāt Lokottara psychical. Some that legends the sculptured Jīvaṇḍāpāra (1170).

We get a considerable amount of information about the text. The object of the first chapter is the description of both orthodox and heterodox schools and includes those who admit only the five elements, those who say that there is only one soul, those who identify soul and body, those who contend that soul is inactive, those who admit soul as the sixth element in addition to the usual five, those who say that the lower soul remains without giving In (N.B. the Gandhā, and others of Tāla importance (6.28.10). Many of these schools, it will be very easily seen, were the well known exponents of schools headed by teachers like Ājīva Kesakambalin, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Gosāla and others. Of from the conclusions we arrived in the earlier of the Pūrvāta he pointing out that the quality of sentiency cannot be the outcome of the collective of the five elements which have qualities other than that sentiency. That is it possible that one event should have what the other event has

experienced [illegible]. The extent which [illegible] that the soul is [illegible] is [illegible] by pointing out that if it is so, the soul cannot [illegible] what he has not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

bal and during my son's moment *nirjara* but in showing *vaidhī bhakti* is religion. It is equally true that women also should take care of *vaidhī* (19-07).

The whole of the 18th chapter is concerned with a detailed description of the India whose want of *vaidhī bhakti* are made to suffer. In the comprehensive description of the way the Bhagavān who is *bhāvāhārī* appears in some form by giving to the various functions of the humanities in half which are fitters to receive. It includes now the worship the *lakṣmī* beings, and the hallmarks of remaining (from 19-08).

The 19th chapter is a poem of Lord Rishabha in very glowing poem. The peculiar method of the Bhagavān can be seen in the best in the treatment is given to the name *Rishabha*. The word *Bhakti* is viewed in the total two-fold way, on one the other number Five. Poems from the point of view of *Bhagavān* as the incarnation of the creatures on the body of the *guṇa* to be *jīvātmā* with from the point of view of Rishabha Bhagavān in religious to *bhakti* (19-09).

The seventh chapter deals with the characteristics of the state of being without *avidyā* and having *bhakti*, and the exposition of the state of good *vaidhī bhakti* and being known as the *nirguṇa* Bhagavān (20).

This, viewed from the Bhagavān point, is the law of objects like *vindu* fruit and others, and viewed in the Bhāva, *nirguṇa*, is to other having full or partial roots. The schools which are the adventure of the bad center of conduct are those who worship Indra like Chaṇḍī, those who regard rudra to be a purifying agency, and those who perform sacrifices (20-08).

Forms of worship is in the Bhagavān aspect, things like birds, animals and inanimate objects which include food, garlands and weapons. But in reality Vīrya consists in the power of the soul in controlling the senses and showing qualities like activity, behaviour, hatred, meditation nature as also performing penances. It is either that of a wise man or of a bad man or of an ordinary man. It is different with the minds and the bodies (21-17).

The 21st chapter deals with *Dhāraṇā*, and the writer points out that in this book it is not proper to describe the Dhāraṇā of the hereditary schools (20-20). *Samādhi* is the subject of the tenth chapter. It is also called *dhyāna* or doing worship of *nirguṇa*. *Samādhi* means

attachment to the good objects of the five senses, and in the Bhāva application to activities, knowledge, penance and conduct (101-106). Bhāṣya is the way. It is either conjoined or otherwise. It either leads to Liberation or to hell. The hell one awakes of killing living beings and showing attachment to the pleasures of his world. On the other hand, the right path leading to liberation awakes in patience and self-control (107-111).

The fifth chapter gives in short the well known four schools of philosophy current at the time of the origin of Jainism. They include the school of Kriyāvādins who hold that the soul is subject to suffering the fruits of his own acts, and has BH Avatāras. The Akriyāvādins hold that there is nothing like soul, neither it is responsible for its own acts. It has six variants. The Ajñānins say that knowledge is not necessary for Liberation and say Evilist has 67 views. The last school, of the Vaināyikas hold that Bhakti alone is necessary for salvation and has 32 Avatāras. All these views are described here and the right view of the Kriyāvādins is upheld (112-121).

The 12th chapter deals with the proper qualifications of the hero. The story of Jinadāṣa, the 14th of the disciples of the twelve scholars, will illustrate the chapter that follows. Does a wrong interpretation of the texts. A faithful presentation of the intellectually learned does not injure is absolutely necessary (122-130).

The 13th chapter deals with the subject of both the teachers and the pupils, as also the interpretation in the way, Sūtra meaning and both (131-141). The same Jñānāṅga is explained as to refer to the fact that the chapter is so composed as to make the first word of the first chapter with the last word of the previous five. It also names the seven meanings of the 32 Aṅgas which is worthy of being learned (142-150).

The last chapter of the first book is called Sūtra, and it is explained in many ways. It may name either the use of that name which, however, is not the case with the present chapter but which shows traces of an earlier version in metrical form, or that is given in a short compass the substance of the chapter that went before it, or that it is sung in a charming tone. The chapter deals with the qualities of a monk (151-161).

The chapters of the second book are called the great chapters. It may mean that they are longer than the chapters of the first book or more important than them. The first explanation appears to be more plausible. The first chapter is called Lotus, and by it is meant all good things like the valuable objects, men of good conduct, gods of great power and everything that is marked by greatness. Here it typifies the wonder of manifestation (142-157). The object of the drama is to show that Liberation is obtained by following the path laid down by the Jinas. Out of all the Jinas, man is capable of obtaining liberation, and there also the King is the guide of all the people and so his conversion is the best way to lead the people properly. To cover the difficult frontier of the magical and wrong ways of worship are of no use and the only way to get over it is to follow the religion preached by the Jinas (158-170).

The second chapter deals with the nothing activities which lead to a bad existence and abandoning him which is the best way to draw oneself of all this (171-187).

The third chapter gives an interesting about the food of living beings. It is either food is general which all beings, yet undeveloped, take in, or Jaina-ability involving interlinkment through sense-knowledge, and lastly the sense-control of taking food in Temple. At the start of his life the soul lives without food for three moments as the soul then begins to receive food (188-198). The next deals with conduct.

The 4th is called Ṛjūkaṇḍa or Ṛjūkaṇḍaṇḍa, and says that one should follow the right conduct and abstain from the wrong one (199-208).

The 5th chapter is the result of the conversation between Jambūsvāmin and others. The Digambara points out that though the whole of the canon is a complete work yet there are occasions which require the endowment of a degree to deserve honors. The author has given a synoptic view of the story[1] which runs as follows:

In the country of Rāgavīra there was a town Puṇḍarīkapura and a householder Sūrapāla. He took to wandering on the advice of his brother Vīramāgadhaka along with his wife and begot five

1 Sp. Śāntinātha's commentary, pt. 209-300.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

chapter which is a necessary introduction to understand the text. While concentrating also to trace an intuitive sense operant in the text as to chapters Gana and Ren. Of other interesting references we have some remarks on various Particles (98) and Works (108), pronounced functions of words Rau Ruler (32), Ju and Ku (98) and Alien (101), synonyms for war (115) and liquid (functions above) (Ren) or water (98, 99/10). The name is referred to in 101, 106, 108, some synonyms are given in 99 and 10, the astronomical Kwanpu, some of which are clearly and first mentioned are referred to in no. 31-32, and some other earlier information is found incidentally.

A. K. Kaufman

An Aspect of Becoming in Early Buddhism

The sixth century B.C. is well known to have been a period which in India was remarkable for a profusion of intellectual activity and creativity closely associated with a probing into fundamental values concerning Man. The great age of the Vedic and post-Vedic Indian lead wizard, although perhaps it was distinct more entirely in some, their lessons, formed on certain phenomena of nature, and expressed for example in the magnificent hymns to the Sun and the Dawn, was gradually but relentlessly shifted to a growing interest inline by man in Man... This was the work of the Upanisads, this is their permanent and incomparable contribution to the world's store of learning. Remarkable men, live and in self in those lands in Pali, the relation to the whole of Reality, the beginning and more especially the ending with the ways of achieving the highest accomplishment, were to be the problems which the **teachers and thinkers** gave themselves from then onwards, attempted to solve.

From among a host of minor Indian philosophical theories, considering Hopkins, dealing forty-one (that is, subjects of metaphysical speculation, the **[illegible]** of all India has ever addressed at the present day to any but students of Indology. Their price was higher, but their returns have not much lost since then yet. Even these seems are contemporary in the sense after Hegel, although they were still passed across historical significance to those whose interests lie in this field.

One of this extraordinarily fertile time of speculative thought which was perhaps spread over centuries, out of man's slowly pondering consciousness of self, the "system" emerged which not only positively affected contemporary thought, but down the years have wielded an incomparable ascendancy over the lives and thoughts of millions: the "systems" of Hinduism and Buddhism. For these two "systems" (which for lack of a better word I will have) are the teaching of the Early Upanisads and the teaching we now call Buddhism. The one was, as it were, a conscious effort, occasioned almost certainly during a long stretch of time, and therefore slowly, I may say quite, certainly by more than one thinker. The other was the work, modified

much of Bhakti (state of consciousness, feeling attitude), and is usually ascribed to one man, namely Siddhartha the Buddha.

The teaching, never truly called Bhakti than Buddhism, cannot be interpreted aright if it be separated from its historical setting. The great religion has sent spring out of a soil. The seeking of some real effect, recognized and necessitated by Bhakti, was an active in the production of Primitive Buddhism as in the shaping of its later growth. But Bhakti did not arise on the advent of the early authors of the Upanishads. Looked at historically it seems as the supplement, the complement and the development of the Upanishadic standpoint. And this is achieved by the substitution of the concept of Becoming for that of Being. A view of fundamental importance in the Upanishads, that of man being that Highest Reality—epitomized in two phrases now famous (*Mahavak*): "That art thou" (*tat tvam asi*) and "I am Brahman" (*aham Brahma asmi*)—gives way in the Bhakti view that man must make himself to become as "That".

This doctrine was in Bhakti authors plainly stated in these words, but it is there implied, typifying the Bhakti teaching for those who have eyes to see, bringing that man can grow, can increase, can be made to become, can progress (*gatim*) in the Way. The flowings of this view were yet of spiritual growth from the Upanishads, I think, but were implied rather than stated.

> From the unreal lead me to the Real,
> From darkness lead me to Light,
> From death lead me to Deathless.
>
> (*Bihad.* 1. 3. 28).

In a verse which suggests that however sorely one might be One Real, yet a closer contact with it by means of the stepping (or way of knowledge) was essential for salvation, which was to be gained, as is here shown, through intellectual appreciation of the Real, through spiritual light, and by the cutting through of the veils of ignorance (*avidya*). So much that had man to achieve in order that the New Being might become a reality. In Primitive Buddhism it is simply apparent that this process could only be which, by and could only be secured, if man made himself. His powers and his knowledge, become greater and greater still.

The example which I wish to present of the way in which Pirsig, the Buddhism looked at this matter is only one best known texts which might have been selected. It is drawn from the Pāli middle of the Piṭaka. The Piṭaka contains hoards of stories of various kinds of wrong behaviour on the part of the sangha (bhikkhus), and of the rules laid down for the prevention and punishment of commission of the same sort in the future. Thus offences against the vinaya of training laid down by the Buddha for the bhikkhus are numbered. Piṭaka III opens with three of the very gravest kinds of offence, known as Pārājika offences: Gains of cenobitic, stealing and depriving of life. These are called condemned by all civilized communities, relating to deep the safety of persons and property.

But the fourth (and last) Pārājika shows, I think, a mode of thought which could only arise in circumstances where the notion that one became in an absolutely total form, concerning if not one, then a transcendent capital. This Pārājika, well compared as we all the rules by the quality of mercy, forbids (and it is most scrupulously clears a condition of the forbidden, rules for dealing with such conditions in detail, such as making accounts of disputes, how to take note dates. It is thinking by the course of thinking, usually but is too much to support it. In fact, in Lamy the Order, there is no hope of rehabilitation for him.

This offence was so grave, resting as it does with cenobitic, stealing and the depriving of life, not because the transgressor doubted himself, not because it was hypocritical to lying, although this certainly more so, but since all human the claim yet herself was to contrary, unpalatable and unbearable, amounting to death (Pāc. III, 4), of conditions (dhamma) to be seen only by excellent determination to reach the further (amata), to make the higher heaven. Those who had truly achieved this are called in Pārājika IV arahantamanuṣa, the Ṛṣiṣya-man—the best man (uttamapurusa) according to the conventional magnate. It cannot be too much emphasized that the power was (is) not unique (man which man were capable of developing, many not experiences, did not go beyond man's condition, as various translations have suggested. It was not that the conditions were beyond man in the flesh, beyond his power, unused. Once the scheme in which he could

terms and discipline himself. It was they those were most free in this world who differed from others in that they were bound to become (*bhabba*), and who hence had gone further on the Way, achieving as they did so certain conditions denied to those who had not 'travelled so far.' They were not more, nor fewer, others in other worlds. They were the furthermost, but were *not* perfected.

Now what are those conditions whose attainment marks off the modern, ardent monks whom Gotama will hence greatly (*pahūtatta*) from those others who cannot by long years from strength achieve the pleasures of the mind? Dīghajāṇu DV has several answers to this question. For example there are monks who assert a vision (*ñāṇa*) on the banks of the river Vaggumudā (*bangle*), and rightly so, that the conditions of the furthermost include possession of one or more of the four meanings (*āṭṭha*, *ṭhāna*, *dhāna*), attainment of one or more of the four stages of the Way (*sotāpanna*, *sakadāgāmī*, *anāgāmī*, *arahattaṃ*), the mastery of the threefold knowledge, the mastery of the sixfold knowledge. These four meanings include knowledge of previous existence, of understanding of the evolution (*vivaṭṭa*, *vivaṭṭa*), and of what we should now call telepathy, clairvoyance and clairaudience. The Old Commentary to Dīghajāṇu DV adds to these conditions those of freedom, attainment, understanding, making the Way to become (*uppādetvānī*), realization of the truth of the Way, and the destruction of the corruptions (*āsavā*). This last is further in some strongly reminiscent of the Jainpatra's definition of both virtuous and evaluative destruction of passion, of hatred and of confusion.

Towards the end of Dīghajāṇu DV the great disciple Mahāpālita is pressed by the monks of claiming the highest conditions of the Sublime-one. He alleging that he can shape and fashion going through the air, that he heard their sense of dharma, and that he knew what they had been by passing subtle, he was indirectly claiming these conditions for himself. But he was supported by Gotama, as it is stated, who said that Mahāpālita spoke truly and that therefore there was no offence for him. He was a furthermost, measured by his own power of endurance, by his own spiritual development both from the young, moderate monks, and from the mass of degraded, evil monks, who fight in hospity in the Vinaya, and who are accountable for the

knowing of the Rules. Only in a teaching where such a qualitative difference between man was fully recognized, only where spiritual progress with the load of conditions as yet unrelinquished by Noble Lives on the Way was conceived of as process important, could the thinking of those conditions by one who did not truly possess them be ranked as one of the four gravest offences, entailing expulsion from the monastic order.

L. H. Ehrenpreis.

Humayun's early Relations with Khanzada (1534-35)

When Humayun, on Babur's death (December 1530), became the ruler of Delhi, Khanzada continued to be the governor of Mewat and Qanauj. They were both of different mothers. Humayun, of Mahum Begum, a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad of Turbat-i-Jam and relative of Sultan Husain Bayqara, and Khanzada, of Gulrukh Begum, whose parentage, contrary to Babur's practice, has not been given by him. Mahum was married to Babur in Herat in 1503 and Humayun was born on May 6, 1508 in Kabul. Gulrukh was married two years later. Her eldest son Khanzada was born six years later i.e. in 1516, and her younger son Adam in 1519.[1]

Humayun was Babur's eldest child, being born when he was 20 years of age.[2] He complained that Babur, in his perplexities and in natural fear Humayun. Babur was still in prison of the Mian his second son, Kamran and third son, Askari were born. As a mark of endearment, he gave a foreign education to his children. They were not only taught to read and write in addition to their language, but what was more important to their future welfare, were given a practical training in administration and warfare. This explains (i) the presence of Humayun as a commander in the battles of Panipat and Khanwah at the age of 18 and 21 respectively; and of Askari, in the battle of Dhaghat at the age of 15, (ii) the appointment of Kamran as the governor of Kabul when he was only 10, and of Hindal when he was 11 or 12.

In giving his children a literary education, he was not satisfied with the mere appearance of learned standards as Babur did, but took personal interest also. In 1528, when Kamran was only a child of 9, Babur especially wrote a rendered treatise on Muslim Law entitled

1. Babur's 4 other living sons
   (a) Mirza Hindal Begim, whose daughter of the same name was married to Muhammad Sultan Mirza.
   (b) Mirza Aghaiba, mother of Gulrukh.
   (c) Bibi Mubarika, a Yusufzai lady.
2. The date of Babur's birth is February 14, 1483

'*Nur Fajlah-i-Rahmani*' for his instruction.[1] When after the capture of Khiwa,[2] in January 1920 he inspected the fort, the first things that he did was to visit Ghazi Wazir's[3] library and to choose some books for Bonapart and Nasrullah. Again in January 1920, he sent his Indian scribe to Bonapart and Nasrullah and the alphabet of the Persian script in Khaki, that is (AD) of 20 or 21.[4] Below-mentioned also gives one of Bahar's 'Dadi Letters' written to Bonapart in November 1920, when the pupil was 20 years old, in which the king corrects his spellings and criticises his phrases and broadsheet style.

The above facts show the keen interest that Dadar took in the upbringing of his children. He died when they were young, the elder being 10 and the youngest 12 years of age. During his career, Dadar had set an example of affection for his relations and his dying instructions to his eldest son were to preserve this partiality to his family and especially to be forgiving and kind to the brothers.[5]

Thus at Bahar's death, the new king had to formulate policy dictated not by his fathers. According to it, he should not displease Nasrullah of the government of Kabul and Qandahar, whose he had been period for the last five years. The Representative was partially successful, for the direct allegiance of the Kabulis and the Kandaharis to Amanullah would have been of great help to him, and it had been to Bahar in facing the rebel Afghans of India. Bonapart was practically a stranger to the Kabuli Afghans and, of course, in India, was hated by the Afghans as the son of a usurper who had deprived them of their ruling privileges. Nasrullah had thus an advantage over his brother, for he directly ruled over the warlike Afghans of Kabul.

1. [illegible], p. 116.

2. See Bibliography for the Capital Institution of India. Situated in 27°37' N. 77° E. in Bundelkhand district. There is another list of the same name in Jhelum District, which Mrs. Nasrullah occupied (Mention with the text of Dadar Khan, See AF., p. 40).

3. Ghazi Khan was the chief son to Dadar Khan both, the governor of the Punjab.

4. [illegible], p. 142.

5. [illegible], pp. 56-7.

6. See Gulbadan Begum's Humayun-nama, [illegible].

Hirayan might have mulled the disbelievings and still lived a noble end, did not question the lamentations of his father. But matters did not end here. Helen in his overflowing generosity of heart had persuaded Wazeeyan's share of inheritance to take of Khurshi as 5 to 2.[9] Of course, Rabbi had a premonition in his own mind's eye. The dilemma, Rabbi filmed Mazen as the cyst of Immanuel had the happen during the month, Rabbi Hakmeet Raana had slightly long while the third, Tuan Shakti Bhoota and the Fourth, Chigh had constantly smaller shares.

So, when Hirayan came to the throne, it was reported of him that Khurshi's *papers* would be invented accidentally beyond the ashes by Sadia.[10] Unfortunately, he was long 11 more important matters and let this matter remain in abeyance for nearly two years.

Khurshi, on the other hand, was all organized paradox, was incredible of very delay. "Wait for Kind, the Lying wanged shoulders, for rule matters into his step hands and proceeding to act independently. He collected an army and marched on Mirzan, where Mr Tuan Ali, the governor, proudly opposed him till he replied. Kurshi Bey, one of Khurshi's chief military work in Tuana, fell pounding to be imprisoned with his father and then as an generously received, captured him. The [illegible] of the plant immediately followed. Khurshi offered the condescension of the office to Tuana, but the latter declined and was then allowed to proceed to Wazeeyan.

Rabbi has very strongly criticised Khurshi's dodge[11] in these words: "Mr master Ali Khurshi, the son of Rabbi, heir of his father's death, thus disbelieving the simple dominions, he had engaged under his father and in the possession of which his brother had consented to confine him ..... collected an army and in the true spirit of Sandalwood among Adalia princes marched, the Khurshi, under pretence of congratulating Hirayan on his accession,

9. [illegible], p. 189.

10. Khurshi's government in 1898 were that time left the present day of Afghanistan. He did not [illegible] the province of Herat, neither was Herat in the north of the Hindu Kush on our north of Quetta.

11. Rabbiana History of India, vol. 14, Rangoon, p. 3.

[illegible] to try the strength of his sword and to see whether (in case good fortune might see mine) him to the throne of Delhi itself[1]. For us, it appears that there are two glaring inconsistencies in the statement:

(1) Babur's reference to the Kamran between the two brothers cannot be maintained at least for the first eight years of Humayun's reign. Babur did Khusru Aziz in control the throne of Delhi with his brother not as an independent prince. Humayun, on his return to Delhi, not only added Lahore, Multan, and other mentioned territories to the Mughal, but also Mirza Firuz, which was considered as the heir-apparent's fief in the Mughal times.[2] The coins too of the period bearing the names of both the brothers and the mint-towns, and yet also suggest our statement. Of the eight coins preserved in the British Museum (to) are dated, the latest being dated, in 949 A.H. = 1556-57 A.D. One of the inscriptions reads:

سکهٔ شد بنام همایون بادشاه ثانی

and

سکه به ضرب ثانی اسکندر الاعظم و ثانی جامع القرانین و ملکه

Translation:

'The coins of 'Muhammad Khusru Bahadur-i-Ghazi' and 'Muhammad Humayun Ghazi, Sultan the Great and Universal, may God than his territory and Sultanate.'

These coins are minted by Khusru in Sirhind or some other town in his fiefs. Khusru with Sikandar Bahadur became his father had entrusted Sirhind as such which he owned the single province of Sirhind. Humayun lost his many successes with of Sultan.

The true relation between the two brothers is clear from the phrase, 'ثانی اسکندر' added to Humayun's name. It signifies that Humayun was the greater of the two.

The title, Shah, Sultan, etc., were so indiscriminately bestowed on princes and even on soldiers that among Babur and Humayun's years there were more than at least two (hence will) from Ghazi. Bahadur

[1] See Bar Fraud's Firuz.

[2] The statement is certainly above so, as was lost to Humayun, Kamran as distributed, as he remained.

bridge on [sic] title was not commonly used in India. As we have pointed out, Khusrau, in compliance with Delhi's wishes, viz., to recognize Khusrau's importance, bestowed on him the province of Kabul, Samana, Multan, Dipalpur and others, the right of coinage and gave him the permission to use the title of Shahzada. Such grants were a common feature in Mughal India. Even as late as the middle of the 18th century, the East India Company and the Nawabs of Bengal issued coins, though they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Emperor of Delhi.[1]

(2) The second inscription states where Khusrau Sarwar Khusrau's conversion of Kabul and Qandahar as 'temporary dominions'. The two provinces together would be less than half of the present independent Afghanistan. Khusrau's jagirs were so small that an addition was expected.

We may further point out that Khusrau's governor Sir Yusuf Ali's appointed to Kiranja was due to the Delhi's impatience. When a

1. The last two points of Ibn's note, using Khusrau, indicate, we may very clearly convinced to the Rise to the Khusrau's a [illegible] [illegible] also may be given. [illegible] subject to the gold of one side of which he Sultan Shah of Khusrau is Wassaf's [illegible] also and contained in his. Sultan's Shah Khusrau had gold to Wassaf. Sort of Khusrau the title of Shah. Perhaps the such striking parallel is adopted by the sons of Shaqqaddin Ghori. There are many gold and silver coins in which the names of Shaqqaddin and his brother Mughaddin Muhammad Ghori jointly occur. Let us take two of these coins. In a gold coin (Ibn Tibman' Chronicle of the Pallas Kings of Delhi, p. 14) dated 591 A.H. (1195 A.D.), on the obverse side we read

السلطان المعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح محمد بن سام

on the reverse

السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

Also on some that the actual ruler was Shaqqaddin Muhammad bin Sam while his younger brother Muhaddin Muhammad bin Sam was his correspondent-chief and governor of a province (Sir Cunningham History of India, vol. XII, p. 94). It was the responsibility of the other brother that offered right from the younger brother, but all the same, the head of the battle was the elder brother, commencing religious from all other territory of the family including Muhaddin Ghori's. Sultan's Shah was so recognized a fact that the honour of title of Shah never clouded the time.

[illegible] patronage on his part might have obtained from the king without any [illegible], he sought to obtain by a display of God's [illegible]. This was remarked by Tinsley, who was a loyal servant of the Delhi throne, considered his duty to expose such a highly-placed parasite. He was probably spokesman of the new King's domain and Dunsgate's owner.

[illegible] God is in full agreement with my views.[13] He says, His Majesty Jahanbani (i.e., Kingship) partly formed the use of his Kingship had been set in motion and partly from a desire to observe the principle of his Majesty Imdadbani (Deliver) made over the provinces to him.[14]

Hence, the office ended in power and authority. A Sunnis was issued confirming the grant of Sahrd, Samchor and the Punjab. In grateful acknowledgement of it, Ahmadis wrote the following lines:—

[illegible]

Translation:

May thy lovely place ever increase,
And thy destiny be happy and glorious.
The dust that rises on thy path,
Illumines the eyes of Kiya officials.
The light that rises on Sahib's path,
Is rightful place in Majesty's eyes.
He who fill an eye cure round this life
(Be more big of a pair of) ornaments.
He is certain to [illegible]
Khwaja, as long as this world lasts,
Let the monarch of the Age be Dunsgate.[15]

14. Ibn Ishaq Sahab, p. 195.
15. (i.e., he who does not belong to Dunsgate) may be working in the cold the English empire.
16. The English rendering Office is one of the Great Seal Seal of Hindustan.

Hemayun was so pleased with the rumor that he made a further gift of Khwaja Firuza, a territory which had been granted to him as reward for his first victory on the Afghans under Daulat Khan, February 1555.[1] The grant to Kamran was now been made in 959 A.H. = January 1552, when Hemayun had marched to Agra.

To complicate our satisfaction:

(1) Up till 1550 Kamran was loyal to his elder brother. This is proved by the notes of the period.

(2) Some soldiers in Kamran's pay of Kabul and Qandahar was derived by the late Babur and had been spared to up Hemayun.

(3) In his impatience to increase his pay, Kamran applied force against the governor of Lahore and captured Lahore.

(4) Hemayun, on his return to Agra, made amends for the delay, conferred Kamran's possession of Lahore and added Multan to it.

(5) Kamran's only forcible mental reservation between the brothers as evidence the further grant of Khwaja Firuza.

R. K. Sarkar

Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir

The story of Christianity under the first two Mughal Emperors, as told by contemporary writers, is something quite apart from the history of the Christian religion in India. Many centuries before the Mughals set foot in Hindustan there had been, as there was still, communities of Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast and in other parts of Southern India, while small isolated groups, who probably Nestorian Christians, were scattered here and there in peninsular India. But the history of the Christian Church in the Deccan was little affected by the powerful Empire which arose in the North. In the 16th century the extreme south of India was occupied by the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar and it was in both the Hindu and Muhammadan states of that kingdom that most of the Syrian Christian communities were to be found. The seven Vijayanagar and the Muhammadan dominions were the four independent Muslim states of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Bidar and Golconda, which, though nominally at war with each other and with their neighbours, in which latterly they had to contend, were independent against Mughal aggression and finally subdued by the last of the great Emperors, Aurangzeb. The Christianity of the South of India was by some 100 years completely separated from whatever Christian influence could have had in the North and the principal which was present in Mughal India emanated mainly from Goa and the Portuguese.

Throughout the whole of the 16th century the Portuguese were the most noted maritime and commercial power in the East. They enjoyed a trading monopoly in India and strongly resented every attempt on the part of the English or Dutch to participate in it. Owing to their powerful position at Goa and to their monopolistic methods, supported by their naval and military forces and large merchant fleet, they were able for a long time to keep at bay the efforts of their rivals to open up trade with the Mughal Empire. Favorable to the Mughals was the competition they maintained with Goa. The Portuguese were more hated than loved wherever their presence was felt, and it was largely because of the fanati

of Portuguese capitals that so much difficulty was experienced by the early English merchant adventurers who visited the Mughal Court in obtaining the Emperor's sanction for the establishment of a trading 'factory.' The supremacy of the Portuguese in Indian waters and their firm hold on Indian trade made Goa in the 16th Century a populous and extremely wealthy and prosperous city. Church and State revelled in the orders that passed into it and both were equally active in protecting to all comers in their power the settlement of the monopoly in Goa enjoyed. Never was the Church more militant than then. Priests, Friarbrows and Capuchins made their way into all parts of India actuated as much by political and commercial as by proselytizing zeal and in their labours and missionary activities we see no small part of our information regarding the life and manners of the times. In 1560 the Inquisition was introduced into Goa and the 'Saint' Inquisitor Antonio Vieira and Christianity were closely associated. The tension between Mughal and Feringhee was further intensified by the hostility which developed from the efforts of both to control the Indian seas. The Papacy and Portuguese drew aids by the Church and the Portuguese civil authorities, equally for temporal aggrandisement and spiritual end, by degrees, whatever Will Ora, Vasco Della Gama actually intercepted, assumed a purely religious aspect.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of the 16th century when Portugal, from being the paramount European power in India, entered upon the decline from which she was destined never to recover. Beset with enemies, among whom were the Moslem princes, and jealous of sea-power by the maritime circle, her commerce and, with it, her prestige gradually dwindled and her maritime and military were unable, eventually, to prevent the establishment of trading posts by her rivals. In 1591 and again in 1599 the Dutch invaded Goa and during the first half of the 17th century ousted the Portuguese everywhere in India. In 1612 the English defeated them at Swally, and still more decisively in 1615 in a naval engagement in the same place.

The period during which the Portuguese reached the zenith of their power in India coincides roughly with that of the reign of Akbar—the first of the great Mughal emperors. His personality impressed all who came into contact with him—we may be judged from the contrasts—

young orphan—of the English travellers who visited his court. His rule on the whole was just. He was renowned alike for his military achievements, his political acumen and his magnanimity, and his name is still remembered as that of one of the abler and more liberal-minded civil administrators India has produced. He consolidated the empire he inherited, which, after enjoying great prosperity during his lifetime, was passed on to a stable condition to his son Jahangir.

In view of this it is somewhat strange that he should have cultivated a foreign power to adopt toward him the dominating attitude which characterized the Portuguese in all their relationships with Asiatic peoples and potentates. Akbar was certainly neither a fool nor a politically minded prince. On the contrary, he was by nature grave and courteous and fully conscious of his Imperial strength which was, indeed, far more than adequate, had he confined it, to have wiped the Portuguese off the map of India once and for all. While in point, he could have been strong by the serious risks they could inflict on his shipping as well as by the high-handed manner in which they interfered [illegible] of the treaty ports—yet he never [illegible] to have contemplated, [illegible] to have attempted, to handle the situation at their settlement by [illegible] of his very power. The reason was perhaps [illegible] the strong geographical and strategic position of Diu, in the [illegible] superiority of the Portuguese at sea, in material [illegible], and lastly, but by no means least, in the peculiar temperament of Akbar himself.

Diu, in the 16th century, was a better port than it is now, capable of providing a safe anchorage for the entire naval and mercantile fleets. It was also a strong and amply fortified place and in all respects an excellent base. Behind it stretched the formidable rampart of the Ghats, on the Western side of which was the kingdom of Bijapur. Had Akbar attempted to descend upon Diu from the landward side he would, in consequence, have been opposing in strong territory with the united forces of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Bidar and Ahmadnagar to the field against him. Diu, had he subjugated the Bikanerian kingdom of the Deccan he would still have been faced with the necessity of a natural barrier with heights up to 3000 feet. Viewed merely as a positive strategic move a campaign may well have seemed entirely worth the risk involved. Attack by sea was, for the Mughals, out of the question—here

the Portuguese had in all their own way prior to the coming of the Dutch and English. Akbar's aims, also, have been well among that any show of hostility on his part would mean onto the the coast towns of Gujarat, which would have been completely at the mercy of the Portuguese fleets. Diplomatically it was not to Akbar's interest to fall out with the Portuguese. The volume of trade with them was considerable and lucrative and Akbar was fully alive to the advantages to his revenue which accrued from it. It was, also, the service of most of these 'contractors' from overseas which enabled so much interest when brought to Agra and of handsome presents designed to proclaim his 'power' or 'Name first in his eyes' according to the diplomacy of the moment.

Notwithstanding these incidents of a more or less substantial kind it is difficult to account for Akbar's adherence at death that he was called upon to commit as the result of Portuguese hostilities rather than quietly settle in his characteristic fashion [illegible]. He [illegible] of the Seven and Twenty Rules of Religion to have been a complete [illegible] was [illegible] in an administrative capacity. It was his custom, on Friday nights, to sit in solemn conclave in the Divine House at Fatehpur Sikri which Hindu pandits, Parsee magi, Jesuits and Buddhists and other learned theological experts attended with members of the religious orders [illegible]. The result of these cogitations was that Akbar gradually devised for himself an eclectic religious philosophy which eventually took the form of a private creed based upon the Divine of Harmony. He invited scholars and priests of all faiths to form religious and, among others, the Christian scholars [illegible] Thus his mind was moulded in accordance having. That these representations and exhortations made a great impression upon the emperor there is substantial, though contradictory, evidence though it is clear that he never formed a convert. The Jesuit Abbot states, "His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion and wishing to spread the doctrine of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad (his second son) to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of amusement." That he was well disposed toward Christianity does admits of no doubt. This fact is well attested by many statements in the journals of Europeans who visited Agra during his reign as well as by contemporary Indian evidence. The Jesuits had churches built in Agra and Lahore

and were given full permission to convert whom they would. Two among them—Francis Xavier and Anthony Machado of Agra and Rudolf Pickaïto and Francisco Ford of Lahore were, in some sense, attached to the Imperial Court and enjoyed both the favour and confidence of the emperor. These were Jesuit divines and missions on a mission of course to all the leading posts and that they were welcome, also, in other cities in the Mughal dominions is clear from such statements as that the example of Nicolas Withington, who was in Ahmedabad in 1611—only eight years after Akbar's death—and observes, "There is hereafter a Jesuite repayringe to convert heathens to Christianitie, thought he hath little profit throughe hardnesse; yet still resteth in his resolve." Withington mentions, also, the Armenian merchants he found at Ahmedabad—they were also resident in Agra—and doubtless in other cities as well—who suffered no inquisitions on account of their religion.

From these circumstances it is evident that no capricious persecution of Christians took place during Akbar's reign, in the establishment of Christian missions, and that those who preached the Christian faith were in no without [illegible]. That part of the function they achieved was directly due to the emperor's personal friendship towards Christianity can scarcely be questioned. The [illegible] accorded by the Jesuits in Agra and the favour he showed them may therefore be taken as proof of his good-will, though it was none the less closely bound up with his political and commercial relationship with the Portuguese. His tolerance in this respect coming, as it did, in an age of fierce and bigoted partisanship, sharply distinguishes the reign of Akbar from those of his Hindu contemporaries.

Owing to the reign of Jahangir, who succeeded the Emperor in 1605, we find a personality of quite another kind. Jahangir had already plotted against his father whose closing years were embittered by the misconduct of his eldest son of whom, evidence of intemperance, predominated. Jahangir's hot-headed being of an intractable, rebellious and cruel disposition was extremely fickle. To the cries of hero-worshipers and interpretators he joined a critical look of principle. Like his father he appears to have been a sceptic in religious matters but, unlike him, from indifference rather than lack of conviction. Religion with him was merely a political weapon and his attitude towards it purely

opportunity. But he cannot have remained entirely unaffected by the liberal sentiments and policy of his father and, though it would, perhaps, be too much to credit him with the true spirit of tolerance, he did nothing to alter the entire gap with reference to the Christians in his dominion. On the contrary, Withington who visited the Court in Agra in June 1614 "Mine have a very fayre church builte downe by the King the white to Jesus and a little other"—fully so that the "christens" among them were allowed seven repeat a day and the rest three repeat a day and "have licence to turn as many to Christian-lie as they can." Speaking of Jahangir's devotees William Hawkins, who arrived in Agra in 1608, says: "The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private little room, upon a quilt, yet alone, having only a Persian book without him.....at the upper end of this he a-one the picture of the Lady and Christ my Jesus, graven in stone." William Finch, who visited Lahore in 1611, speaking of an apartment in the palace does observe, "Over the door is the picture of the Saviour, upright on the left hand of the Virgin Mary." Elsewhere, referring to the *Jharokha* (i.e. the throne in the Diwan-i-Am hall of public audience) in Agra he says, "On the right hand of the King, on the wall behind him, is the picture of Our Saviour; on the left, of the Virgin." From these and similar passages it would appear that Christian images and pictures were prominently displayed in the Imperial palace—being most probably from Akbar's cross-bought. It is difficult to understand how this can have failed to give great offence to orthodox Muhammadans seeing that Islam strictly forbids representations of the kind. Several of the early travellers remark that "he," meaning Jahangir, "speaks reverently of the Saviour, calling him Isaiah Ist" (i.e. the great prophet Jesus) and Edward Terry, who was in India from 1616-1618, says, "Thus he not a man amongst them (but those of the ruler sort) that at any time mentions the name of our blessed Saviour, called Isaa Ruaant Sa.....without reverence and respect." Such unmerited adoration to the Lord were, however, an indication that those making them preferred Christianity—they would be partially orthodox from the temple of any decent Muslim.

Jahangir's alleged, if true, step at least it, with Christianity would seem to have proceeded mainly from taste acquired during his

Akbar's Mahzar. He was naturally familiar with the Christian symbols which had adorned the Court in Akbar's reign, as well as with the decisions and customs of the Jesuit priests who frequented it; and, being by inclination anti-religious, as well as indifferent to anything more than the rudiments of religious observance, was quite content to continue his father's practices—but without his father's motives. But there are not lacking suggestions that his accommodating religious practices, outwardly out of tune as they were with his mission of Ilm, gave offence to some of those about him. There is a hint of irritation in the following passage from William Finch: "All this season also was much adoe with the King about Christianitie, for allowing before his wives that it was the ancient faith, and that of Mahomet lies and fables." The diversity of his championship of the Christian faith may, however, be gauged from the following incident. He decided to make the Queen-mother of his deceased brother Rajaram Christians and, for this purpose, handed over to the Jesuits for instruction, ordaining Christian apparel to be made for them. "Ala which step offending," as Finch says, "William Kettlewe, who was present when the decision was made, remarks, "the Hindu nobles and his own kin made his life hard for Christianity, as the Pathan and all Christians thought, but upon the persuasion of certain learned Hindus (Bhatts), who told him that the mother of his body should be (all) buried and the children of his brother should reigns, therefore he did it to make them (Hindu lady) to be Rooms (Roman), as Christians are others to their sight, and that they being now Christians, when any such matter should happen, they should feel no subjects." The baptism was duly performed by Father Xavier and the baptismal name delivered. But, Philippe, Bhai Dada and Dom Rosario respectively, being conducted to the church "by all the Christians of the city in the number of some sixty horse," Capitão [illegible] being at the head of them flying his cross of St. George. Sir Thomas Roe and others state that only two of Dadajal's sons have converts and suggest that it was voluntary. Whether so or not, their conversion was short-lived for they speedily recanted, their profession on the ground that the Jesuits failed to provide them with Portuguese wives!

We may now notice upon some considerations of another aspect of

Christian activity at the Court of the Great Mughal. The presence of the Jesuits in the Mughal dominions was due at least as much to their usefulness as political agents of the Portuguese power as it was inspired by missionary zeal. They were the eyes and ears of Goa, the tools of diplomacy, and zealous middlemen on behalf of the Church and the Crown. The figure of Qazi Isa's letter and the traditional nature of their mediations made them a powerful theme in the side of the English merchants who endeavoured to establish trading facilities in India. The jealous suspicion shown by the Portuguese towards every European traveller who set foot in India—more especially if he were of a non-Catholic nation—was occasioned only by the unwelcome that arrived to any disposition on the part of the Mughal emperors to accord those trading advantages sought by those European rulers. They no doubt realized that the grant of an (civil) or a single 'Factory' to individual trading would be but the thin end of the wedge which would sooner or later split the monopoly which was theirs. Thus, primarily, as it was to the Portuguese concerned of the one they foresaw that trade with other nations with liberality bring the edge which would contend with them, this all important factor—as in fact it did. In 1583 a company of merchants—of whom was Ralph Fitch, together with a jewellers named Leeds and a painter named Story who joined them independently in order to seek his fortune, set sail from London to the "Tigre." The expedition was financed by a syndicate of London merchants and had for its ultimate purpose the opening up of trading facilities with India. To this end Ralph Fitch was provided with letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. The company eventually reached Hormuz. Here some of the merchants remained while Fitch and a fellow merchant named Newbery, accompanied by Leeds and Story, sailed for Goa in the Portuguese Gulf. On their arrival the Indian merchants in Goa aided, discovering that they were prospective rivals, advised the Portuguese authorities who arrested them and sent them to Goa. Here they fell into the hands of the Inquisition and were committed to prison where they remained about a month. They do not appear, however, to have been greatly frightened and as nothing could be proved against them—and all professed to be good Catholics they were eventually released on condition that they left

learn the ropes. Besides were joined by them by Father Stevens, an English Jesuit, and by a Portuguese who befriended them. Pitts had already secured his release by agreeing to become a lay brother in a Jesuit mission where his skills as an artist were requisitioned for the decoration of the church. Pitts and Fredericy opened a shop and began to trade. But it was not long before efforts began to secure a similar conversion. The Jesuits hinted that they would be sent to Goa by the next fleet, whereupon they appealed to the Viceroy for the mercy of the mercy they had deprived in the hands of their superior, who made them a flowering answer. Alarmed by the outlook they determined to escape and, in April 1684, crossed the frontier into the kingdom of Bijapur. They were fortunate in getting away when they did as only a few months later letters arrived in Goa from King Philip ordering the Viceroy to punish them and to give particular care that neither they nor any of their companions were allowed in the Portuguese territory. Informed of their escape he wrote again, in 1687 and 1688 urging efforts to apprehend them and, in 1691, was indeed writing that Fredericy, who was still in Goa, should be sent to Lisbon. Whether this was done is not definitely known—but it is probably probable in view of the ship which brought of the homeward voyage in 1692. At all events nothing more is heard of him.

Pitts and his companions made their way to Agra only to find that Akbar was at Fatehpur Sikri whither accordingly they proceeded. We do not know whether Pitts had succeeded in procuring Queen Elizabeth's letters, whether they were presented, or what was the outcome of his mission to Akbar. But being at least in what it did not result in the granting of permission to trade as no mention of any such privilege is made in Pitts's narrative. In this respect the mission was abortive. At Fatehpur Sikri they parted company. Lucas entered the Emperor's service from which time nothing more is heard of him. Fredericy decided to make his way home overland and, also, disappears from view. Pitts, after travelling in Eastern India, proceeded to Burma and Siam and eventually arrived in Bengal whence he sailed via Goa, Diu, and Oman—at the risk of being discovered—to Basra. Pitts then began his return to London where he arrived safely in April 1691.

Nearly twenty years later another effort was made—this time by a

'Bankers' adventurer'—in short, the central trading institution. Some time in 1608 John Mildenhall arrived in Agra where he solicited the Emperor's firman for the establishment of a trading post. This request Akbar seems, entirely enough, to have referred to the aforementioned Jesuit Father in Agra and Lahore, with the result, as Mildenhall remarks, that there were in "no something great (qu. evil) thoughts before we were friends, now we grew to be something great members." This was, perhaps, hardly surprising seeing that Mildenhall had only desired privileges of trade but permission to attack Portuguese ships and strongholds. Seeing that England was at war with Spain and Portugal were protectors the English ships in what Mughal power appeared to the nations which commercial by mention to enter hostilities with them on the part of the Portuguese. Whatever the precise terms of his demands they were the means of his falling out grievously with the Jesuits who whilst long and tedious delays in their power to discover him at Court. Mildenhall, on his side, was no doubt in regarding his mission not only with suspicion and hostility but regarded in keeping their respective 'trade off' as much as they dare. Akbar, meanwhile, was no ally to the other. It happened that Akbar had plainly blunted the edge of that Mildenhall, however, was the night to attack Portuguese shipping. To Sir Thomas Roe he wrote to this he was supported by his advisers, who said he had warned Akbar himself of the power of the Portuguese at sea and of the dangers of a breach with them. Mildenhall, however, pursued his invitation to hilary on the part of the Jesuits. For some time the controversy dispute continued, during which, "his Jesuits day and night sought him to stick my displeasure." At length, many of delays, Mildenhall brought the whole matter to a head by requesting very like a formal assignment of the Jesuits before Akbar and reminded as well to discovering Roe that Akbar loved the company *Firman*. Whether Akbar hesitated the right to attack the Portuguese we can not tell, but Mildenhall, having obtained what he sought, left Agra without delay and reached Surat overland. He is next heard of in June 1608 when letters from Surat addressed to Mr. Hagar—one of the Levant merchants who had previously received Roe's 1608 a version—were read at a meeting of the East India Company. He then he detailed the privileges he had

[illegible] and [illegible] from and his very service for a [illegible] of [illegible]. As Hildebrandt had not returned to England by that date it was decided to defer consideration of his proposals pending his arrival. Thus were brought forward again in 1608 but, for a variety of reasons, it was thought undesirable to employ Hildebrandt and his diamonds were considered unremunerative. The truth is that Hildebrandt was something of a "marauder" and his adventures were probably as fruitful to him as his conduct once Elias later alone, on a second journey to the East early in 1611, he was involved in the [illegible], in Persia, of goods with which he had been entrusted. Nothing more of the rather sordid [illegible] he had abducted from Akbar. He died in Agra in 1614 and was buried in the Kal'ba's cemetery in Agra.

Such was the fate of the two attempts made by the English to open up trade with India during the reign of Akbar. We come now to the first of several [illegible] made during that of his successor Jahangir. After many vicissitudes (again) William Hawkins reached Agra on April 16th 1609, the bearer of a letter from James I to the Great Mughal. We do not here concern ourselves with the circumstances of his travels to India or with the precise reasons of his embassy at Agra, but the account he gives of his negotiations with the Jesuits in his endeavour to prevent the Mughal's solicitude for the spiritual of his people is too graphic to be passed over. His efforts were failed to be successful, but they have at least provided us with some interesting side-lights upon Jesuitical activity. His trouble began from the very moment he landed at Surat where he and his companions experienced a great deal of obstruction and annoyance, instigated by the Portuguese, from Mukarrab Khan who was in charge of the port of Surat and Cambay. It was intended that in ship that "Hector" should called at Surat and proceed from there to Persia under the command of Anthony Hawkins, one of the merchants who had accompanied Hawkins. Boatloads of goods, manned by about half-a-dozen men, were therefore sent down to the ship at her moorings, but were attacked on the way by Portuguese frigates which captured all the goods and many of the men who, despite Hawkins' vigorous protest, were sent to Goa. Notwithstanding this "regrettable incident" the "Hector" sailed leaving Hawkins behind to proceed to Agra. Upon arriving upon it

Rawlins says, "After the departure of the ship, I understand that my goods and letters were intercepted with the Portuguese by Mocrob-chan (Muqarrab Khan) and his followers, for it was a plot laid by the Jesuit and Mocrob-chan to prevent me till the Pilgrim came to the bar and then to despatch me."[1] The Jesuit in question may mean either Father Manuel Pinheiro whom we have heard of in Agra, or Father Rodrigues who resided with many mark of honour by Jahangir, as intimated one who came as an ambassador. Jahangir seems to have taken a personal liking to Eliot, at his request, Hawkins ordered the Company's service, a circumstance which served only to increase the resentment with which he was regarded by the Jesuits. He became the centre of intrigue and in his report to the East India Company he observes that "the Jesuits and Portugalls dare not lett by all means sought my ruinations and, to say the truth, the principall Mahometans were the King moved much that a Christian should be so right with him ... and he hearing [illegible], I think, did little regard their wicked methods for obtaining leave to overthrow my affaires."[2] These products, however, were disregarded by Jahangir and, in consequence, "the Portugalls gave the middle dagger, intending to worke my passage out of this world." Hawkins displayed the dagger to me in to the Emperor himself. "The King powerfully rebuked the Jesuites and told them that if I should by any extraordinary casualtie, (but God forbid) dye, he would kill one for it."[3] After many fruitless attempts to obtain the desired firman and a favourable audience to King Jahangir, Hawkins finally quitted Agra in disgust. After continuing his wearisome journey from Surat he eventually sailed for England, but was destined not to return to his native land, dying somewhere off the Irish coast. From these adventures with and intrigues against the Jesuits we may gather that Hawkins and his fellow travellers were not greatly impressed with their missionary zeal or with the result of their labours. Withington, speaking of the Fathers at Agra remarks, "they have already converted many, but (what is to the money's sake) for the Gentiles give them 30, 4 days."[4]

The English victory over the Portuguese in Hooghly (1632) made a great impression at the Mughal Court. Their prestige was so rapidly on the decline of the Portuguese Authority and so far was the following

[illegible] from [illegible] the Imperial Roman merchantmen the operation of trading ventures at Pegu and Tenasserim—from which events dates the rise of the East India Company. Portuguese continental bases are lost[illegible] and, despite the Imperial strength, they lost the security in the interior of [illegible] to raise a Rebellion [illegible] leading to the Red Sea [illegible] in Egypt—carrying off prisoners and stripping [illegible] of their prize. This proceeding aroused such indignation at home that Sebastian gave orders to stop all Portuguese trading at Rome and to lay siege to Dwarka by way of reprisals. The Nestorian church at Agra was closed and the Fathers were deprived of their stipends. Referring to this incident Wilkinson comments, "And when the Fathers (Here) the Sons of the Portuguese were deprived of their pays from the Kings, being not minded to pays them new Christians which, they Father name and offered the [illegible] Sacrificing sacrifice, of Dogs (from they had been longer without their pays and therefore they might be no longer Christians." Thomas Coryat says, "Whereas this happen happen in Ellcomedey of a Christian in the name of Mahomet Maria, and not of Christ Maria, family on way gallies that Jesuits Mary were Sent Here," and Edward Terry when referring to the religious 'Miracles' of Akbar's Court continues, "I would I could give credit to [illegible] of their numerous claims. The truth is they [illegible] spite, the malice of baptism upon some Jesus, working on the ignorance of poor souls, who for want of instruction, which they give them, are contented to wear a crucifixes, but for want of instructing are only in name Christians. I observed that of the poor Jews, few have begged in the name of Maria, but yes in the name of Christ."

Although it is not reasonable to attribute some of these adverse criticisms to the Dominican proselytizers of several of the early travellers in India it was hardly to questioned that Akbar's behaviour, both political and religious, was whispered and largely misinterpreted during the reign of Jahangir. In the Jesuits the Portuguese power found valuable instruments who strove, in secret and out, by all available means to uphold the ascendancy while Jahangir regarded them and their activities as useful pawns which he could play to some effect in the game of counteracting Portuguese pretensions. That he looked upon them as political weapons may be judged from the fact of his during the observing on a private audience the admiral of his vessel at Surat. It was

only some eighteen months after this incident that Captain William Hawkins gained his signal victory over the Portuguese in January 1615. The decay in Portuguese prestige which caused encouraged Jahangir to humble their pride and pay off old scores, for in this year, according to an unpublished letter in the British Museum, he closed all the Christian churches throughout his dominions. Much chance was, apparently, only temporary and there is no evidence that the Jesuits suffered any persecution, or that they were either expelled from or voluntarily left the country. In Agra itself in 1617 a Christian College was founded.

In the following reign—that of Shah Jahan—Christianity suffered more at hands and still greater disabilities during that of his successor, Aurangzeb. Shah Jahan again closed his churches in Agra and Lahore and partly demolished that of Agra, but the Fathers continued to reside there, as Bernier says, "to accomplish their benevolent purpose by the powerful aid of money, and the more intimacies of their friends." The [illegible] principle, entirely void of conviction, to subsist from the moment of Bernier's first visit about 1663, in Aurangzeb's reign, it was believed by some that there were 25,000 Christian families in Agra. This estimate was doubtless much too high—indeed, indeed, we may be inclined to doubt the independence of 25 per day still later good! But it is clear from the references of travellers of the time that conversions of Christians, sometimes of considerable numbers, were evidently about the Punjab and Bengal in Mughal times. Many in the Indian Province, probably small their occupation to necessary effort from the Portuguese settlements on the Hugli. These settlements appear to have been largely independent of and not too friendly towards him, and the authorities of the Portuguese of Bombay India alike political, commercial and religious were less transient and rather than were those of the Portuguese city in the Western coast. It is probable that numbers of Christian converts left Agra during the repressive rigours of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb and became the nucleus of communities which maintained their faith down to recent times with people identified with their numbers. In this way, little is heard of Christianity in the Mughal Empire after the close of Aurangzeb's reign. With the military and commercial enterprise of the French and English during the 18th century (whatever effort in India extend right to now [illegible]

Ernest F. Kearney

The Development of the Brahmi Script

Prolegomena

There is now a general attempt among scholars to connect the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet with the pre-aspoka script of the Mohenjo-daro seals. Dr. Langdon of Oxford who contributes the chapters on the Indus Script in the second volume of Mohenjo-daro[1] points out the close resemblance of the ancient letters of the Indus valley with signs used in the Indus valley seals and is definitely of opinion that the Indus script is the parent of the Brāhmī. Bühler also recognised that writing had a long history in India's dress because of the existence of so many local varieties, and numerous cursive forms.[2] But the obvious difficulty lies in the fact that the Brāhmī characters are written from left to right, whereas "the Indus script unidentically runs from right to left."[3] Dr. Langdon cites the example of the Greeks who borrowed the Phoenician alphabet but altered its direction to suit their purpose. The legend of the Bron coin runs from right to left and from this Bühler observed that there was probably a period when the Brāhmī was written both from right to left and from left to right.[4] He also quoted Burgess, who, he said, has of the coin cuneiform of the Bactrians in the position of the writing running from right to left. But the Indus seals show only the course of the writings from right to left.

The long interval between the Mohenjo-daro civilisation (whose lowest possible date, according to experts, is 2000 B.C.) and the Aśoka

1 Mohenjo-daro, vol. II, pp. 389 ff.

2 Indian Palaeography, Rev. Terms, for Ehrg., p. 7.

3 Ibid., p. 8. Bühler noticed traces of the writing from right to left in a of the Gupta and Ehrg., in the of Gupta and Indirdirdy, do in the Pabra seals. Dichmann suggested in the Ind. Ant., vol. XXVII, p. 189 that the signature of the ruler of the Bron coin might have forgotten through schools that he might to reverse the legend on the die (sic). Prof. Sten Konow to accept this suggestion. This coin has been assigned to the 5th century B.C. by Cunningham. In view of the discovery of the Indus script it may be said that "the legend on the Bron coin is the only numismatic whole name to have retained the original direction of the pictorial."

ape must also be taken into consideration. If all the intervening links between these two periods would have been lost, it would have been perhaps impossible to establish the origin of the Bengali script from the Aśokan alphabet. The fact that the Brāhmī-derived script runs from right to left does not stand against this close tie. The transformation was perhaps complete in the long interval that separates them. An instance may be taken. The letter *cha* which from the time of Aśoka almost towards the close of the Kuṣāṇa period is found followed by *virāma* in the right direction in modern Bengali script. It would have been very difficult to trace its evolution if the transitional form in the intermediate period (including modern Bengali *chha*) of the Brāhmī-like *gupta* of 320 A.D. and the Gilgit-type *gupta* of 320 A.D. would not have been found.

Dr. Laugley says particularly: "Is it then reasonable to suppose that this pictographic script of ancient India evolved without any archaeological evidence?" Mr. Fayazul Ghani says that the recently discovered signs in a rock-shelter of the Vindhyachal Hill, are the connecting links between the two signs (the Brāhmī-like and Aśokan period), and accordingly supports the date of these signs about 3000 B.C.[1] Dr. C. L. Fabri observes: "Mr. Ghani's conclusions are forty fourteen they are based on the comparison of nine signs only and strongly objects to the assertion of Mr. Ghani that the writing is in regular lines. He goes so far as to doubt that it is an inscription, but admits that "we have here some primitive, rural writing, vaguely connected with the Brāhmī of the twenty and twenties."[2] The Vindhyachal signs have some resemblance with the Brāhmī than the Indus Script and it cannot be admitted that they are more ancient than all the writings of the pre-Aśokan period, viz., the Piprawa Vase,[3] the Fonian Vase,[4] Tandi coins,[5] Bhaṭṭiprolu letters,[6] the Sohgaura Inscription.[7] It is not proper to pass any opinion on what they are, novel and

1 [illegible], 1951, p. 95.
2 [illegible], [illegible], pt. 1, p. [illegible] pl. [illegible].
3 Ind. Ant., [illegible], pl. [illegible]
4 [illegible], [illegible], p. 56.
5 [illegible], [illegible], p. 56.
6 [illegible], [illegible], p. 95.
7 [illegible], [illegible], p. 95.
8 Bagchi, Indian Ivory, p. 5
9 [illegible], [illegible], p. 95.
10 [illegible], [illegible], p. 95.
11 Bhattacharyya, Indian Palaeography, p. 5.
12 [illegible], [illegible], p. 95.

[illegible] they are designed. Kind gradually the engraver attempted to arrange the signs in lines, though it was not very strictly successful and the difficulty in cut letters on rocks in these dates must be taken into consideration. Starting with the Indo-Bactrian, the Kharosthi, the Vikramādityā signs and the Pala letters[16] we are somewhat on safer grounds as to the dates of the Ilgatara Vase inscription (361-414 B.C.) and the Persian Sigloi (500-300 B.C.). 'Brāhmī' was certainly used in the 4th century B.C. and its origin seems to be still earlier. Fleming's tentative suggestion[17] about the origin of the Brāhmī script about 1000 B.C. appears to be nearer to the truth, though it cannot be substantiated.

The earliest inscription in Bengal

The earliest epigraphic record that has been discovered in Bengal is the Bārāsat inscription of Rājā Pūṇḍra. The script resembles that of the Aśokan edicts (except the medial part of the letters *ra*, *pa*, *ka*, *ma* and *sa* is somewhat more prolonged than that of the latter). Pathak, while distinguishing this Bihār Kharosṭhī variety from the Peshāwar Kharosṭhī, observed that the palaeographic of the variants is a sign of the earlier one. Judged by this criterion, the Bārāsat inscription seems to be a bit earlier than the time of Aśoka, and Pāṭaliputra or one.

The Mauryan and Kushan alphabets have been admirably researched by Bühler,[18] E. B. Ferrojas,[19] Bühler[20] and Sten Konow[21] but nothing of importance has been added to our knowledge.

The Gupta Script from 320 A.D. to 600 A.D.

In 1924 Bhandārkar[22] classified the Indian script of the 8th and 9th centuries into two broad divisions, the North Indian and South Indian, the real letter being one. He again subdivided the North Indian

[illegible] Bhandārkar's classification during 1914. See Pathak's article.
[illegible] *EI*, vol. VI, p. 208.
[illegible] *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40, 46-48.
[illegible] *Origin of the Bengali Script*, pp. 130.
[illegible] *EI*, vol. I, Introduction.
[illegible] *EIP*, vol. II, Introduction.

[illegible] into two, the Western and Eastern, the last being [illegible]. This classification was accepted by Dutta[illegible] who added another [illegible] and he for differentiating the Eastern and Western variation. Mr. R. D. Banerji[illegible] made a further classification according to the geographical distribution of the records: (1) Eastern, (2) Western, (3) Northern and (4) Central styles. Alphabet has been taken to be the boundary of the Eastern and Western variation. In differentiating the Eastern variety from the Western he added another one later on. We are mainly concerned here with the Eastern variety. Mr. R. D. Banerji mentioned 8 samples of the Eastern variety and since the publication of his *Origin of the Bengali Script*, the following records of the Eastern variety have been discovered:—

1. Sonpur Rock Inscription[illegible]
2. Dasaratha Plate No. 1 of 8[illegible] A.D.[illegible]
3. Dasaratha Plate No. 2 of 8[illegible] A.D.[illegible]
4. Belgram plate of [illegible] A.D.[illegible]
5. Sonarg Inscription of 1[illegible] A.D.[illegible]
6. Sonarg Inscription of 1[illegible] A.D.[illegible]
7. Dacca plate of 1[illegible] A.D.[illegible]
8. Dasaratha plate of the [illegible] of Bhadaripa[illegible] (No. 3).
9. Dasaratha plate of the [illegible] of Bhadaripa[illegible] (No. 4).
10. Kamalapur grant of 9[illegible] A.D.[illegible]
11. Dasaratha plate of 1[illegible] A.D.[illegible] (No. 5).

As regards Dutta's broad division of the Eastern Bengal of the 8th and 9th centuries on the strength of the not later one, it may be said that in some of the Western records the Eastern type of one will, any other of the triangle produced upwards or sometimes the two sides

(1) I.A.T., 1905, pt. I, p. 16.
(2) R. D. Banerji, *Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 8.
(3) Ep. Ind., vol. XXI, p. 1[illegible]
(4) Ibid.
(5) [illegible], 1914-15, p. 18[illegible]
(6) Ep. Ind., vol. XX, p. 3[illegible]
(7) Ibid.
(8) Op. Ind., op. cit.
(9) Pelliot, op. cit., p. 87.
(10) Ibid., vol. [illegible], p. 1[illegible]
(11) Ibid., vol. XXI, p. 1[illegible]
(12) Ibid.
(13) Ibid., op. cit.
(14) J.B.O.R.S., vol. IX, p. 4[illegible]

having an open umbrella (or canopy) is to be found in the Western variety of Northern India coin. These inscriptions of Samudra-gupta,[1] Kathiawar inscription of [illegible] G.E.,[2] and the Bilsandi Cave inscription of [illegible] G.E.,[3] that contain in our Eastern period the Kushan type of coin is to be found. In the Southern inscription this type was used even in the 5th century A.D. but in North-Western India it was discontinued after the time of Chandragupta II.

Rapson's division of Western and Eastern varieties on the strength of the coin letter is unfortunately correct. But it may be said that the use of the Western as well the eastern in Gupta time not unknown in Eastern India. The Bull-Head Image Inscription[4] of the year [illegible] should be regarded as a mound of the Gupta period. Jackson[5] and Cunningham held that this mound is dated in the Saka era. But Dikshit and R. D. Banerjee[6] were definitely of opinion that it is a mound of the Gupta time. The coin of Jaghat was looked as well the coins but gave special importance to the Kushan period. In this mound we have coin Western [illegible] Gupta Eastern type. In the Kotam image inscription[7] of [illegible] G.E. all other coin [illegible] of the Eastern variety but a [illegible] of the Western type. A doubtful case of a Western [illegible] is found in the Eastern mound as independent Western [illegible] is to be found.

Eastern is said to be one, no doubt, of the same type that was used in the Gupta Imperial Era of Aulne. In the Eastern variety the back line of these two letters has been [illegible] and is to be found [illegible]. It is very difficult to distinguish between Eastern and Western of these are of the Gupta time.

Two other letters deserve special attention, though they cannot be called coin letters in the strict sense of the term. They are [illegible] and

(1) Fleet, CII., vol. III, p. 15.
(2) Fleet, [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. 56.
(3) Cunningham, [illegible], pl. [illegible].
(4) [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. 46.
(5) R. D. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 28.
(6) Fleet, CII., vol. III, pl. [illegible].
(7) Ep. Ind., vol. [illegible], p. 1.

In the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta which represents the Eastern variety both the looped and looped forms of *pa* occur. In the eastern records of the 6th century looped types of *pa* and *ma* are generally to be met with. Bhaumas, Daigras and Kalinga Pillar inscriptions. In this period in western records the looped *pa* and the pillar form of *ma* are to be found. The looped *pa* was in later times adopted both in Western and Eastern India. The looped type of *pa* was discontinued in Eastern India from the 9th century A.D.

It is really a puzzle that Bühler who distinguished for the first time matters in and for Gupta India, [illegible] regard the Mahasenth Inscription[1] as a fine example of Western Indian palaeography. Mr. H. D. Sankalia has studied the palaeographic constitution of this important record. *La, ka, sa, pa* and *ma* are clearly of the Eastern variety. *Sa* occurs in Eastern only and in all the Western type but we have [illegible] pointed that the use of Western type of *pa* in Eastern and not known in Eastern India. Either we don't have to adopt just like the Bhitari[2] Copy-inscription[3] of the time of Chandragupta II, it is an Eastern record (i.e., the south-east of Eastern India) [illegible] to assume. Mr. V. S. Agrawal[4] in tracing Vyaghrapalita connection to Eastern India where his magnificent pillar was originally set up.

The alphabets of the period from 300 to 600 A.D.

The 6th century alphabets have been very aptly described by Bühler as the arrow-headed type. "The chief characteristic is that the letters slope from the right to the left, and show accentuation of the lower or (at the right) ends, as well as that the tops of the vertical or slanting lines invariably have small wedges and their ends either show the more emphatic or pointed curves on the right." This is the period when

(1) Bühler, op. cit., p. 4; Pathak, op. cit., no. 33.
(2) Bühler, p. 10.
(3) Indian Antiquary, vol. I, p. 183. Mr. Sankalia's answer the classification Vyaghrapalita with the Maurya Kili in Bangalore is not seen to be quite convincing to me.

the transition from the Gupta characters to what is often called the Kutila variety [illegible]

In addition to the records mentioned by Mr. R. D. Banerjee, the following inscriptions should also be examined:—

1. Four Deccan plates[40] (a, b, c, d)—palaeographically to be assigned to the latter half of the ninth century A.D.
2. Tuppadhuna grant of Jayasingh[41]
3. Siddhapur stone of Bhimadevarman[42]
4. Kapadvanj grant of Lokaditya[43]

The outstanding feature of the Eastern Indian alphabets of the period 650-850 A.D. seems to be the displacement of the vowel letters ka, ka, pa by the Western types of these letters. Dr. Kielhorn was of opinion that this displacement must have been in progress during the earlier part of the 6th century, and was complete about 700 A.D. Mr. R. D. Banerjee modified that statement and observed that the movement towards the adoption of the Nagari type was in evidence in the 4th decade of the 8th century and all traces of the Eastern variety were disappeared before the beginning of the 9th century A.D. This date could of course be found in the evidence of the Bhandarkhal plate of 723 A.D. This same scholar noticed the use of the eastern form of ka, pa, ta still in Bihar[44]. In only one solitary instance he found a medium in the Pallavaram (A) but his reading of this record has proved to be wrong and so is useless in this record.[45] In the Bhatvari inscription of 739 A.D., Bihar Pillar inscription of 141 A.D. we find the Eastern variety forms have been consciously used. The only evidence which R. D. Banerjee could cite in support of his conclusion was the unedited Kahar Pillar inscription of Bhandagupta in which

40 R. D. Banerjee identified the government of all the Deccan plates to be foreign as the age of the Imperial Guptas. For the dates see Ind. Ant., 1916, p. 109; JASB., 1917, pp. 426 ff.

41 Ep. Ind., vol. XVIII, p. 51.

42 Ibid., vol. XIX, p. 16 and vol. VII, p. 18.

43 Ibid., vol. IV, p. 182.

44 See new textual reading of the Bhatvari plate published in Ep. Ind., vol. XVII, p. 348.

in the first part the Eastern forms have been used and in the last half Western forms of the same letters have been adopted. Eastern forms are to be found in the Kahaun image inscription of Bhāsvarasena, dated in 159 G.E. It is true that Western forms are to be found in the Pāli grant of Lokanātha, dated in 156 G.E., but this is quite easily explained. If Allahābād be the western limit of the use of Eastern scripts, the Pāli grant could properly be regarded as a record of Western India. In all other Eastern records of the 8th century the Eastern variety forms of the vowel letters have been invariably used. Even in the Paharpur inscription of 183 G.E.=507 A.D. and in the Dhanaidaha Plate No. 1 of 224 G.E.=543 A.D. we find the use of the Eastern forms. Under these circumstances if in the first half of the Kahaun Pillar-inscription of Skandagupta the Eastern forms have been used and in the last half the Western forms are to be found, this should be explained by the assumption that the last half is the work of a scribe from Western India.

The time of the Bhāgalpur[1] can be stated with a fair degree of certainty. In the 8th century the Eastern forms continued to exist and in the first half of the 9th the Bhāgalpur Pillar certainly used in Bengal. The earliest record showing the use of the Western forms of la, ga, ma and ha is Eastern India is the Bhāgalpur grant of Vasantasena, dated in 272 G.E.=591 A.D. The Gaya Stone inscription of Mahānāma shows the use of the Western forms. The unhappy long-drawn controversy between Messrs. K. D. Banerjee and E. P. Vaughan is over and the pronouncements of the Pandits Gaya are now established beyond doubt. The Eastern plates belong to a transitional period when the Eastern variety forms were being gradually displaced by the Western forms of the vowel letters. In general, Eastern in variety of forms and the Western

[1] The facsimiles of the Bhāgalpur plates published in the Ep. Ind. are very very distorted. In all the distinct cases the Western forms can be found. A colleague has spoken to the Editor of these plates, Dr. R. D. Banerji, who informed me that are regularity is certain in all cases. I take this opportunity to express my thankfulness to Dr. R. D. Banerji who thoroughly examined the plates for me.

in [illegible] times, Eastern in 14 times and Western in [illegible] times, and Eastern in 8 times and Western in 4 times. In group II, Eastern ka, pa [illegible] and [illegible] times and Western ka and pa [illegible] times respectively. The Grant II is in a bad state of preservation and where it is legible we find the use of both Eastern and Western ka and ka. In Grant II ka and pa always of the Western form. Eastern ka occurs in three instances and in all other cases the Western form has been used. In an inscription recent of the seventh century we find the use of Eastern forms of ka, pa and ka. It ought to be mentioned that the Eastern pa was not represented in the Western form of the letter. The distinctive characters seem have been complete in the close of the sixth century A.D.

The following letters changed considerably in this period—

(a) The left portion of a number of a vertical placed in the common-shaped style by a short vertical line and is joined with the right vertical by a short horizontal line.

(b) [illegible] consisting of two [illegible] and a [illegible] below.

(c) [illegible] a is taking the Bengali form in this period. A short vertical line is attached to the bridge and a curve is attached to this vertical.

(d) Ga is developed in the Bengali in [illegible] form. For the first time this form is to be found in the seal problem in [illegible] of the Faridpur Grant II. In the Sofi-Rajt Grant of Bhimadeva dated in 588 A.D. this form has been used. In the Pharpur grant of 612-13 A.D. and in the Nagpadma-vita grant both the curve and triangular forms are to be found. The Bhagalpur grant of 626 A.D. retains the open form. The change was complete in Eastern India by 650 A.D. though the open form continued to exist in certain Epigraphic even in the 10th century records.

[illegible]

(c) The character also retains the Gupta form less in Nagarī-like and Nāgarī Gupta the left part shows a curvature which by later times becomes the loop.

(d) The right arc of *ṭha* is transformed into a line.

(e) The development of *bha* is almost revolutionary and it is very difficult to trace its development. "The left limb of the Western variety has changed into a solid wedge, and this wedge has developed into a hollow one, at the same time separating the right limb of the letter from the upper part." There is not much difference between *bha* and *ha* in this period.

(f) The development of the bipartite *ya*. Bühler named the bipartite form of *ya* in Japanese as early as in the Kushan period (Bühler's Tables III, II, XIII, XVI, 30). He was perhaps mistaken because it was conversant in *ugra* in Japanese with some letters. Bühler also drew attention to "the Jāṭak lettering of independent Gupta *ya* (Cunningham, Plate VIII, No. 30 of Pl. V.)." But in agreement to his overall opinion to be premature as in other records of this site and this inscription we find invariably the bipartite form. Dr. Faughter is discussing the relative chronological position of the three kings of the Parihāsa Kesarīdeva that between the bipartite *ya* with "bifurcated (?) with, mid-stem curl" and the full-fledged bipartite form there is a transitional form with a strong tendency to form a loop in the place of the curl in the left. The bipartite form is admittedly evolved out of the intermediate form.

Dr. Hoernle[20] fixed 800 A.D. as the lower limit of the older form of *ya* and went so far as to assert that "any conception in the North Western Indian alphabet which shows the more or less exclusive use of the old form of *ya*, must date before 800 A.D., while any inscription showing an exclusive use of the modern form of *ya* must date after 800 A.D." After the discovery of the Udayagiri inscription of the Gupta Aparājita, of V.S. 744=687 A.D. in which the bipartite

20 *Ibid.*, 1885, pp. 1, p. 95.

pa has been used [illegible] observed that it "makes a modification of Kuṭila's sophisticated summary text does not invalidate his final result." R. D. Banerjee[1] was wrong in his observation that our principal epigraphists of the alphabet in North-Eastern India in the period 800-900 A.D. was the use of the separate form of pa. He asserts that the Bodh-Gayā inscription of 880 A.D. cannot be taken to represent the ordinary Eastern variety, though he does not assign any reason whatsoever. He takes the use of the separate form in the Gayāṭha plate of 1020-21 A.D. as exceptional. This form has been used in the Tandyan Grants C and D. Still more unwarranted is the general conclusion[2] of R. D. Banerjee on the strength of the Amsaṭa of Nandana, dated in 896 A.D. and the Thapaḍyal Cave Inscription of Jayanārāyaṇa. Still the separate form of pa (until about half a century longer in North-Eastern India than in Western India, although the same wedge is observed in the use of the separate form in the Thapaḍyal Inscription of the 11th century) dated in 896 A.D. It is hardly to be expected that a new form of a letter would be accepted simultaneously by many scribes in every locality. But we shall not be very wrong if we place the disappearance of the separate form some time about 900 A.D.

(c) A wedge is introduced in the lower part of ma so as to be found in the Gayāṭha plate of 1020-21 A.D.

(d) The loop of ra has become angular.

Alphabets of the period from 800-900 A.D.—Precursors of the Proto-Bengali and Proto-Nāgarī Scripts

In the latter half of the seventh century we find that a great change has come over the North-Eastern alphabets. The change is so marked and in certain respects so revolutionary that it may be said that the characters of this period have lost their distinctive character of the Gupta stamp. In place of the simple and upright Gupta characters, we find elaborate construction of some letters by addition of wedges, angularization of curvatures, drawing of horizontal lines. The scribe

[1] Op. cit., p. 11. [2] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

mātrā are more sharpened, and more vertical, are the *ṭaṅka* of the lower ends of the strokes. The Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena is a typical record which shows all the changes. The characters have been minutely studied by R. D. Banerjee. Though its findspot is outside Bengal, and it is a record of the Later Gupta of Magadha, it can be taken to be a record of Bengal proper, because the scribe was an inhabitant of Orissa. Thus called the characters of the Aphsad inscription the Orissa variety of Magadha—a term which has since been accepted by many scholars. Bühler pointed out that the term 'Sāgāla' is based on a wrong rendering of the expression 'Sāgāla ādāyo' in the Divyāvadāna and was of opinion that it should be excluded from the palaeographic terminology. Kielhorn also avoided this term in his palaeographic discussion.

The following records of this period should be considered—

1. Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena,
2. Bos-Dynastic inscription of Śīvagupta II,
3. Jaiswāl plates of the Kāmāpa,[7]
4. Sirpur (Raipur) inscription of Jayaraja (Sādhārana),
5. Nilambā Hills inscription of the time of Yaśovarman,
6. Nalgora grant of Śubhākara,[8]
7. Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 30th year of Bhavavyādhi.

Rare transformation of the *ka*, *kha*, *ga* have been noticed in the transitional period of 550-650 A.D. and the changes in *ṇa*, *ta*, *na*, *pha*,

[7] Spooner, ASIR., vol. I, pt. 4, pl. 30-31. (Gauhati University Studies), vol. I, p. 18.

[8] Dr. Bhattasali (Sarit) was wrong in taking this inscription as a record of the 8th century. The alphabets are substantially of the period 550-650 A.D. The right arm of the *kapāl* in *ka* has been continuously changed downwards. The upper horizontal line of *ca* has become the arch. The vertical arm in *dhaṭāg* and the lower arm modified with the vertical line has formed two curves. The base line of *sa* has almost vanished. The left curve of *ha* is considerably lengthened and the vertical line elongated downwards. With these characteristics and the general features of the characters, we have no difficulty in assigning this record to the period 550-650 A.D.

[9] Ep. Ind., vol. XV, p. 1.

(ka), as have also been explained. In addition to these developments the following changes deserve attention:—

(a) The left two sides of the triangle at the bottom of ka have formed a curve or a loop.

(b) The tongue-shaped ring of the Gupta time has become angular in this period. This can also be marked in the periods of [illegible] A.D.

(c) The most important change is to be noticed in ja. The upper horizontal line has become the serif and the lower two are shaped downwards.

(d) The tone line of ga is shooting.

(e) The loop of na in the Aphsad inscription is separated from the main body of the letter and joined by a short horizontal line. The letter occasionally resembles its modern Nagari form.

(f) The right verticals of pa, na, ma, ya, la, sa and va are elongated more downwards and the upper angles in the lower verticals are more sharpened.

(g) Ha is Gupta-shaped from. The four verticals and the two sides of sa in the left form a curve or loop.

(h) Ra assumes modern form. The old Kutila form with the round top is not yet Bengalicized and is to be found in the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 19th year of Jñānacandra. It appears in the Imperial form in the Aphsad inscription which is one of the earliest forms of Sa letter in the 6th and 8th centuries. The medial form is to be noticed in the Deo-Baranark, Adhrajhar and Bodh-Gaya inscriptions. The right vertical is projected upwards and at the lower extremity of the left curve a small wedge appears like that of the ord. ya. The left curve is joined to the vertical by another curve as in la. This form is theoretical but a true ka appears in the eleventh century.

A great change is also to be noticed in the medials u, ū, ṛ. In the Gupta period the medial u is denoted in two or three ways by attaching a hook to the right upland or left vertical, by making a straight or curved line over the serif and by addition of a short vertical line from the right of the serif. All these forms are to be found in the Nyagrodhavapra grant. But in this period the last form which ultimately prevailed is generally to be met with and the above by

which the medial i should be elongated downwards considerably in proportion to the right verticals of the letters. Medials i and ī are also considerably elongated to the left and right respectively and this is to be noticed in the (manuscript) period of 1000-1150 A.D. (Vaggaghosa-vivaṇṇanā).

Alphabets of the period 1000-1200 A.D.—Beginning of the Proto-Bengali period.

This is the period in which the origin of Bengali, Nāgarī, and Hindī alphabets in Northern India can be traced. According to H. H. Dhruva, another variety which he calls "Trans-Indus alphabet of the 9th and 10th centuries" also appears in this period. We are mainly concerned with the origin of the Bengali script. Bengali alphabets have got some peculiarities in respect of certain letters which differentiate them from the neighbouring Nāgarī script. The upward projection of the verticals of ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, as which Bühler calls "horn-like projections" was distinctive in Nāgarī except in the case of ṭhā but it still remained in the Bengali Script. So also the opening of ṭhāṇḍā or ṭhāṇḍā for Vowel of Ṭha, of the upper right side, the left part of ṇ, the upper-left of the ha-ṭha (Conjunct) in Nāgarī and ṇ omitted in Bengali. Bengali ga is formed by the complete disappearance of the base line where matching tendency was noticed in this period. In Nāgarī the line joining the loop with the vertical is very ga is at right angles but in Bengali is acute angled. As Bengali and Nāgarī have a common ancestry, some of these developments can be noticed in Western Indian records of the period but because of the abandonment of these developments in subsequent Nāgarī forms and their continuation and preservation in Bengali forms, this period should be regarded as the beginning of the Proto-Bengali Forms. R. D. Banerji's remarks that "In the alphabet of the Bhagalpur grant of the 17th year of Nārāyaṇapāla we have the proto-Bengali forms almost complete" appears to be correct. Bengal and Magadha were politically united and the same variety of alphabets were used in these two regions. The Bhagalpur grant like the Bhagalpur

and Nilambi grants of Devapāla, were issued from Monghyr. But this grant, like the Āgdeo inscription of Lakṣmaṇasena, should be regarded as a record of Bengal proper, because the works were in (Lakshāra) of Bangāla.

The following records of this period are to be considered:—

1. The Gyābāgong plate of Kīrtivarma.[27]
2. The Khālimpur plate of the 33rd year of Dharmapāla.
3. Vīrabhūmi (Khanderā) inscription of the Rāja of Devapāla.
4. The Monghyr plate of the 33rd year of Devapāla.[28]
5. The Nilambi plate of the 39th year of Devapāla.[29]
6. The Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 7th year of Vigrahapāla.
7. The Indāra Kīrtana inscription of the 9th year of Vigrahapāla.
8. The Monghyr grant of the 17th year of Vigrahapāla.
9. The Bodh Pālma inscription of the 12th of Vigrahapāla.

Besides these, there are some minor inscriptions of the period viz. the Nālandā Sarkārpāra large inscription of the 12th of Devapāla, the Bihār Stone of the 33rd year of Devapāla and two Bihār image inscriptions of the 3rd year of Vigrahapāla.

The following developments are to be marked:—

(a) A—In Khālimpur, Monghyr, Nilambi and Bodh-Gayā inscriptions a separate curving the left and right loops is to be noticed. It resembles the modern Bengali ৩.

(b) A—In the above mentioned records ১ is formed by adding a vertical line to the right instead of a comma-shaped curve in the lower extremity of the vertical. The older form has been used in the Gyābāgong, Ghoṣrawa and Bihār inscriptions.

(c) C—The Proto-Bengali form as found in the Gaujām plate and Lokanātha's grant has been used.

[27] Modern Review, 1916, p. 414.

[28] The Lalitā Monghyr plate of Devapāla has been circled, and the facsimile is published in Ep. Ind., vol. XVII, p. 310.

[29] Ep. Ind., vol. XVII, p. 312.

(d) E—In the Mungyr and Bhiturī grants and in the Deoli Pillar inscription the left portion of the letter is open, thus resembling the modern Bengali form. "The hypotenuse has assumed having a curve at the top of the vertical and a part of it at the lower end." This form has been used in the later records. The closed form is to be found in Bhāgalpur, Bhagwanpur and Nālā inscriptions (as noted above in the last case).

(e) The right arm of the is elongated downwards.

(f) Ṭha—In Dhānyaṅga, Mungyr, Nālandā and Bhagalpur plates and in the Bodh-Gayā and Kutlum Mosque inscriptions the loop or triangle at the lower part of the vertical has opened and in the lower part of the left portion the small wedge has turned into a curve. The resemblance to the modern cursive form of the letter is complete.

(g) Ḍa—The small wedge at the lower extremity of the left line, like that of Ṭha, turned into a curve. The left portion does not merge in the upward line the vertical is prolonged upwards. It is approaching the modern Bengali form.

(h) Dha—The middle stroke is splitting, the base line in the left is raised higher and the right part of the letter is shortened in length. Though the Bengali form is not yet complete, there is strong tendency to be so.

(i) Na—The upper horizontal line has become the serif, the middle one is shifted downwards and the lower one forms a double curve.

(j) Ṭa—This letter is to be found in Ujjayinī only. In the Kāhāgram and Bhagalpur grants its approach to modern form is to be vertical curve in Ujjayinī.

(k) Ta—In the ancient form the letter is a curvilinear. In the Kāhāgram grant the letter consists of a vertical line attached to the right of the hypotenuse and a curve attached to the left of the hypotenuse by means of medial curve. But in the Bhagalpur grants the right vertical is shortened in length and the upper curve in the left looks like a dotting line. In this form the letter is to be traced up to the 10th century.

(f) *Ba*—This slanting bar-line is to be found in the Khalimpur group. In all other records there is strong tendency of its straightening.

(ma) *Ya*—Finally the previous form is to be met with. In Instance of the Proto-Bengali form occurs in the Indian Museum inscription in the last month Sal'. The vertical is curved into a curve and turned to the left.

(r) *Tra*—In two instances in the Bhagalpur and Tikamji groups the left part of the letter occurs in the open and resembles the Bengali form. But the closed form with a horizontal line in the middle occurs in all other records.

(s) *Sa*—It appears both in angular and curvive forms.

(y) *Cha*—A small opening in the upper part between the vertical and the left portion is noticeable in the Bhagalpur group. This form is used in later Bengali. The acute angle of the lower portion is more pronounced.

(y) *Ha*—The Proto-Bengali form occurs in the Bihar Pillar and Behar Museum inscriptions. The loop is separated from the vertical line and joined with it by a short horizontal line.

(r) *Ksa*—In Bhagalpur, Bihar Gaya, Indian Museum and Deoli. Other inscriptions the Original form is not found.

(i) *Ya*—The lower part is forming in breadth.

(i) *Ra*—The arrow-head is increasing in breadth.

(u) *Ga*—The curve in the left is joined to the vertical by a short slanting line or sometimes the joining line is a curved one.

(u) *Ha*—Of all the letters in this we get the most characteristic curve in this period and appears in various forms. Of the two vertical forms of the letter one is the looped one and the other may be separated on the power of the Bhagal form. The looped form is to be seen in the Khalimpur, Bihar, Bhagalpur and Bihar Pillar inscriptions. The other consists of two vertical lines joined by a curve on their upper parts and another curve coming out at the top of the left vertical curve it and meets the right vertical at its bottom. This form is to be found in the Khalimpur, Bhagalpur, Tikamji, Bhagalpur and in

subsequent period and in one of the grants bearing signatures of the Gaudiya. There are three transitional forms of *pakarā* in this period. (*a*) the outline from the left part consists of semi-circular curve with the lingering remnant and forms an angle with the vertical but does not merge in it. In one instance it has been used in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 18th year of Bhavagupta and frequently used in the Khopawala inscription and also in some votive inscriptions.[*] There is another variety in which the curve in the left portion does not touch the vertical.[*] Again there is another variety in which the curve in the left does or does not touch the vertical but does not cross it (Bodh-Gayā and Indian Museum inscriptions).

(*iv*) *Ha*—It appears in the circular form and the addition of a small vertical line in the left of the lower part is to be noticed.

In the Bodal, Bodh-Gayā and Indian Museum inscriptions the upper part of *ma* *pakārā* curls down. A vertical point remarkable fact is that the modern Bengali forms of the vowels *i* and *u* appear for the first time in the Bodal Pillar inscription. The ligatures *kha*, *mba*, *mba*, *ma* in Bodh-Gayā and Indian Museum inscriptions unusually resemble their modern Bengali forms.

Alphabets of the 10th and 11th Centuries—Further Developments of the Proto-Bengali Forms

The following epigraphs of the period are to be examined :—

1. The Tapkeswar Stone inscription of the time of Bhojadeva II.
2. The Deulabari Stone inscription of the time of Bhojadeva II.
3. The Khanda Phulbari Image inscription of Lankadevadeva.[*]
4. The Bhanpal grant of Srimadadeva.[*]
5. The Madanpur plate of Srimadadeva.[*]
6. The Udayan grant of Srimadadeva.[*]

[*] R. D. Banerjee, Modern Indian Image of Bodhisattva Avalokita, pl. XII (a), (b), (c).

[*] Ibid., pl. XXVIII, XXVIII(a). [*] Ep. Ind., vol. XVII, p. 344.

[*] H. S. Bagchi, Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. III.

[*] Ibid. [*] Ibid.

7. The Dinajpur Pillar inscription of the Kamboja king.
8. The Bagheswara Image inscription of the 3rd year of Rāmapāla I.[illegible]
9. The Bangal Plate of the 8th year of Madanpāla I.
10. The Tilhārā inscription of the 12th year of Rāmapāla I.
11. The Gumtā inscription of the time of Madanpāla I.
12. The Rājarājeśvara Temple inscription of the 15th year of Vijayapāla.
13. The Bānsrādha temple inscription of the same year of Vijayapāla.
14. The Ajaigarh inscription of the time of Vijaysingha III.
15. The Rudrāksha Image inscription of Vīrāsingha.
16. The Bihar Image inscription of the 12th year of Vijaysingha III.
17. The Jangalia plate of Vijaysingha III.
18. The Bihar Image inscription of the 3rd year of Bhīmsīn.
19. The Jaya inscription of Tribhuvāla.
20. The Bilhapur Stone inscription of the time of Jayasīmha.[illegible]

Our important task of this period is that the western alphabets also come to be used in Magadha. The Bihar-Bodhgaya Image inscription of the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāladeva shows a mixture of Western and Eastern (Proto-Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali) forms. The same thing is also perhaps true in the inscriptions of Proto-Nāgarī (No. 6). My proposal is that the Bagheswara, Bānsrādha, Bilhapur and Jaya inscriptions, the characteristic that made the Kamboja dated inscription of Gauḍa (No. 6) not properly known but in this record also we find Proto-Nāgarī ṭha, ḍa, ma, ya, lha, not said etc. The Bilhapur inscription, though a record of Kalachuri Bengal, was engraved by an artisan of Magadha and shows a mixture of Proto-Bengali and Proto-Nāgarī forms. The Gumtā inscription also shows this most characteristic.

The following developments are to be noticed :—

(a) ā, ī, u, ṛha, ṛna, ṛta, ṛma, ṛla, ṛsa, ṛha, ṛta, ṛsa, ṛa and ṛa are of the previous types.

(b) i—ā is denoted by two dots and a small line over. Note. In Rādhiyā and Bangal grants a slanting line is coming down from the wedge. It is a step towards the Bengali form.

[illegible] Ep. Ind., vol. XVII, p. [illegible]
[illegible] Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. [illegible].

(v) Ra—The loop is increasingly regular, thus differentiating it from the Nāgarī form.

(vi) Cha—The upper part is equal in breadth with the lower. The upper part is starting to be closed. It is approaching the modern form.

(vii) Cha—The semi-angular form is to be found but the upper face of the triangle is becoming declivated.

(viii) Ja—The metal-backed form instead of the semi-angular one is to be found. Ja of the Udayagiri Cliff Inscription is circular and more advanced.

(ix) Ta—The right curve has become a vertical line.

(x) Tha—The upper part is flattened. It is still closed but the lower bit starts to elongate, thus offering the opportunity to open the upper part.

(xi) Da—The same form is used in the Nānāghāt and Kalinjar grants. In Bendere, Dhanjori and Jaugada Inscriptions we find the closed form. In the Udayagiri Cave a small loop of the upper part of the left portion is seen but the link from. This is approaching the modern form.

(xi) Na—In the Nānāghāt, Nāsik and Girnār inscriptions the looped form has been used. But in all other records the form in which the loop is separated from the vertical and joined by a short horizontal line has been used.

(xii) Ma—In most cases the line joining the loop and the vertical is missing, thus differentiating from the Nāgarī form.

(xiii) Ya—The form is the same with Kha form.

(xiv) Ra—The arrow-head is getting in trouble.

(xv) Wa—The old form is generally used. In Udayagiri and Nānāghāt Inscriptions we find an unlikely new form. It consists of a tapering, a vertical line and a wedge joined to the left of the vertical line. The wedge has some linearity. It is not unlikely, as R. D. Banerjee has suggested, that the wedge has been formed by closing in of the sides supporting the vertical and acute angles of the older form. This form may be regarded as the parent of the Nāgarī form.

In this period we have inscriptions near all letters. It is interesting to note that we and ei of the Bengali and Nāgarī inscriptions resemble the modern Bengali peculiar forms of these two figures.

Alphabets of the period from 1000-1300 A.D.—Development of modern Bengali forms

The following records are to be mentioned:—

1. The Tajpur plate of Bhaskaravarman.[47]
2. The Bhuvanēśvar Pillar of Bhojadēva.
3. The Belava plate of Bhojavarman.
4. The Bāgalī inscription of the time of Gopāla III.
5. The Rewā(?) plate of Nānyadēva.
6. The Deoganḍ inscription of Vijayasena.
7. The Barackpore grant of Vijayasena.
8. The Bādāl(?) pillar of Nārāyaṇapāla.
9. The Āsāḍha grant of Lakshmaṇasena.
10. The Govindagañj grant of the same.
11. The Tarpandighi plate of the same.
12. The Kāmaulī grant of Rāmapāla.
13. The Bawa image inscription of the 4th regnal year.
14. The Sahēṭ-Mahēṭ plate of the same.
15. The Bodhōbhaṭṭa grant of Madanapāla of 1205 A.D.[48]
16. The Gaulēkhāna Rock Inscription of 1206-07 A.D.[49]
17. The Rājāpur grant of Rāmaṇaṇḍa.
18. The Mahanāḍī plate of Vīravarmaṇa.
19. The Calcutta Museum plate of Vīravarmaṇa.
20. The Gaḍhāwa inscription of 1202 V.E.
21. Two Delhi-Siwālik inscriptions of the time of Anaṅgapāla.[50]
22. The Fatehgarh inscription of the time of Govinda.[51]
23. The Chāgalang plate of Bhavadēva.[52]

47 *Epigraphia*, [illegible] p.[illegible]
48 *IHQ*, 1926, p. 406.
49 *Mitra*, Inf. Palamapur, Nos. VI, xvi XI.
50 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. [illegible], pp. [illegible] *A. Cunningham*, vol. IV, p. 99.
51 *ASIR*, 1909-10, pl. I, no. [illegible] and p. [illegible].

Though Bengali was distinctly separated in Magadha by Nāgarī, the former was still used in this period in East region. In the Gorhadeo inscription of the post Gaṅgādēva of 1209[8] A.D.,[9] the Pālāsīdi inscription of Vīradāsīdēva[10] and the Bōḍhgayā inscription of Jayasēnadēva[11] we find the use of almost fully developed Nāgarī forms in the XIII century. But the Ōṣṭa inscription of Govindapāla of 1253 V.E., two Bōḍhgayā inscriptions of the time of Aśōkavalla and the Tarāgāṅgā inscription of the time of Buddhasēna show that the mixed Nāgarī and Bangālī forms were in use in that locality in that century. Though sporadically in some written inscriptions of later time, Bangālī scripts are found, it seems that Nāgarī displaced Bangālī in Magadha by the close of the 13th century. This is the period in which the complete development of all modern Bangālī forms occupying my view, is over for more. In the Dacca's Pramānī Rāj. R. D. Banerjee found ৱ, ং, ঃ, ঋ, ঞ, ঞ, ঞ

[illegible] to the left of letters. Numerous letters with hooks which be [illegible] are tied to and to and the letters of the Rasaroli plate. In the Rasaroli plate these hooks are part of the hollow triangular [illegible]. The hooks all be and to are, as both, the part of vertical above the [illegible] with the triangle and curve respectively. In 1000, of the [illegible] century these hooks are to be found.

The following developments of this period deserve notice:

1.—In the Nagarpur, Rasaroli, Belava, Nalidal grants the left portion is in form the modern Bengali the and the line joining the curve with the vertical is absent. The Bhaskarpur variety is generally to be met with in all other records. The small vertical line joining the curve with the top-stroke is present and the line joining the curve with the vertical is absent. The formation of another a and a is complete.

2.—The base in the Rasaroli plate is absent. [illegible] in Fidhi, is to of southern origin. In the Bhaskarpur it has a wedge-shaped (not dotted or circular nor flat) form. [illegible] a slightly curved line is to be found [illegible]. In the Cambridge [illegible] the top-stroke is to be found in the Nalanda, Bodh-Gaya and Chittagong inscriptions.

3.—Rarely to be found. In the Cambridge MS. the checking line is placed below the circle.

4.—The formation is complete in other respects excepting the curve above the mell.

5.—The formation is also a in the Nalanda plate by the addition of a curve at the bottom.

6.—Complete Bengali.

B, ঈ, ই, উ, ঋ, are not to be found in the autographs but are excellently developed in the Cambridge MS.

7.—Complete in the Rasaroli plate in the Cambridge MS.

8.—Complete in the Bhaskarpur plate and in the Cambridge MS.

ddh and *ch* are also completely developed even before this period (Gupta-Ii plate).

Ra—The assimilated Bengali form is to be found generally cropping in the Kanauli plate.

Kha—Complete long ago.

Sa—The upward elongation of the vertical is to be found in the Kanauli, Nalanda, Sonarbar and Chittagong plates.

Kha—The curving projection of the left limb is to be found in almost all records. But in the Chittagong plate the loop is projected inwardly and the formation of the modern form is complete.

Ta—It resembles generally of the old type but a great change is to be found in the Sonarbar and Chittagong plates. In these two graves the letter looks like modern Bengali *cha*. For it is not put head completely in the right direction. "The connection of the left curve (also of Ra) with the Right curve is raised from baseline a bit like already seen."

Cha—No independent instance is to be found. In Sarnath it is of the old type.

Na—In most cases it is to be found with its right limb shortened and consequently not developed. Only the modern curvy form. The fully developed form occurs in the Nalanda grant.

Sha—This letter is to be found in the Gwalior and Mahiya Pahari grants. Its development is complete in the latter.

Ba—Long ago complete.

Ya—The letter resembles to be of the form found in the Bhagalpur grant of Narayanapala. In the Chittagong grant the vertical line (in the right) is absent. But the curving curve above the serif is still missing to complete it.

Tha—Not to be found independently. But in Sarnath in combination in the modern Bengali form is almost complete.

Ja—The completely developed form is to be found in the Dhana Image and Bodh-Gaya inscription and in the Chittagong grant.

Jha—The completely developed form is to be found in the Chittagong plate.

ka—The already sentry form is to be generally met with. But a completely developed form with a single curve to the left and with the vertical consistently projected upwards is to be found in the Chittagong plate.

ta—In the Paikpagoti, Bhagalpur and Bihar inscriptions the already sentry form (the right limb is a vertical line) is to be found. A peculiar form has been used in the Mandi inscription. But in almost all other records the right limb is a curve and is turned to the left. Thus the form is almost complete. A fully developed form occurs in the Deulbhaga Ms.

tha—The old form is to be found in the Mandi inscription but in all other records the modern Bengali form is to be met with.

da—The old form with curved limb is generally to be met with. The modern form is to be found in the Bodh-Gaya, Gudhiliani inscriptions, in the Deulbhaga Ms. and Chittagong plate.

dha—The Mandi inscription shows the old form. In some records we find the same form with the form. But the modern closed form with the loop occurs in the Bhita Image, Tajpur-plate, Mahipal's Period inscriptions.

na—The modern form is all upon occupying the Kasauli group.

pa—The old form continues in many records but in the Mandi, Kasauli, Bhagalpur and Deoghat inscriptions we find the transitional form in which the curve in the left has a short upward curve. The fully developed Bengali form in which the curve in the extreme left is joined by two other curves meeting in one point in the vertical is to be found in the Dhara Image, Bodhgaya, Bodh-Gaya and Chittagong inscriptions.

pha—Complete in Bangalgarh, Gunaighar and Rohtas Pargat inscriptions.

ba—The already sentry form in Mandi, Bhagalpur and Dulhin inscriptions. The transitional form occurs in the Kasauli group. The modern form with the front curve elongated on the left is to be found in the Deoghat, Nalanda, Bodhgaya, Bihar Parbat and Chittagong inscriptions.

Ra—Broken form with the acute angle in the lower part occurs in almost all records excepting the Bamanî and Bodhgaya inscriptions which show the Nagarî form.

Ta—The modern angular form is to be found in the Bhaila, Deoria, Dhaka Image, Rampal, Nalitabari, Tarpandighi inscriptions and in the Cambridge Ms. Sometimes the modern form is to be met with.

Ha—The modern form is of all cases occurring in the Bhaila inscription.

La—The modern form is to be found in almost all cases. In Bhaila inscription it takes some far from its nagarîness and in the Sonarbhan the left part consists of a single curve in some cases.

Ya—It generally shows the looped and curved form. The distortion of the acute angle is complete in the Cambridge Ms.

Sa—The eleventh century form still in all records.

Ja—The modern form is found in all cases.

Sa—The letter is generally to be found very pointed wedge but the modern form with wedge is to be found in the Deopârâ and Sonarbhan inscriptions and in the Cambridge Ms.

Ha—The modern form is generally used. The modern form occurs in the Chittagong Ms.

The medial *e* in the Kamauli and Chittagong plates which is formed by the addition of a vertical line is joined to the top-stroke by a short slanting line. The accounts 1,2,7 and 9 are completely developed in this period. In the packet the modern forms of *ra*, *sha*, *sa* are yet to be found and also the medials *u* and *o*. The fourth of records, with epigraphic and incidentally, in the latter half of the 12th and 13th centuries, invariably leads us to know their origin in the 10th century. The fully developed forms of *ra*, *sha* and *sa* are to be found in Rajyabarman III, of the 14th-15th century. The fully developed medials *u* and *o* are to be found even later.

In most of the official records of the Pâla inscriptions, being the Bhagalpur and Kamauli plates) we find shorter or longer tails which stand off towards the right below the bottom-line of the letters. These tails also appear in the Kurpa-Dîghî and Nandadeva Temple inscriptions of the time of Rajyapâla, the Amgachia inscription of the time

of Vigrahapāla III and in the Madhāinagar inscription of Lakṣmaṇa. They are a marked feature of the Bihār, of the Pāla period. They are also to be constantly found in the Rewa inscriptions. According to Bühler, these tails become vertical strokes in Nāgarī in gha, ṇa, tha, dha, pa, ba, ma, ya, la, va, sa, ṣa and ṇa except in case of a. These tails are to be found added to the vertical line which denotes medials, to the two curves of ja, to the left curve of la, to the right curve of ba and even to the two dots of i. They occur in parts of the letters from which these could have been no derivation or formation of the vertical. Therefore it means that these tails should be regarded as ornamentation of the letters but were dissociated subsequently.

Writing in 1896 Bühler remarked that only a few among the Proto-Bengali letters are local formations and in his opinion ṛ, aṃ, ṃ, gha are local formations. He traced the origin of ṛ, ṇ, ḷ, ḍ from the Bodhā Gaya. These letters cannot be found in any epigraph and its most appearance is in the Gaṇḍakīgaṇḍa Mss. of 1216-20 A.D. It is not known where the Bodhā Gaya Mss. were written. Palaeographically they should be assigned to the period 100-150 A.D. and in this period there was not much difference between Eastern and Western alphabets. Bühler found the prototypes of Proto-Bengali, a, ṛ, ḍ, ḍh, ṇa, pa, ra, sa, ṣa, sha, ya and ja from western inscriptions of the 5th-6th centuries. Very few records of the early Pāla period were discovered at Bühler wrote his monumental work on palaeography and he had no other material to trace the origin of these distinctive Bengali forms from Western India. The signs for these letters never simultaneously in Western and Eastern alphabets. The Western and Eastern alphabets had a common parent and in the 5th-6th centuries the distinction between Proto-Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali was not very fundamental. Therefore some of the developments towards Proto-Bengali forms are to be found in Western records. As we have already said, that the fact that the positive signs of these letters were subsequently abandoned in Nāgarī and that they were retained and are being used to the present day in Bengali script leads to the conclusion that they are to be regarded as distinctive Proto-Bengali forms.

Dharmendra Lal Dey.

MISCELLANY

Scythians in India

[Tokharians, Hunzapas, Hunzas]

In the *JRAI.*, 1903 (pp. 424-43), Spooner drew attention to the connection between the Hunzas and Jonsha, and pointed out the extraordinary nature of the mythematics generally offered in [illegible]'s [illegible] *Hunzapas Abagyamthlar* and particularly on [illegible], v. 120 — *Nichtsals* (*Hunzapas*).

In *[illegible]* (1911 (pp. 38-39), Keith sums up the differences in matter of religion between the dayaks and the Indus Valley civilization as follows:—"The Dravidic religion is certainly [illegible] in principle (the fact that Indian magic exist does not destroy the fundamental basis of the opposition), while, on the other hand, [illegible] power to permeate the Indus Valley civilization, proving a very different outlook."

Between 1911 and 1916, new serious facts come to light, and new light has been thrown on [illegible]. It may be profitable to review the whole position of homogeneity in India with special reference to the following points:—

(i) When the Dravidic language [illegible] to exist?

(ii) To whom did the tongue referred to belong?

(iii) Relativity in time and space between Hindaya, Tokharia, Hunzapas and Hunzas?

I) Keith is probably right about Dravidic antiquities. An image, [illegible] in some way possibly by means in [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] the poet asks, "Who will bring this my Lover to me now? When he has taken his fear he may give him back to me?" But in some cases, the [illegible] objects are obviously symbolic[1]. Dedicatory inscriptions on [illegible] of Aged

1. [illegible], [illegible] Wirkland [illegible] Prag, 1911.

2. Marshall, Indus Mythology, 1907, p. 101.

in *RV.* I, 146, 4.5, is [illegible]. But that images were not unknown in the Rig-veda is clear. As Delbrück[1] says: "From the common epithetic of the gods as divine seers, 'seer of the sky', or simply mere 'seer', and from the epithet epandas, 'having the form of seer,' *RV.* III, 4.5, one may conclude that representations in human form were also done. The question is, by whom?" Large additions to the Brāhmaṇas, e.g., the *Jaimini-Brāhmaṇa*, the lost of the city chapter of the *Śaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, a supplement to the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Divya* tale in *Gōbh.*, bid by that time the speculation of Greece, [illegible] is a synthetic method but subtlety carried to advanced stage. Berthe Moyrinck Rau's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* draw upon the salient Purāṇas which in their present form postdate Rau synthesis[2]. The various accounts are practically indistinguishable in form and detail—but are utilized all too as in *Bhattacharyya's Indian Buddhist Iconography* (end of the 7th century). This failure of Iconography that initial account (as introduced as element of inconsistency between the subjective and objective evidence, a lack of unity between literature and archaeology in the earliest period. The Rig-veda begin with an [illegible] to early things that did not appear of [illegible] in [illegible] Indo contemporaries and [illegible] of India.[3] Lines were among them. Tīrtha, Dhāra and Vāhāṇī do not even support Dhārna's interpretation of Dhārna as a deity, but explain it simply as a fort.

1 Delbrück, [illegible], 45, 190 ff.

2 *Ait. Ār. Bhattacharya, Buddhist Iconography*, p. 9 for a similar [illegible] from whole Vedic literature.

3 *Gladwell's Oriental Series*, vol. LXXII, 190, pp. 11ff. Tarpha and [illegible].

4 Cf. *Hardwick*, [illegible], 7.20, 10.10. "Whether worship which was known in the earliest Vedic period?" *Macdonell*, Ved. Myth., p. 26.

"Not a really historic or distinguished from Indic people. Rigvedic Image-worship [illegible] without representation"	[illegible]
Schwartz-Bloch:	Dvāṇḍi—Dhāra and Dhārāna (Gōbhila) / Mitra image mentioned by Dhāgar (Mitra-Varuṇa, vol. 2, p. 20 [illegible]).	Lindh.

(c) Who first used Kine [illegible]?

The myth of horse in India is linked with Tvaṣṭṛ and (Sūrya) in the Tvaṣṭṛ-hymn, Pischel defines (Ved) as "the process of being the wind or some other well-defined in space." The Jaiminīya Bhāṣya are based on pre-Buddhistic Brāhmaṇa Vendidad on Tvaṣṭṛ. It is significant that in his reference to Mesopotamian images, Pischel mentions the images of Sūra, Tvaṣṭṛ, Bhaga and Vṛtrahan—Pischel's Rebhāṣṭaṇa, VI, 3, 1—"Sūra and others." What is the historical significance of this peculiar juxtaposition of deities in Pischel? Is it a pure coincidence to associate Sūra, Tvaṣṭṛ and Mitra-pal?

Mitra-Deva has shown that Tvaṣṭṛ, Sūra and Indra go back to the 4th millennium B.C. in India.[1]

Scholars, however, are not agreed, to whom this civilization belonged. It is time to revise this negative attitude. It is admitted that the Vedic Aryan found a hard-nut (like) people—not sufficiently civilized but not [illegible] [illegible]—"[illegible] people-worshipers. Search of an Indian in the Sanskrit Literature, the place [illegible]—originated in India. Why what was their [illegible]? Purely they could not have [illegible] [illegible] in light of the fact that they must have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of their [illegible]. In our [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of Tvaṣṭṛ and Sūrya. Oppert[2] has called Śambara (the [illegible] people) the Dravidians, the Paṇis [illegible]. There is a fourth term in the Rig-veda, viz. Dhūrdhur. The cross of mythology Śiva and of animals, especially the bull Nandi-vāhana, and of birds, specially the peacock, might belong to these Dhūrdhur—worshippers of water or horse.

(d) Who were these Dhūrdhur?

Pigmaloy Dhūrdhur—[illegible], [illegible], VII, 104, 18.
[illegible] Dhūrdhur [illegible], [illegible], X, 87, 1, 14.
[illegible] [illegible] and Dasyu.[3]

As in the case of the term Asura, Dhūrdhur may be a general designation, meaning others earlier that have perished through the

1 Mookerji, Hindu-Civ., vol. I, pp. vii, 10-11.
2 Oppert, The Original Inhabitants of India, pp. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].
3 Ragozin, Ancient Indian Historical Traditions, pp. 180 f., 181, 191.

[illegible] specific groups [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Sylvain Lévi[13] has traced the Tukhāra tribe and the kingdom of the Tukhāra, and the country of Yavana noted in Pāṇini.

A comparison of Bhāgavata, Gandhārīnāyaka's Tukhāra and Śrīla Bhaṭṭanāyaka is instructive. The following parallels emerge:

(a) The geographical distribution of Tukhāra history and Tukhāra sculptures agree.

(b) Special aims of Tukhāra cover the Indus valley, the North-West and the Himalayan regions spreading from the west to the east. (i) Thus Turga (Dh. 1, 'Bhāṭṭanāyaka'[14] is mentioned by Pāṇini, 4.2.100 along with Bramāta, Bhallin and Dāmalina. (ii) Dāmalināsana (Dh.2) associated with Tukhāra, Pārasīkāra and Śākarika, BAFDN., 1905, p. 236.

(c) Jayanta's Gandhārīnāyaka (Nyā. Mañ. Ind., p. 18—Kāṭyāyana, (1. 19) should be compared with Bhāṭṭanāyaka[15] (Dh—Kāṭyāyana gaṇa) Bhāṭṭanāyaka sūryaśvetā śrīyaśvetā.

(d) Intimate association of Tukhāra with Magadha in Gandhārī and of the Mauryas with Magadha in epigraphy[16] (JRAS., 1905, p. 1020) (cf. also Mahābodhi, Vol. 1, p. 168—"We have a bell with a very King, bearing [illegible], which may probably be a gaṇaṇā."

(e) The similarity in Śaṅkhapāla between Tukhāra and Mauryan sculptures has been pointed out by Bachofer in his Indian Sculptures under the Mahārāja system in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the Yakṣiṇī image in the Patna Museum.

(f) The name of Nandi, the bull in place names, and its representations in home and glyptic.

I will merely indicate the direction of the conclusion, having to deal with the progress of further research. Thus it will

13. H. 1886, xxi. 1, 44, 46; also Journ. Asia., 1896, 16, p. 196.

14. Pischel, Journ. R.A., 1904, vol. 17, p. 814.

15. Kielt, Journ. R.A., op. cit., 1906, p. 1.

16. As regards the prevalence of the negative tribalism among the Mauryas and Kushāṇas, see the objection in A. Bredifer Lehr. (Berlin), Tiergestalt der Indoner. Diss., 1, 1906 to B. Hirna, xx. 1-4, and Kaiḍ. 1.1.

he suggested tentatively that water is a derivative from Rita, worshipped by the ancient pre-Vedic people, the Bhambrey, to whom may be affiliated the Tolpas and the Mayapal?

The connection between the Tolpas and the Bhambrey and between them two and the inhabitants of the Himalayan Dwar, and their special aptitude for sculpture were noticed by Sir Ray. Dallas Bhi in his The Tolpas exhibiting the Sculptures Bhil, Bhambrey, Dhoi, pp. [illegible]. This view finds further corroboration in Lieutenant-Colonel Gingerich's article (The Antiquities of the Sculptures Bhil,[illegible] in Legaly into the Dwarves of the Thousands or Tolpas:

"The Tolpas want the construction of the old towns for the following reasons: [illegible]. The shape of the nations. [illegible]. The bodies and other vessels, letters, street-boards, shreds of cloth, mingled with charred and burnt bones in the ruins. [illegible]. In left cases these things are deposited in little pottery [illegible] in the middle of the stone circles, [illegible]. The numerous figures of [illegible] some with bells round their necks, [illegible] are sculptures of the activity of the Thousands [illegible] according [illegible] with bells or [illegible]." Bombay [illegible] Gingerich [illegible] that "the other [illegible] agricultural implements, and [illegible] have belonged to a comparatively civilized people." [illegible] the origin of the [illegible], and the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Tolpas of the Tolpas Dwarves, pp. [illegible]: "As regards the Bhil [illegible] of monuments, [illegible] of the present Bhil [illegible] of the Bhil are capable of [illegible] sculptures of [illegible] as [illegible] a degree of art as [illegible] on the [illegible]." Whose sculptures were they? The Sir. Dallas Bhil [illegible] that such [illegible] are called [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible], and recognized in the [illegible] Bhil [illegible] or [illegible] Tolpas.[illegible] Colonel Gingerich referred to the Aryan origin of these people and their [illegible]. The [illegible] call them the [illegible], and the

[illegible] Bombay Journal of Literature and Science, [illegible], vol. [illegible], no. [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] W. Bombay, Preliminary Notes of the Bhil[illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Gingerich, The Original Inhabitants of India, [illegible], p. [illegible].

Veda, the Purāṇas, the Buddhist and Jaina tradition solar in them or the Tāntras.

Prajñā[10] has attempted to explain Sanskrit mantras, mantras, mandalas, with a non-Aryan background of the type mentioned. He explains the name Mantra through the Proto-Munda term. His argument is in right regarding the non-Aryan origin. But Bhattacharyya's interpretation remains the other hand more. From this non-Aryan root is more than one-third of daily mantras in northern India—many and more, in the name of a Lord.[11]

It is doubly remarkable, too, after all, the mantra-pharma are the great poetic inside.

A. Bhattacharyya

10. Prajñā, Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique, Tome XIV, pp. 99-108.

11. Cf. the word and text, for hand and the full, e.g. of a text. Hindi editions dominant, monosyllabic-analogous. Text in Tantra & Vedic, or Tantra & Mantra. In Buddhism tradition Vajrayāna is the good Tantra of Lamaism (Vajrāsana or Vajrāsana, Pāli Vajirāsana, Burmese: Bangalore-Bellmann, and Bangalore) and Bhutan, Lahaul or plains. Cf. Mandala with Bhutan, Hindi, under Bhutan: mandala might mean 'holder of mantra', i.e. text.

Vākovākyam

The meaning of the word *vākovākyam* is doubtful and it seems to have been [illegible] or misheard. In contrast to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 1. 4-6, in the well-known passage: *vācārambhaṇaṃ vikāro nāmadheyaṃ mṛttikety eva satyam*. Śaṅkara explains *vācārambhaṇa* in his commentary there thus: *vācārambhaṇaṃ vāgālambanaṃ nāmadheyaṃ āgantukam*. This appears to me to be the right explanation.

In the *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1.6 *vācārambhaṇaṃ śruteḥkāraṇāt satyatvāt*, certainly the above passage of the *Ch. Up.* is referred to and the word *vācārambhaṇa* is quoted. The latter is interpreted differently by different authors. Bhāskara says: *śrutiḥkāraṇa śrutiḥkāraṇa vācārambhaṇaṃ, vācārambhaṇaṃ vācārambhaṇaṃ śrutaṃ tat satyaṃ satyaṃ* [illegible] *vācārambhaṇaṃ satyaṃ* is given, to be *vācārambhaṇa* 'No truth'. Bhāgavatācārya, a follower of Bhāskara, says in his gloss on the *Ch. Up.* loc. cit. *vācārambhaṇa vācārambhaṇaṃ*. Thus he presents, verbally in order to refute the explanation given by Śaṅkara, saying that there is no evidence to show that *vācārambhaṇa* means *vācārambhaṇa*. We shall see later on that this *vācārambhaṇa* is *satya*.

Bhāskara takes *vācārambhaṇa* as an adjective, 'Magic'. Accordingly the phrase under discussion means that *vācārambhaṇa* (which is a mere 'Magic' or trick of speech).

Bhāskara's interpretation in the *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1. 16, explains the word in the sense of *vācārambhaṇa* 'that which affects', which *vācārambhaṇa*, *vācārambhaṇa*, *vācārambhaṇa*, *vācārambhaṇa*, *vācārambhaṇa*. It means that *vācārambhaṇa* affects the son or employment of speech, or something in him, it may mean that it is only an object of entertainment of speech, such as 'Mole is a jar' [illegible]. Śaṅkara's explanation *śabdo vācārambhaṇaṃ mṛttikety eva satyaṃ*, but it is made as by the [illegible], Parāśaraśaṅkara, who he writes Life Strength that *vācārambhaṇa*.

In Dhanapāla's *Ṣaḍvidhaśrutyarthaprakāśa* as says Śaṅkara, also in his *Pañcādhyāyīkāśaṅkha* (*Brahmasūtra*, II. 1. 14), *vācārambhaṇa* [illegible].

Śaṅkara explains the phrase saying in the effect that the sense 'meditation' is begun (pravṛtta) by the people owing to the use of speech.

Vijñānabhikṣu cited here quite a different sense. He has contended that the above passage of the Ch. Up. is referred to here. According to Śaṅkara it is a passage from the Bṛ. Up., IV. 4.2 (upa nididhyāsanyā cānuvādikāni"). This, however, cannot be accepted. For in that case the initial word is the ablative and it would have been anuvādikānya and not anuvādikāni. He has adduced here Śaṅkara, writing the word anuvādikāni, but does not give its meaning.

Śaṅkara's explanation from the Ch. Up. is quoted in the beginning of the page. On the Brahmasūtra, II. 1. 14, he simply writes anuvādikāni dvādaśāni. What is the meaning of the last word? Vācaspati in his Bhāmatī here not throws any light, nor does the Ratnaprabhā. But on the Brahmasūtra, I. 1. 2, while Śaṅkara quotes the Chāndogya passage again, Govindānandī defines anuvādikāni as the latter is found in the Chāndogya commentary, and indeed go vāhaṇādayaḥ anyāni. Vidyāraṇya on the Brahmasūtra, II. 1. 14, as the Bṛhadāraṇyakavārtikā and Anandagiri's commentary on the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad also contain the same explanation, the Śaṅkara is followed here.

Now what does anuvādikāni mean in the above line of Śaṅkara? It cannot be anything but abandoned object in general, especially vāhaṇādi-dhāyaṇa or vāgādhāraṇa.

Here in Śaṅkara's abandonment may be explained as abandonment of 'being made an abandoned'. The word abandoned literally means a thing upon which one lives or rests. The object of some perception is an abandoned, the object of one's meditation is an abandoned, for, that perception or qualification rests upon it. So vāgādhāraṇa means the abandoned or object of speech. The line of the Taittirīya begins that meditation is merely an object of speech, it is only perceived by speech, only due speech rests on it, it is a mere name, nothing.

The question arises: How can Śaṅkara explain abandonment as abandoned (or vāgādhāraṇa) meaning 'abandoned in speech'?

In Ch. 1 he has a word anuvādikāni merely in the same sense as of abandoned. The word Śaṅkara used for Ch. abandonment is anuvādya

from *Ursprung* which is the same as 'Absolute reality' = being changed to *I*. The use of this word in classical Sanskrit is hardly met with, but in the Veda we meet it in: 'For heaven' in *TS.*, *Ṛ.*; *TS.* 9-4: *tapasas' cinnadya 'nāmnāmnāmi* 'the Ṛṣis (= the sky without support)' (further explained: *anāmnāmnāmi anāmnāmnāmi*). So in the *Ṛ.* *Ṛ.*, *TS.* 1-6: *anāmāgam anāmnāmnāmi* 'Sun-sky without support.' The most prompt occurs in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *AB.* 6, 6-9, from which the reading *anāmnāmnāmi* (in contradiction).

In the same Brāhmaṇa *TP*, 6, 1-2, the word is the same *anāmnāmnāmi*: *tad anāmnāmnāmi* (= *anāmnāmnāmi* 'with support').

We come across the word *anāmnāmnāmi* also in the *Saṃhitā*. It occurs only once in the *Ṛgveda*, X, 11-2 (= *Vājasaneyasaṃhitā*, *XVII*, 18), *Kāṇ.* and *anāmnāmnāmi anāmnāmnāmi*. The commentators explain that it means 'entirely' (*anāmnāmnāmi* 'sun by *anāmnāmnāmi*'), but considering the significance of *anāmnāmnāmi* and dates in the *Ṛgveda* (I, 155-5, with reference to *anāmnāmnāmi* 'sun'; and 190-6, and *VS.* 10-4 with reference to *anāmnāmnāmi* 'darkness'), and *Ṛgveda*'s *anāmnāmnāmi* (*anāmnāmnāmi*) (*anāmnāmnāmi*, *anāmnāmnāmi*) *anāmnāmnāmi* (= *anāmnāmnāmi*). The sense of *anāmnāmnāmi* is quite appropriate in these cases.

Thus in the *Pindāṇḍa*, 2, 32, *anāmnāmnāmi* (= *anāmnāmnāmi*) is a dwelling of the *Ṛgveda*, X, 190-1, where *anāmnāmnāmi* (*anāmnāmnāmi*) 'in the *anāmnāmnāmi* space' meaning lonely the intermediate space between heaven and earth). Here we see that for *anāmnāmnāmi* of later days Tilak, *anāmnāmnāmi* is in the times of Vedic texts, the *Āraṇyaka* and *Brāhmaṇa*.

Practically *anāmnāmnāmi* being in meaning changed to *anāmnāmnāmi*, from which Pāli had *anāmnāmnāmi*, and have finally *anāmnāmnāmi*.

It is thus seen that Jacobi's explanation of *anāmnāmnāmi* is quite right.

Vasudevaśāstri Bhāṭṭacārya

Two Traditions about Ancestry of Yusuf 'Adil Shah of Bijapur

II

Yusuf Beg Shah,[1] who afterwards became known as 'Adil Shah, was the founder of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty, ruler of Bijapur, and reigned in Shah[2] and worked his will upon the people of the country.[3] Having deservedly got in practice the rules of the game,[4] he which rules and had the Shah[5] and in his own name.

Historians disagree in their opinion about his lineage. The earliest mention, as given by some of them, is that, he descended from the rulers of Rum.[6] They are of opinion that, when considered with the universally powerful predecessors, Sultan Murad[7] received his equivalent dress for the coffin in the year 884 H. (A.D. 1480-81). Sultan Muhammad,[8] his son, in accordance with the testament of his father, added adornment to the throne by his own accounting.

The new Sultan had a prodigal Nizam Tawaf by name, who for his personal beauty and charm was called the second Joseph.[9] Muhammad

[1] From Bombay-Gazetteer, a history of Bijapur, by Mirza Rostam Ganjavi written in 1887 has a reliable work, being based on other sources.

[2] Khas (Rum), a town in Armenia, Persia, adjacent to the east of Qum (Rum).

[3] Shah, a town in Rum, situated in the south-east of the province.

[4] در مملکت ای و بازار ساختند بسیار بازی آورد و باختند و انداختن پرداز
گرفته ایوان فرمانروایی سر الجمل داد

[5] در میدان استکمال فرزند فرمانفرمی را از پیشه

[6] Reference referred to weapons or Sultans, in which it was the practice to praise God, their Prophet and his companions and pray for the Sultan. Shah was generally pronounced in recent times for the reigning Sultan or the heir-apparent.

[7] Turkey.

[8] Mustafa, calls him Agha Khurd. Bijapur Inscriptions compares two Journals II. Sultan given Assembly's thesis in text. Patronage, 1481.

[9] Sultan (XII, 140) said his Muhammad II.

[9] یوسف ثانی. Joseph was the chief of spiritual beauty in Bijapur sense.

have a chance here for his younger brother and he could never part company with Lila.

Hajjawood writer Tarsuf's death

The deepest secrets and mysteries of the mind brought to bear upon the Sultan the most bizarre of their great will and wished him a private audient keeping an intimacy with those who held any claim to the throne. Such an intimacy, in that's opinion, was impossible and unmentionable, and to see competition in the act of treating up all young subjects in the hunt of each's property.[9]

As the ministers had reminded the Sultan in their petitions, the Sultan, perhaps, yielded to their motivation.[10] "With regard to this numerical proposition," the Sultan said, "the very difficult problems must be considered. Firstly, there exists the question of an unlawful killing of a person for no fault or crime of his. Secondly, we are also to consider the problem of bringing into the land of the mother in the fire of magnetism from the sun." "Now, I'm advisable," the Sultan continued, "the mother of Tarsuf has achieved by and her opinion to the end to be sought BEFORE, as the leader of my fathers, the pillars of every one out to the palace of the lady and diplomatically placed my whole mother before her." "That's another, a problem help that she was, mathematical everything." the Minister that the thing was not to happen whether she contacted or not, and under the circumstances, she should devise some plan of operation. "My opinion is the same as yours," the said to the Sultan, "but I beseech you to put off the deed for this night, so that, I may be delighted by the interview with my son."[11] "I will," she promised. "Send over my son to my treasurer somewhere, so that, I will pay him to deals with my own hands."[12] The officials thought that the lady was invincible, and not seeking her any further trouble, they returned.

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9. [illegible]

10. Rachida writes that, the Sultan gave orders for the mother to be put to death, and that, his ministers were to record the point from his orders.

11. The son is a true hatty. The word is [illegible]

12. The text is [illegible] literally meaning hatter of the sun.

Tuscl succeeded to 'Abdallah's cave

By chance, there appeared in the city one Khwajah 'Abd-al-Ala Khujandi[1] from Hirah, with valuable merchandise and Turkish slaves for sale, and among the group of the slaves there happened to be one, who is apparently and hardly resembled Prince Tuscl. Being informed of this, Tuscl's mother visited the merchant in the harem in the darkness of night and purchased from him the aforesaid slave at a very high price. Having prevailed upon him, she entrusted Tuscl to him, along with gold and precious pearls. She then implored upon the merchant the necessity of keeping the matter a close secret, and entreated him to leave the harem at night and to write his real name in an unknown manner.

Subsequently, the aforementioned gentleman[2] in the newly purchased slave the same right and unique fairness as he found him in reality. Thus, towards the end of the night, Tuscl[illegible] came in the harem, and the merchant succeeded the [illegible]. Having received the news, the nobles and officials of the city [illegible] to the harem and brought out the [illegible] lady in order to give it to Tuscl [illegible] holding a prince. The [illegible], along with some of his companions, took his way to the harem for [illegible], and then, having received with joy and offering [illegible] towards the very [illegible].

Khwajah 'Abdallah, the merchant, on the other hand, having done several offences and wrongs, lost his fortune and the same right. Hearing [illegible],[3] he made a journey, he spared himself no pains to make proper arrangements for the education of Tuscl, who was then seven years old. He appointed wise teachers for the child and

(1) Jurjani writes that the slave was brought. Gibb (EI[1] II, p. 300) is of opinion that Sultan Mahmud, after his campaign to the Hindu, ordered all his servants to be put to death, but one of them made his escape and peopled Bisqam.

* Sadaka says Khwajah 'Uqaylah.

(2) Jurjani says that the Prince was of fair hues by the Khwajah to Abdal where he was settled among the Knights of Bisqam [illegible]. He may refer to Hirah otherwise.

made perfect arrangements for imparting to him knowledge in science and arts, in etiquette, in the ways of mankind and the rules of kings.

After a year, some confidential persons sent by Tsoraf's mother came to Shrob with money and rare articles, and having served the prince, they returned carrying with them the showing scores of the prince's health. Everyday after, from again came to Shrob some servants of the [illegible][illegible] with gold and jewels for the Khwajah and having waited upon Tsoraf for sometime, they returned from way back carrying the pleasing news of the prince's well-being. In fact, the news story was repeated every year.

Thus, gradually Tsoraf's pedigree was made known to the public. The ruler of Shrob was an overjoyed man. He held his plans to return money from the merchant. Being Nice Groomed and adorned with crown at the premier's coronet, 'Tadbirul-Ula' returned Tsoraf to Sirin.[16]

Tsoraf's dream

Some time after, the governor of Shrob having drunk the wine of death, out of the sky of Sirin, the Khwajah [illegible] up his relict to return to his native place with Tsoraf. Hospitably[17] Tsoraf saw a dream which gave happy news. There appeared a Form of a performer with impressions of fortune on his Forehead who announced himself as Khwajah Khidr.[18] "O, Tsoraf!" the venerable figure recounted, "he then determined to forsake Shrob and return towards Khidrabad. It is clear that the time of that Sadra will bear fruit." "It is not," the figure went on, "that does would be have their Ambrel object Fulfilled.

16. Farhiba writes that Tsoraf's old mother, her son Ghanaiz Raj and her daughter Khalid Aga were sent to Raj capital. It should now be remembered that Ghanaiz accompanied Tsoraf in his journey to Sirin and was made the general in Tsoraf's campaign to the Bhojan throne.

17. a city in Persian Iraq, situated between Kazvin and Sultan.

Hodgkin is of opinion that the action of Tsoraf's thirst was designed by the indecisions of the old servants to live in his mother.

18. Farhiba writes that after the Governor's death, Tsoraf proceeded via Kashan and Sultan to Shrob, where he met the young.

19. The prophet Khidr or Khaz.

after the fatigue of a long journey. Thou dost'st join the sovereignty of a great kingdom."

Yusuf kept the dream secret from his companions, but informed Khwaja 'Izzuddin about his intended journey and became unknown for it. The Khwaja therefore, postponed his return-journey to the native land, took the ship bound for Khurasan and reached the port of Balol in the year 864 H. (A.D. 1461). The Khwaja remained there for sometime.

Accidentally, one day Yusuf sat out on a landing somewhere on the sea shore when he felt very thirsty. Suddenly, "there came in sight an effulgent figure" which resembled one that had appeared before him in Deoga in Qnoj. The human form, with a golden bell of angel water held in his hands, approached Yusuf and addressing him said, "Drink, and make merry". The dream that thou hast seen in the past is true! Your fame not end in hopeless!"

While Yusuf was astonished in delighting and was bed to be tested the way, the figure vanished. His sorrow and suffering gladdening change made Yusuf recognize, "Be sure (to Khwaja Sa'd Balol)" and set out for the capital city Bidar.

Yusuf and Sa'd (meeting with Khwaja Gawan)

The age was concurrently with the commencement and growth of the fortune and power of Khwaja 'Alf'ud-Din Mahmud Gilki alias Raja-ul-Tujjar, who afterwards became known as Khwaja Jahan and also as Khwaja Gawan. He attained the position of one of the best ministers of the Bahmani Kings. Khwaja 'Izzuddin sought an interview with Khwaja 'Alf'ud-din and between the two there grew up a close intimacy on grounds of propinquity and contents of noble planet.

Yusuf was appointed a royal attendant

It so happened that, in a certain occasion, Yusuf's striking appearance and engaging manners attracted the attention of Khwaja

12. Suddenly [illegible] to reference to Deoga Gilki.

13. Shortly after that, in that carried on Bidar, the Khwaja and Yusuf became acquainted with a merchant named Shaikh Mahmud Gujarati.

[illegible]. "It is better," the minister addressed Tawq'i-'Alī-Shāh, "that this pearl (Tawq) be included in the necklace of Sultan's associates."[16] Now, there was in those days a custom in the Deccan to appoint the sons of the nobility as royal associates, who by dint of merit, gradually rose to the top of prosperity by promotion and displayed the activity.[17]

At first Tawq'i-'Alī-Shāh refused to give his consent to the proposal (Sultan made, but having received a divine revelation and considering that the offer would efficiently be good to Tawq, he accepted. Thus was Tawq appointed to the group of royal associates. It is for this reason that most of the historians are being aware of the truth, look upon Tawq as a Tawq dress got by position.[18]

Tawq Journey Down to Kalkī-ur-Qazī

To cite, in, after he was appointed a personal attendant of Sultan Muhammad Bahmani, Tawq, with the aid of Ayazma and an account of his personal knowledge of history, made a rapid rise in power and obtained a high position in the state. The minister had a personal affection for Tawq. By similar wages Tawq was in a position of the court[19] and became the pupil of the Bahmani Court. He was designated Tawq 'Alī Khān and then, Kalkī-ur-Qazī and also Kalkī-ur-Qazī. In the year 8[illegible] (A.D. 1[illegible]) he raised the standard of independence at Bijapur[20] and its vicinity.

16. The text reads: [illegible]

17. I have here made a free translation. The text reads:

[illegible]

18. Here Farishta is of the same opinion. He says that Tawq was not as a foreigner class in the minister works for the royal treasurer. But Farishta himself seems to be from outlandish.

19. Firishta writes that Tawq became the master of the Bidar, and after his death of Muhammad Bahmani was in the throne of Kalkarni and raised the Kindle to his own throne in the year 8[illegible] H. or 1480 A.D.

20. [illegible]

III

Yusuf's pedigree as revealed by Rafi-ul-din

Another tradition concerning the ancestry of Yusuf 'Adil Shah is found upon the extension of Sultan-i-Ru'ma Khan. Sultan-i-Ru'ma passed, in the year 900 H. (A.D. 1495) to Iran with some merchandise and reached the Persian gulf the village called Gogi he found the ancestry of Yusuf 'Adil Shah and his family and an white house with an embellishment of marble and Kishwar. There were about 200 servants and a similar number of residents and other officials. Rafi-ul-din Shirazi-ul-Iraqi was one of the superintendents of the expedition. He was a pious and an honest man and he was about forty years and one. He was an experienced librarian and an old and faithful officer of Yusuf 'Adil Shah, who during the last years of his life had transferred his office to change of the ministry. Rafi-ul-din accidentally met Shamsh-ul-din and Ulughmal, Shah-Qli with him. The latter narrated to the former the following story about Yusuf's birth and early history.

It was during the reign of Sultan Ilyas Khan[38] that Shamsh-ul-din visited at Sabz. The Kadi of Anjar Shah having seized the chariot of rebellion and fighting with our sovereign, Sultan Ilyas availed himself of this opportunity and led an expedition against Sabz Wari. Reaching Tabriz he learnt that Sabz Wari had passed away. Sultan Ilyas placed his own officers in the ancestry of the famous Sultan of Ajarbaijan, Shirvanshah, Iraq, Fars and Kirman, and sacked out Hindi and his dependencies for his sister's son Ahmad Beg.

Wali gave hospitality Ahmad engaged in our authority and by rendering justice to military and civil population made good his demonstration. Upon his rule, the ancestry of the country changed for better. Ahmad married the daughter of a noble of Hindi and a son was born

(38) A Turkish title.

چون قرار از ولادة الشیخ الرئیس ناصب ابید القهر و الظالم مع امرائش
مرائی الیسعه

of the throne. Subsequently, when he departed from this world, his son, Shahzad Beg, succeeded the throne.

Not unlike his father, Shahzad conducted his sovereignty with the principles of equity and justice and earned high renown. After a reign of two score years with credit and distinction, he met with death in the confusion that followed a civil strife resulted from the change of circumstances and from dissension and discord among the soldiery. His family was ousted adrift.

Yusuf Beg, the eldest son of Shahzad Beg, who lived at Ingilisia, fancying himself out out of the harem's way went to Dhirda and remained there for five years. Being discouraged by Fortune and in fear of being prevented by the enemies he felt distressed and made up his mind to migrate to Dhirdha. He made his way to Ida where he a certain merchant he saw a dream. A human form, well advised in years with an charmed forehead and dignified, appeared and offered him a few bit bread. "Thou shalt journey in the Dhirdhi," the figure spoke, "It is there that thy adversaries awaits thee." When he woke, Yusuf decided Yusuf left Ingilisia for, and, in accordance with the divine bid, proceeded to the port of Rijiyan.

There, Yusuf met his shaman, Khwaja Dhirdhi, Dhirdhi Intercessor who had come from the worship of Muhammad. Dressed with common clothes of every variety. The self Dhirdhi disposed of his accomplishes and made food provisions in Rijiyan, and having secured some Dhirdhi clothes was about to set sail when Yusuf met him. Affably and his countenance out of love and commiseration for the young, shapely and robust Yusuf took him on the vessel.

The party reached Bilaw and Yusuf remained there for some time with Khan Dhirdhi with whom, while on board the ship, he had picked up an acquaintance. At his that was still on the mass,[1] Yusuf, perforce, had to quit the country and return to his native land. Boarding the ship, he repaired to his old abode where he met a Dhirdhi. "I had met thee to Sri Devana," some one questioned, "wherefore hast thou been expulsed?" Did thee back, and then shall be covered with sorrow?"

Thus, at the recommendation of Fate, Yusuf returned to Sri Devana and took up his abode with his old acquaintancy, Sri Khan Dhirdhi. Yusuf succeeded of adopting the military profession by Sri Khan Dhirdhi.

begun practising, and were excelled in, archery, javelin-throwing, swordplaying and wrestling. He opened a gymnasium and trained people in games of skill. Time he came to the Southern.

It so happened that, there appeared at the capital city Delhi a famous pugilist from Delhi. He had put out of court all his competitors and was regarded the strongest man of the age. He boasted so remarkably mental strength and invulnerable and obviously showed an respect of Emperor Jahangir on him (in title of the "champion fighter"). In a certain occasion, he said challenge to all the other gladiators, artists and athletes with him and displayed his own skill before the Prince. He, then placed an arrow in the Sultan's horse and became the recipient of gifts and rewards. Further, he joined about his notable prize-fighters of the locality, took them to the Sultan's presence and made a short work of them in a contest. He then began flowing up his vast and striking lip. The sultan of the court enjoyed his incomparable, but the Sultan had his fears at the swashbuckler's invasion. He prayed that God might provide a Paladin who could take the wind out of that braggart's sail.

Yusuf, who was awaiting an opportunity to displaying prowess, sent a petition to the Sultan through his peers, the Prince Delhi, requesting his permission. He is invested with his fighter-cum boots. The sovereign was pleased to get his representative and he forthwith granted his request.

One day, all the famous contestants assembled at the coliseum and Yusuf, too, with all his followers appeared on the scene of action. At first, for some days the Delhiite exhibited their talents, while Yusuf, dressed in the garb of a competitor, remained standing near the arena. The Delhi man looked at the dignified appearance of Yusuf and became irritated, when there was an order from the Sultan asking him to meet Yusuf's group. The champion from Delhi expressed that he had a wind of strength with some already and that he would like to meet the twelve young contestants, but prior to this, if he was to provided, he would send some of his people against Yusuf as a tentative measure. Yusuf agreed.

Hurriedly, some of the Delhi contestants met Yusuf one by one, but each was put to the port by him. The Sultan, now cheered, the

leader of the party to join hands with Tsuyo and to be received like such guests. Tsuyo with great skill and dexterity got a firm hold over his adversary. The old man with an ignorant face the courtiers, and the Sovereign, who was greatly delighted, presented Tsuyo with special robes of honour, jewels and a large amount of cash. By planes the king, the nobles of the court, illustrious, unchanged robes, gold and jewels on the vision. Tsuyo was soon raised to the dignity of an earl and was appointed the Superintendent of Police. He ably brought under control the thieves and robbers of the city and its vicinity and effected safety and order in the country. Every day his star was on the ascendant and he came to occupy a position of eminence and the highest rank till he enhanced the honour of royalty in Hizen.

K. K. Dutt.

The Ghosghly Inscription of 1123 Prâpanâtha

The inscription, now before us, is edited here for the first time from a good rubbing kindly supplied by Mr. J. K. Singhson, the late Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, for the purpose. It comes from a place named Ghosghly, a village and an important trade centre in the south eastern corner of the district of Dinajpur. Situated on the western bank of the river Karatoyâ and close within the land of salvation (mukhâpana) according to the Kâmarupa Bibârânga,[1] an early importance of the place can reasonably be assumed. That it was of some consequence in the Hindu times may be gathered from numerous images and large fragments that have been, and are still to be, found there. Unfortunately the early history of this once important place has been shrouded in a mystic mystery by a tradition, widely current, which concerns Ghosghly (Hindi: Ghoshâlâ) as we have it this inscription with Vidhi Bâjâ of the Bhoshâmanâ, who kept his horse here and had his residence at a place called Vîrâ, some miles further north. In the Mahâbhârata Uma Ghosghly was an important military station under a Pâpâlâ, who had his residence in a fort said to have been constructed by the Bhoshâ. It was established with Dwârkâ (Dwârpâmpur) by a Ghosghly road constructed by Kâmâ Bhoshâ, which eventually formed the basis of a Dwârkâ Road road, still kept up. Another road also ran north from this place and goes to Kâmarupa, the capital city of the Bhoshâ kings, Bhoshâmâ, Nâmâ-Bhoshâ and Bhoshâmâ.

The writing covers a space of 12½" × 4½" and is arranged in four lines forming a complete verse. The letters are incised and vary in size from ¾" to 1¼". The characters are Bengali. But the 'r' formed by a triangle with a dotted a curvature inside as in modern Assamese, the palæography calls for no special remark. The doubling of 'ra' after the repetitive 'r' is the only orthographic peculiarity.

1. Kamarupa pahiman dey (ahâl) gâma ar(illegible)
(Bibârânga-pustakâ-gâma-mukhâpana-mukhâpana-mukhâpana.)

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year [illegible] (expressed by a chronogram) corresponding to A.D. 1191, and refers itself to the reign of Rājā Prāpaśrīha who, in that year, built at Dhanyāśī a temple dedicated to Kṛṣṇa. Rājā Prāpaśrīha, the grandson of the Dhanyāśī Rājas, reigned almost as an independent prince for forty years from A.D. 1160 to 1232. Twelve miles south of the Dhanyāśī town the fine hill of Prāsādagiri still commemorates his name. The grand and beautiful temple of Kṛṣṇa at Kṛṣṇānagar, 12 miles west of Dhanyāśī, begun by his father in 1101 A.D. and the temple at Dhanyāśī consecrated in 1191 A.D. testify to his extreme devotion for Kṛṣṇa (cf. the epithet, 'Kṛṣṇapādakamalapraṇāmāpāstāśeṣapāpmā' of his inscriptions). The Dhanyāśī temple seems to have been built of stones on the site of the ancient, sandalwood, stūpika. Similar in this case might be taken to mean a kind of grass (Vanātrī), a meaning which the author of the Prāsādagiripāṭa gives.

TEXT

1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
4. [illegible] (Śrīmat? Prāpaśrīha-bhūpāla) [illegible]

TRANSLATION

In the Śaka year [illegible], in order to please Janārdana (Kṛṣṇa) this stone temple was built by the king Prāpaśrīha, whose heart was filled with a bee in the lotus-(in pair) of feet of Kṛṣṇa, in the place named Vāsāśrīha (Dhanyāśī).

Rahul Nath Sankrityayan

REVIEWS

THE PAÑTAVALI of Rūpa Gosvāmin critically edited by Dr. Sushil Kumar De (pages xxlv+186). Dacca University Oriental Publication Series No. 5. Dacca 1961.

It is an anthology, or more definitely, verses like the *Kāṇḍaprabandh*, etc., a Vaiṣṇavite anthology, the verses herein being devoted to the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. One of its special features is that the subject-matter being the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa verses of non-Vaiṣṇavite Bengal compiled from non-Vaiṣṇava authors in other placed in Vaiṣṇavite context or Vaiṣṇavised by making slight changes here or there.

There were already two editions of the work, but none of them was critical and as such could not meet the demand of modern scholars. It was thus a desideratum, and it is gratifying to note that it has now supplied by Dr. Sushil Kumar De of the University of Dacca, who is already known to us by his writings and specially by his *Sanskrit Poetics*, and first whose *magnum opus* was the critical edition of the *Vidyāpatiparīkṣā* of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

In preparing the edition, he has collated sixteen MSS. of which six belong to the Philosophy of Bengal Lore, and the rest were secured from two Foreign Universities. In this connection the difficulty experienced in identifying the MSS. in the two provinces, Bengal, deserves to be noted as it will show the poor condition under which an Indian scholar is to work even in his own country. Repeated applications for two MSS. were made to the Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the collection of the Dacca University, but in vain. The Vice-Chancellor of the University then asked the editor to see the Secretary personally, but this, too, proved ineffective, the ground offered being that the Society was "not a public institution."

In the present edition for which both the editor and the University of Dacca deserve sincere thanks from every student of Sanskrit, there is an elaborate and very learned Introduction by the editor covering 137 pages. The greater part of it is devoted to the discussion of the

philosophy and the principle of Māyā as a flaw in the school of Caitanyaśikṣā. This helps a reader much in understanding the main work properly.

Then follows the *Vaiṣṇavatā* itself. A patient and careful person will show what care and labour are required not only in finding out the original and other works in which the verses are found, but also in selecting readings from as many manuscripts as the large number of [illegible] containing the texts in which the verses originally occur or are cited.

As regards the selection of readings, however, it seems that there are some which are better than those accepted by the editor. For instance, Dr. De reads the verse 323 as follows:

[illegible]

Here in the first line [illegible] in the large number of [illegible], we have to read the reading as [illegible]. Some different pronunciation appears to me to be [illegible] better when we compare it given in the first line and read [illegible], and not [illegible]. Or, again, the adopted reading of [illegible]

[illegible]

Here with [illegible] and [illegible] the reading [illegible] is probably to relate specially considering the use of [illegible] and not of [illegible] which occurs twice in Śaṅkaracārya varnanāsūtra.

After the text there are Notes on Śrīdhara, containing valuable information about them. Then follow various Indexes making the book as useful as possible. Here the editor could give an Index also of the topics for which the verses are cited.

Tarapada Bhattacharya

THE EARLY REPORT OF CEYLON by H. T. Hoole, with a Foreword by Prof. W. Geiger. T.M.I.A. Publishing House, Calcutta 1965.

We are much impressed by this excellent booklet, in which the author has shown great ability and judgment in the marshalling and presentation of a mass of facts within a small compass. He has modelled his style and method of the works of the Heritage of India Series, and has also FULFILLED the object of the Series, namely, to enable people "to know India and to appreciate more FULLY the treasures, both past and present, of the Ideal of India."

Though the title of the book is "Early History of Ceylon," it carries the history from the earliest time through the mediaeval period up to the advent of the Portuguese during the reign of Parakramabahu VIII (1484-1519 A.C.). It is divided into three sections: the first (chapters I & II) is confined to the pre-Christian era, the second, which the author calls the early mediaeval period, extends up to the tenth century A.C., and the third (chapters IV & V) deals with the succeeding five centuries. The topics dealt with in each of these sections are almost mechanically identical: "Political History; Agriculture and Irrigation; Building and Buildings; Literature; Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Foreign Relations."

It is a relief to see, and publicly so to Prof. Geiger to feel that the author who began his research work in Lanka to crush the Kalkiyaya tradition, has brought it wise to neither the reliability in the Mahavamsa Chronicles for a history of Ceylon. In Appendix A, he has dealt with the merits of the Chronicles, and we believe, no one will disagree with his opinion.

The chronology of political events, as the author says, in a satisfactory way, as much yet remains to be unfolded by further researches and archaeological explorations. The information supplied by him about the coming of Buddhism to Ceylon, growth of Pali and Sinhalese literature, gradual development of art, architecture and sculpture, and the activities of the kings in connection with irrigation, is considerable. The treatment of the economics of kings by ministers and then by sons, the administrative departments, the time of composition of Pali and Sinhalese works in Ceylon, and particularly

the prevalence of non-Dravidic and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Ceylon, is highly interesting. The author of these useful digressions, which he could have avoided, e.g. in speaking of the religious belief of the Aryans (pp. 11-12), in giving accounts of the Indian kings, the Pyrāliyas, Dhātus, and Thūpas, and the Pañcāmas (pp. 16-18, 19-20), the Gryphon (p. 44-45), and association of North India (p. 47).

Why only the author had given the Pali forms along with the Sanskrit names. He has, on the whole, acquitted himself of his task very well. We commend this book to all who want a knowledge of the history of Ceylon within a short compass.

SATYACHARAN RAY

SRIVATTVACINTAMANI, A authoritative work on Tantra critically edited by Hariprasādan Chattopādhyāya and Vidyānandā Bhattācāryya, Vol. I, 116 pages, No. VII of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series.

The editor and organiser of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series should be congratulated for having brought out such a large number of useful Sanskrit texts during a very short time. The present volume is a hitherto unpublished Tantra treatise by Premānandayati Vidyānandā, who lived in the 18th century and was undoubtedly one of the great scholars of Bengal. The work is complete in 10 chapters, of which 10 chapters have now been published. The get-up and printing of the text are praiseworthy and the value of the work has been increased by the addition of a Sanskrit commentary prepared by the editors.

The text is no doubt highly important for the study of the Tantras. It is a compendium like the Tantrasāra of Krishnānandāgama dealing with various aspects of Tāntric Sādhanā. The importance of the work may be realised from the fact that only one chapter of this work (Chap. VI) was published some years back by Sir John Woodroffe under the title Śatchakranirūpaṇa. The work was translated and studied by Sir John Woodroffe in his important work "The Serpent Power or the Mysterious Kundalini."

The present comparison will be helpful to those who want to have a comprehensive view of the Tantras and go into details. The Tantras once played a preponderating role in the history of Bengali culture and it is impossible to fill up the wide gap in its history unless the Tantras are properly studied. It is necessary at this stage to edit, critically and publish Tantric texts hitherto lying in manuscripts and all those who collaborate in this arduous task will surely win the praise of the world of scholars.

TAMONASHA DAS

TIRATAŃARARA: SREEN OF THE CITY AND THE SUPER by P. Venkata **Ramaiah**, M.A., Ph.D. (Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, No. 4). Published by the University of Madras, 1933. Pp. iv + 111. 7 maps.

This is a valuable addition to the series Ramaiah on the great medieval Hindu Temples of South India. The temple is a shrine in the Pudukottai where the Chief shrine of Lord Śiva has been the work exclusively on the evidence of contemporary inscriptions. It is restricted to the more or less complete exclusion of Sanskrit. The application of this novel method has enabled the author not only to discover a number of errors (based on the evidence, but also to illustrate many a dark corner of the same.

The present work consists of two Parts bearing the titles 'Origin of the Tulā' and 'Origin of the Temple' along with five Appendices. In Part I, Ch. I the author appears to have conclusively proved the erroneous claims of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's and Pulliar Ekmai' view that the Tiṇḍayanapāṭṭu was founded by the Pāṇḍya Vīra Rājēndra III. In the following chapter the author demonstrates on sufficiently good grounds his characteristically exclusive contention that Rājarāja I and his younger Vijayanagara (Mādhavādityan) had some share in founding the city. In Part II, Ch. I, the author subjects to a thorough scrutiny the views of Dr. Aiyangar and Pulliar Ekmai to the effect that Rājarāja I was established with the help or superior consent of Vīra

Bukka III, and he seems to be on firm ground in rejecting the over-flow speculative to the existing conclusions drawn by the author about the antecedents of Harihara I on the basis of the meager evidence of the Hoysala, Dhanni and of the contemporary inscriptions. Proceeding with the family history of Harihara, the author plausibly argues (Ch. IV) as against Father Heras, that Harihara's grandfather was a subordinate of the last Kampiya king of Warangal, Prataparudra II. The theory of the Telugu origin of the Vijayas is sought to be supported (Ch. III) by various indirect lines of evidence, while Heras' objection against the theory is duly met (Ch. IV) by a reference to the political history of the Telugu country in the decay period following the downfall of the Kakatiyas. The 8th and concluding chapter appears to establish, on the firm foundation of the contemporary inscriptions, the main lines of succession of Vijayanagara especially in the reigns of the Hoysala Kingdom. The Appendices (pp. 1-7) of interesting matter and three genealogical charts on the pattern only which they deal. An Index of seven pages (pp. 8-1) would have been a clear.

While it may be asserted that the author's painstaking researches have cleared the field of much perplexing misconception about the early history of Vijayanagara, his own pitfalls are not, of course, free from criticisms. In particular, V. S. Bhatta, an individual from Harihara I could be credited with successive conquests (presumably as an independent sovereign) for some years before 1336, when, according to the author's theory, he apparently broke away and shook off the yoke of Bukka. This objection likewise applies to the note (pp. 3) which claims to show "the extent of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1300 A.D." i.e., four years before the alleged declaration of independence by Harihara. Equally inexplicable is the independent part assigned to this chief to Deva I (p. 3) the author elsewhere (p. 120) declares to be the most prominent of the five brothers who founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

S. N. Sinnappa.

1. **DVĀDAŚĀDHYĀ-PRAKĀŚAKAṬĪKĀ** and Experiments of Grandfather Rāmānuja, ed. by Tirukkottiyūr Nārāyaṇadīkṣita with an introduction by Chandra Bhāna, Calcutta Sanskrit Series no. 18, Bengal Royal Inc., pp. 74+101+46+4, Calcutta 1905.

2. **DVĀDAŚĀDHYĀYĪ-LAGHUSĀR** with the commentary Pañcāṅga-Mālikā-Prakāśikā-Vyākhyā-vivaraṇa, ed. by Bālāji Śāstri, Prince of Wales Sanskrit Museum Studies no. 18, Pages Bonny Svo, xi+(2)+44+4, Benares, 1903.

Competent scholars have already given the learned world a good general idea about the Bhāṣya, Āṭīkā and Kaumudī iconography, derived mainly from a study of the unexcelled version. But in spite of the very illuminating treatises and articles written on the subject by Grunwedel, Foucher and others, it cannot be said that the subject has been exhaustively discussed in all its major aspects even. Hence the publication of Śāstri's work, like the Dvādaśādhyāyī-prakāśa and the Kṛṣṇāpāṭhī-Āṭīkā dealing with Indian iconography have their importance. They add to our knowledge of the subject on many points which can scarcely be illustrated by numerous extant images and daily frequently. For example, the Bhāṭṭapāṭhī-Āṭīkā (Bh.Ā.) mentions in detail the image of Buddha, while the Dvādaśādhyāyī-prakāśa (DAP.) of Mādhava (1000 A.C.) deals mainly other things, with the exception of some (3) images, the relative height of images as determined by the height of temples, temple-doors and entrances, height of images to be worshipped in an open space, height of big, medium and small sculptures in central images, the nomenclature of images in terms of titles, iconographic description of gods like Vināyaka (Divine architect), Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, twelve kinds of Śiva, nine planets, the Cāpāla, selection of stones for the sculptures, twenty-four different kinds of images of Viṣṇu and his avatāras, 4 different kinds of Buddha (Bud.) images.

The DAP. of Kṣīrāṇava is one of the least known among the author's works. It has not been mentioned in the Dictionary of Indian Architecture by P. K. Acharya, which otherwise contains a very good account of Kṣīrāṇava's work. Recent scholars interested in Indian iconography will be thankful to the editor and the publishers of the University Sanskrit Series bringing out a critical edition of this rare

This edition, based though it is on a single ms. with many errors, will be considered useful. The original commentary which the editor gives will, with its numerous quotations from other literature, render the understanding of the text easier. In the introduction Mr. Harihar Jha has discussed in detail the date of the author and has given besides a brief account of the works available in Sanskrit on Jyotiṣa which include iconography, and the place of the *Dhyā*. in it. Incidentally he has discussed also the principles of reconstructing a text of Jyotiṣa from several texts. This very informative introduction may be said to have added to the value of the work.

The *Dhyā*. was noticed as early as 1901 by Mr. B. P. Ghatak in his *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Select Paper Mss. belonging to the Darbar Library of Nepal*, vol. II p. 82. This was, however, not accessible to the scholars before 1956 in which year almost simultaneously two editions of it were published. The one first whose review is by Dr. Kṛṣṇa Miśra and the other by Mr. Chandra Nath Pandeya. Each of these editions has its own merits. Mr. Miśra's work contains also the Hindi version of the exclusive commentary of the *Dhyā*. which incidentally valuable information and throws welcome light on some difficult passages of the text. As his introduction to the work he gives some useful informations about the literature on Jyotiṣa and antiquity of Jyotiṣa and identified the Lata Gaṇit to the date of the work as the 10th century. This text deserves to be carefully studied by students of Indian Iconography.

Kamalakar Gupta

THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA (EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD) by Dr. Ram Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D., Vol. II, pp. xxiii+[illegible]. With two coloured maps. Calcutta University Press, 2000.

The second volume of Dr. Ram Chandra Roy's *Dynastic History of Northern India (Early medieval period)* has seen the light of the day. It is a sequel to its first volume which, as we all know, was very well received by scholars everywhere. We all looked forward for the completion of the work, hence this much awaited second volume is now a very welcome publication. In reviewing this work of Dr. Roy and such other books we should be guided by the spirit of only judging how far the authors have succeeded in advancing scholarly search for historical truth and should leave the views and opinions to be criticised in detail by other writers in the same line of research.

This volume throws an epitome of great knowledge work in the field of Indian historical geography. The manner in which Dr. Roy has recorded the results of his researches is very scholarly. In this volume the author has attempted a thorough analysis of the political history of the several dynasties that spread their sway in different parts of Northern India during the low period in which the Turks succeeded in establishing their supremacy in Delhi. The dynasties dealt with in the book are the Rajput dynasties which had their origin during the early and later days of the imperial Pratihara dynasty. They are the dynasties of the Kandilas of Jajhoti, the Hadayas (or the Bahoriyas), the Kachwahas, the Pandavas, the Gahadvalas (or the Rahatiyas), the Chahmans, the Tomars and the Paliwals. The history of these dynasties belongs to a most complicated and obscure period roughly from the 10th to the 14th century A.D., and is not quite easy to calculate in detail. A lucid resumé of the history of the period under review was a great need and Dr. Roy very properly took up the performance of that work. This period has been carefully divided by the author into five sections in Chapter XIX, viz. (1) the period from the fall of Gurjara-Pratihara empire to the accession of Mahendra of Bhoj (c. 910-990 A.D.), (2) the age of Bidar Mahmud (c. 990-1020 A.D.), (3) the period from Mahmud's death to the accession of Gahadava Govindchandra III (c. 1020-1170 A.D.), (4) the age of

Pyhrrhic and the disappearance of Hindu sovereignty in Northern India (c. 1170-1200 A.D.), and (b) the period of gradual penetration of Islamic power into the outlying parts of India (i.e. after 1200 A.D.). So it may be said without doubt that Dr. Ray's book is an excellent study of the facts that led to the gradual loss of Hindu supremacy in Northern India and the rise of the Islamic power. Generally speaking, students of Indian history are in the dark regarding the political events that gradually brought about the loss of Hindu power in Northern India. This book, therefore, (brought by the same author, in direct fault) to the compilation of historical materials from various sources, literary, epigraphic and numismatic, for the Rajput dynasties concerned above, is at the same time a very valuable and authoritative contribution to the problem of the causes of Hindu downfall and will be read by students of history to their great benefit. There are also put in this book original speculations on political historical topics, along with compilation of genealogies. Chapters XV, XVI, XVIII i.e. those on the Gurjaras, the Kushans and the Gahadwalas have been treated in a correct manner. In Chapter XIV Dr. Ray has wholeheartedly accepted the view of Dr. D. C. Ganguly who has tried to trace and establish the Rajputhood origin of the Pratiharas. Dr. Ray's own view that the ancestors of the Bhadragurjara of Mount were originally Brahmans of Anandapura in Gujrat seems to be a plausible conclusion. To us the history of the outstanding personalities, viz., Gandhi Bhanja, Tomaraka Bhoja, Dhanda Kalachuri Gangeyadeva and Lalitaditya Bappa, Gadahya Bhima and Jayantasena Nrittantika of Anahilapatan, and Kushana Pratiharja, as given by Dr. Ray appeared to be of absorbing interest. Dr. Ray is perhaps right when he states that the fall of the Hindu power in Aryavarta is to be ascribed to the absence of a ruler of the type of Chandragupta Maurya, who only could have kept the separate state made under our jurisprudentiary. It is only the Gaudiha who had their vision "to grasp the secret of Imperialism," but failed to stand strongly against the onslaught of the Turkish invaders.

Considering the extensive source of materials collected for writing the volume, it may be regarded as a monumental work. It is not a "syndicate survey" as owned by the author himself. But it

[illegible] enough materials for future scholars to possess and prepare some detailed history of each of the dynasties treated in Dr. Ray's volume. The criticism that may be offered is that the nature of the details collected made it impossible to co-ordinate them properly and well in every instance. Accordingly, before that a reader may remembers more with a few writer's attempt to offer comments, (if and so, as some of the words of the texts from epigraphic records—so that sometimes the trend of history he tries to make out is disturbed by such unnecessary comments. Full realignment and reconstructional picture of true history will only come out by such detailed discussions as are made by Dr. Ray.

To find fault with this or that is quite easy, but to produce such a comprehensive work is very difficult. Dr. Ray has proved his capacity to handling original sources. His acquaintance with Bhatta creation is accurate and one of [illegible] [illegible] Buddhist and Pāli works is splendid.

Rare and Very Dr. Ray might have [illegible] more [illegible] because of his following certain opinions held by previous works in the same field. For that [illegible] [illegible] the great value which the volume [illegible] [illegible] of its [illegible] contents. The book is fully [illegible] and is based [illegible] on original sources. The materials have been thoroughly and fully utilized. The whole work is the outcome of great pains and accuracy.

The other good features of the volume are the useful genealogical tables, the adequate index, the valuable bibliographies, and the lucidity and maps which alone are enough to add to the great benefit that will otherwise accrue from a study of the book.

A synthetic survey of the period under review in a small volume is a desideratum and Dr. Ray has promised to write another volume in which we shall look forward with eagerness.

The Calcutta University should be heartily congratulated on the publication of this second volume of Dr. Ray's work.

R. K. Dasgupta

RAJASTHANI SAHITYA, Part I, edited by Sri Harivansa Dhar Sukul, M.A., with a Foreword by Hon. Sri Sukhdev Prasadji Bhaskar (Vijay Pustak Bhandar), No. 2. Published by the Nagaripracharini Sabha, Delhi (pp. 111+50).

(i) Sri Harivansa Dhar Sukul has done good service to the cause of Rajasthani by publishing this representative and classified anthology of the language. In his learned introduction of 111 pages, he has made a rapid survey of the literature, pointed out some of its peculiarities, and indicated in a general way the lines on which the work should be carried further by other workers in the field. Footnotes explain difficult words, and he notes at the end other sources of illustrative prose passages, and gives other necessary details. A few pages on the historical value of the Bardic world have been welcome, and it is hoped that the editor will incorporate this deficiency in the next edition of the work.

We await eagerly the publication of Part II of the anthology.

Bhagavatee Sharma

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Bombay Oriental Research Institute, vol. XVII, pt. 4 (March, 1935).

Bhagat Anantram Shah—*Vedic Gods.* The paper deals with the nature and identity of several Vedic gods and gives details about the ancient calendar, meaning, ritual and astronomical equivalents, etc.

R. D. Vasavada—*Kaviderpaper.* The edition of this treatise on metre in Prākrit is being continued.

T. S. Venkatram—*Epic Studies.* The chronology of the five major commentators of the *Rāmāyaṇa*—*Govindāja, Vaudabhāṭṭa, Rāmaṭīkākāra, Arjunamiśra* and *Nīlakaṇṭha*—is discussed in these notes.

Indica, vol. 4, no. 4 (April, 1935).

E. A. Parera—*Buddhist Centres in and around Bombay.* Further search for Buddhist relics in the regions near the Western Coast of India specially at Sopara have been attempted and some objects of archæological interest found there have been described in the paper.

Indian Culture, vol. III no. 1 (March, 1936).

Kamala Chandra Chakravarti—*Some Notes on the Prosopographia of the Kuṣāṇa.* It deals with the merits and defects of the Kuṣāṇa genealogy. In the course of a comparison of the conflicts of some of the rulers of the *Pāṇḍiṭya* with those of the *Kaṇḍavarmāhāsena*, the former seem has been shown to fall far short of the latter.

M. D. Sharma—*Ancient Sanskrit Works on Indian Music and its general Practice.* The writer makes a review of the ancient Sanskrit works on music published hitherto and shows that musical theories on particular points have changed from time to time. An appendix supplying names of old authors and works specially in the musical treatises has been added.

F. E. [illegible]—*Date of Rajaviddhyā*, the commentator of *Kālidāsa's Abhijñānaśākuntala* and other works. Rājaviddhyā, the author of the *Prabodhacandrā*, a commentary on the *Sakuntalā* has been identified with the author of the *Pañcatantra*, a commentary of the *Kāmasūtra* and assigned to the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

Manoj Das—*Kāmāyāṇa* [illegible] with a commentary [illegible].

[illegible], [illegible], 1931

Sisir Kumar Sarkar—*Bengali Particles in the Antiquity of Urdu*. The paper brings out the similar elements and archaeological properties of the Gopīpāyana, Tripāṭhī, poetry, folk-songs, Bhakti legends etc., and establishes the fact (1) that Bengali religious thought is predominantly agrarian and (2) that syncretism in Bengal, resulting [illegible] the coinding of forms and forces such as are individual in some human life in diverse ways.

[illegible], Dec. 1931

Bhabani Bhushan Gupta—*Antiquity and Authenticity Order of Central Asia*.

[illegible], [illegible], 1931

Anil Chandra Banerji—*Provincial Government under the Three Pālāsas*.

[illegible], [illegible], 1931

Sisir Kumar Sarkar—*The Hindu Problem in Marathi Politics*. The Marathas are described as exponents of the anti-foreign sentiments as well as the anti-Brahmin attitudes of the Hindu masses. The *Jnanadīpika* of Sāmbha is described as a thoroughly Brahmanic ethical treatise. In his *Bhandārkar-Upanṣad* he is found his conception of a political Utopia, says the author.

[illegible], December, 1931

Sisir Kumar Sarkar—*The Pleasure World of Hindu*. Bhāṭṭī's pre-Bhakta tendencies are described side by side with his efforts to

hold forth as the champion of Hindu national institutions, in language, literature, manners etc. In the *Kandakhanda*, a Sanskrit epic, he is extolled as an avatāra.

Indian Antiquary, vol. II, no. 4 (April, 1883).

WEBER, RUDOLF (GERMANY).—*A Vedic Diary for the Elucidation of Vedic Words.* It has been shown in the paper that the etymology of a Vedic term as given in Pāṇini's Nirukta is based on the Vedic Kosha (thesaurus) and is not an independent production of the etymologist. Some new etymologies of Vedic words have been introduced here by resorting to the same principle.

GOVIN PRASHAD KARTIKA.—*Health and Hygiene.* The purpose of the paper is to show how man is indebted to the planets, depending every moment on them and their protection for health and hygiene.

ANG. GOVINDA RAMMA.—*The Whaling under the Chola Kings.* It deals with the capture of whales of Nellore by fishermen who served the chola Kings of Delhi.

R. C. BANERJEE.—*Bhāva Buddha Prasādha.* As the Chinese is said to have contained the very writings of Buddha, the author advocates a closer study of them. He suggests improvements in the readings and points out many changes in Sanskrit in their respect. He inclines to the view that though the Buddhists discipline for purging a man of all his sins has nothing to do with the conception of God or Creator-deity, Buddha was not an atheist and his Nirvāṇa was not a state of utter annihilation.

R. C. LAW.—*Distinguished Men and Women in Jainism.* The paper records some anecdotes revealing the lives of Pārśvanātha, Mallināthā, Kundalaṇḍika, Tantipāla, Tejatāla, Sūrya Gotrā and Dadhivāhā associated with the history of Jainism.

SHAMASTRY, RYAM MONAMMA.—*A Correlation of the Mayan and Hindu Calendars.* A relationship between the calendars of the Hindu and those of the Mayas of Mexico as also a resemblance between some of Hindu tithi and variantam has been pointed out in the article.

G. R. PERMALEE.—*The Dynasty of Sanchari and Pulij in the 18th century.* In 1801 Pāṭṭaṇ Sunnī, an Indian resident of Galveni sent letters to Mr. Joseph in Europe referring to the Danish

language, its relationship with the European languages and the antiquity of the Hindustanis here. The reason why Sheriff's discovery went unheeded was perhaps the biblical prejudice in the 18th century against any language other than Hebrew as also the fact that the alternatives lacked nothing about the morphological structure and the rich literature of Sanskrit.

G. R. Bhatkar.—*The Opening Year of Akbar's Reign—Repudiation or Rebellion—1556-57.*

C. R. Bai.—*The Anthropometry of the Gadhia.* This article shows the inhabitants of Bari to based on anthropometrical measurements and observations of 200 individuals.

Ajay Pratyush.—*Wahi.* The use of the term wahi in the sense of a seal, a mode of holding Sigiriya, and a female servant have been pointed out and the sexual relation of the strategic have been discussed.

O. E. Ito.—*The Theology and Philosophy of Bhagat Purnavirs.* The subjectivation of this Lexicon of the pages by the Pramatha-conducting of Bhai Kanhaiya, dealing with the concept of the political in relation to advaita [illegible].

A. Ramanujan Sarma.—*Pāṇi and the Veda.* This paper shows that Vedic portion of Pāṇini's grammar is imperfect and incomplete. It is incomplete in the use of metrology, and inaccurate in the statement of facts.

U.A. F. Bhai Rupan.—*A 'Bare Conception of Buddhism'.* This is a criticism of Prof. T. Bhattacharya's Lecture on the 'Basic Conception of Buddhism.'

Raman Gaurav Rattan.—*The Vaigaiks.* A tribe called Vaigaiks near the northern borders of Lahiri at present represented by the Kain district in the Punjab invaded the Vaiga country in the 8th century a.c. Vaiga originally formed the northern half of the modern part of Bengal. The invaders at first settled in the region to the east of the Brahmaputra, and established themselves later in the southern part of East Bengal.

Bhagavan Singh.—*Pure Sri Prachyam Origin.*

Amar Kumar.—*The Capital of the Sena Kings of Bengal.* The recent conjecture that the Sena Kings had royal residences at places like

Ghosh and Kumaragurusa but Tirumangai was their capital, probably connected Vijayapura by Lalitapuram with a view to perpetuate the memory of his grandfather Vijayanatha.

S. P. Bhattacharya—*On Origin and Scope of Pali*. The conclusions reached in the note are :—

(a) Pali cannot have existed before the 3rd century B.C.
(b) Pali was a standard language of East India, Magadha and its neighbourhood, and
(c) the Rikhwala Inscription was written in a developed form of Pali.

Panchanan Sen Pal—*Was there a Bhadra Dynasty in Eastern Bengal?*

Pandit Ellappa Sastrigal—*Sivaadhna, the Jaina Political Philosopher of the Tamil Country*. The contents of Sivaadhna's Philosophical treatise have been discussed.

R. T. Lee—*Geographical Data from the Mahabharata and its Commentary*.

Letter on Sri Tirtha Pravara—*The Avatar in the Old Canon*.

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, vol. LX, no. 3—January, 1891.

S. E. Peet—*Religious Ideas and Religious Influence on Egypt*. It has been pointed out that the bull and its head figuring so prominently in the hieroglyphs discovered at Mahagja-Deva are associated with several important cults of the world. In Mithraism, a dead bull is the origin of all creations, in Siddhism the sacred bullock (considered identical with a dead bull) and sacred the well known Siddhas in spring from his different limbs, and in Siddhism of the Bhagavata Vishnu is Aanas, the Supreme Spirit of the Universe assumed the form of a dead cow. Even the mystic symbols of the Tantric sect is constituted in parts of a bull's head.

Jogendra Chandra Ghosh—*A Kharoshtha Fragment in Kalinga in 300 A.D.* A stone found in a village in Ganjam, dated by king Jayadevavarman in 300 A.D. records the name of a Kharoshtha Brahmin on the stone.

Pramathanath Bhattacharyya—*Buddhism in Assam*. The view that Buddhism was flourished in Assam is opposed in this note.

[illegible], vol. [illegible], no. 1 (April, [illegible])

[illegible] A. [illegible]—*A Jaina Cluster and its Historic Indian Parallels*. The burial of the Tirtankara image was accompanied by human sacrifices as the foundation, attendants and spouses of the deceased had to die along with him. The object of this paper is to show that in India generally in Kanpur[illegible] and Jaina [illegible] in [illegible] Great some [illegible] during that many [illegible] of important personages dead with their masters.

[illegible] Chandra Ghosh—*Bhakrata Pyika*. Relying on the local traditions recorded by Buchanan, the writer states in the [illegible] that there was a king called Pyika ruling over a tract of land lying in the districts of Bhagalpur and Jahanabad in Bengal. It has been mentioned that he was a Brahmany chief and the father of Vaddhakshika, the ancestor of the Bhakrakshatriyas.

[illegible] L. Rama—*A Rajahdar*. According to Mr. Nurse's Sullivan, Pyika was an independent king of Bhakrata and he could not be Vaddhakshika Pyika, mentioned as a Brahmany chief under Avanti-[illegible].

[illegible] Ray—*Buddhism in Assam*. The author of the note opposes the view that Buddhism which [illegible] grounds in Assam. Traces of the religion [illegible] quickly with the later phases of Buddhism are still found in Assam.

[illegible] L. Rama—*[illegible] Journal of Mughal History*. The *Nizhadi-Punjab* recently published by the Jaina Research Society is a chronicle in Jaina[illegible] containing a number of episodes connected with the greater Nizamis and is thus very important for the history of the Mughal rule in India.

[illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] Society, vol. [illegible], part 1 (March, [illegible])

[illegible] A. [illegible] W. [illegible]—*Passages and Pillars in Pershian Mosques*.

[illegible] K. Ray—*An Approach to the Bhakta-Parachakra*. This is an English translation of the prologue and epilogue of the *Bhakta-Parachakra* which is a contemporary Persian record of the reign of Wazir Shah, the Gold Digging Sultan of Delhi. The narrative covers a period of about twenty years from the Sultan's accession to the throne in [illegible] A.D.

RAHUL SANKRITYAYAN.—*Uddyotakara.* HARADATTA's Uddyotakara, edited from a MS. found in Tibet, contains in this fifth instalment the criticism of the Nyāya views (*nyāyamatakhaṇḍana*).

JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY (vol. XI, no. 1 (March) 1925).

KUMAR RAI.—*Sylhet Jail and the Tomb of Jalālu'd-Din.*

J. PRINSEP.—*Greater India and the Work of Sylvain Lévi.*

A. HOSTEN.—*Archæological Explorations of the Vale of the Khyber Tribes.* The paper describes the colossal temple and the images of Buddha and his attendants recently excavated from the Rock of the Khyber Tribes situated to the north-west of Rawal. The images are assigned to the 4th century A.D.

ANUPA E. GOSWAMI.—*Pali Sikhā-pāṭ and a Parallel in Hebrew on the Phylacteries.* A passage from the *Dhammapada Commentary* (IV, 13) has been quoted to show that it indicates a parallel to Hebrew conception of "an amulet, text-tablet and single Deity or Tutelary to which all actual goods and favourites belong."

GANGA RAM GUPTA.—*Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryans.* In the matter of [illegible] there is no of Aryan origin and affinity, a few more can added.

H. PARGITER.—*The Kalinga Dynasty of Orissa.*

J. C. BANERJEE.—*On the Uddiyānam Kavitaiyam.* The article deals with the story of the Raveyan and Pindaran as given in the *Kavitaiyam*, a work in Uddiyānam written in the style of the Sanskrit Purāṇas.

V. C. SUNDRA.—*An Some Hindu Relics in Burma.* Some definite value attributed for representation of a Nandi Lat found in Burma have been detailed by the writer who conjectures that the island of Bottan may have been the Burmese origin of the Purāṇas.

BHAGAWAN BOTHAR RAMAN.—*A Tantric Divinity of Bengal in Java.* That the study of the Hindu-Pythoness was prevalent in India is known from a copper-plate inscription of 1021 A.D. discovered in the island. Chalingpatta, the author of this grantee, was born in Vatsarāṭ in North Bengal.

Kumaraja Bhatta.—On the Source of the Oldenberg Dhatupatha Editions. By an examination of the Tibetan, the Old-Persian work of Eighteen, [illegible], which seems to the conclusion that it was partially a translation and partially an adaptation of the Dhatupatha.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. V, pt. 1 (Poona-Pooh, 1931).

I. Bhattacharya.—*The Parable of Horse.* The writer gives an account of the controversy regarding the recognition of 'Hayka' as the eighth Sloka, and proceeds to deal with the history of this Sloka as can be traced from works on poetics.

A. Vasudevasastri.—*On the Unpublished Vedic Sri Anuchana.* The writer identifies the *Sri Anuchana* or Kilikaranapatalam, mentioned in Lalaji's Record as a grammatical work, with the *Tantrasara Tipparasya of Sarvadhikara* and believes to believe that another work, the *Sri-Anuchana* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang refers also to the Epistles.

N. Gangadharasastri Kalpa.—*The Kingdom Plates of Vinayaditya.* The inscription records a grant made by the Nalkund Chalukyan ruler Vinayaditya of the 7th century A.C.

C. R. Devadhar.—*A critical Exposition on Relation to Semantic Factors.* (Continued).

C. Devadhar.—**Shatpatha Brahmana.** This is a translation in Sanskrit in the text and notes in the Devanagari.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1931.

Hermann Ethé.—*The Rationale of Nightingale.* The 3rd and the 4th chapters of Nightingale's Rationale, the 1st chapter of which has already been published, are edited here with English translation. The work is in the form of a discourse in a king on diverse psychic and spiritual lines.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. II, pt. 1 (November, 1933).

V. S. Gokhale.—*The Epic Hymns in the Rigveda.* The hymns of the Rigveda known as Apri have been identified, translated into English, and annotated.

A. B. Keith.—*The Origin of the Upanis.* The new interpretation given to some Upanisic verses by Dr. Fritz Weik is not accepted on the ground that it is founded on mere phonetic resemblances, and that the discovery of the terms of the purpis of 'Rishis' in 'vikrdagna', 'Ritu' in 'vid', 'hanamya' in 'vanaiv' and 'Rishi' in 'Ishiko' requires corroboration.

B. T. Anvekar.—*Speculation on Vedic Speculation.* Some of the philosophical lessons in the 10th Book of the Rigveda have been analysed and interpreted.

A. M. Ghatage.—*The Text of the Pancavimsabrahmanam.* It is a study of the Jaiminiya work, the Pancavimsabrahmanam of Vadavidi.

P. M. Modi.—*The Science of the Brahmanas* I, 1-4: *A Rapprochement.*

BSL, vol. IV, pt. 4 (April, 1936).

H. Oldenberg.—*The Origin of the Pañcālas.* The author concludes that the Pañcālas of Rigveda fame belonged to the Aryan stock, but were changed into Dasyus and Vrātyas. He thinks that they were the conquerors of the Dasyuvaiśya tribes who are Pañcālas. They had at first settled in the Indo-Gangetic plain of Kuru and came to the south when expelled from their region by the Brāhmaṇas.

Poona Orientalist, vol. I, no. 1 (April, 1936).

A. Venkatasubbiah.—*Are the Kauṣītakīyas Jaiminīyas?* The author argues the view that the Kauṣītaki Upanisad is a Sūtra text and that the Sūtras in the Kauṣītakīyas are not the compositions of Kauṣītaki.

B. A. Sukthankar.—*Some Historical and Quasi-Historical Incidents in Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā.* Details about Durjaya, Bhaṭṭi and Vijaya referred to in the Śakuntalā as having brought about Dushyanta's rule through Uccāṭanas and aryapāsa are given from the *Dhanapāla* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara.*

Hira Dhar Banerji.—*The Meaning of the Word Upanisa according to Āchārya and the Bhāshyakāra.*

P. K. Ghosh—*Aryadeva*, a writer on Prosody. A text of Aryadeva's Chandajñānam and Bhaṭṭa's commentary on it are described in the paper. This Aryadeva has been quoted by Abhinavagupta [circa 10th century A.D.] in his commentary on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.

—Gangādhāranāpādā called Uttarārdha of Pāṭīgaṇita Sāra and its probable date—*On half of the 15th century.*

Kuvalayānanda Ava—*Nyāyamālā of Mādhava with the Bhāṣya of Vāṭeśvara.* Text edited with Sanskrit Notes.

—*Bengāli Translation of same.*

Sahitya Parishat Patrika, vol. ix, no. 1 and 2.

Gopinath Kāvirāj—*Grammar of Kyanghtoma.* The grammatical peculiarities of the Kyanghtoma are discussed.

Pramathanath Ghosh—*An old edition of the Kumārasaṃbhava of Bhāravi and the field chain of the poem.* It is an account of an old edition in Sylhet-Nāgarī script of the mediæval Bengali text which has lately been critically edited and published by the Benares University, the publication of which it covers so far as it is based upon Sylhet and not from Kyamatāgrā.

Bhavatoshan Dutta—*Jyotiṣhāmatā the Theory of the Motion of the Earth.* The theory is supposed to have been propounded by Aryabhaṭṭa who is different from and anterior to the famous Āryabhaṭṭa, the author of the Aryabhaṭīya.

Bhattacharya Bhavani—*History of Bengali prosodiacs* (Mātrā).

Bhattacharya Bani—*Benefit of Dura Medicine.* Dura Medicine is shown to have compared two different sets of poems on the Bhārata, the earlier of which was based on the Bhagavadgītā and the later on a tradition which can be traced in work like the Pañchatantra and the Vṛṭhakathā.

Brinda Barem Sen—*Spread of Pali Buddhism in Southern India.* It is an account of Buddhism and Buddhist literature of South India.

Gopal Dayanan Das Bhatta—*A Pamphlet of Pronunciation in the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā Period.* It contains a description of three interesting Sanskrit manuscripts assigned to the Sahajiyā period. C.E.

Hindustani Quarterly, vol. ii, pp. 1-4 (January & April, 1934).

Ramana Rama.—*Bhagavan.*—This sentimental article traces the gradual development in the conception of the deity Bhagavan and his worship.

Young East, vol. ii, no. 4 (Winter, 1935).

Bhikkhu Lama Govinda.—*The Place of Compassion in Mahâyâna Buddhism.*

Dina Bhaya.—*Some Parallels between Buddhist Thought and Contemporary in Modern Science.*

Obituary Notice

Dr. E. S. Chevalier

Dr. E. S. Chevalier (according to the Russian manner of addressing everybody by his Christian name and the name of his father —Eugenii Sergeevitch, i.e., Eugen son of Eugen) was born in St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) on the 19th October 1901. In his earliest youth his extraordinary gifts, especially his never failing memory and great mental capacities, attracted general attention. He received a good education in his family home where great care was bestowed on teaching languages and music. When he entered the Gymnasium School he already possessed an almost perfect knowledge of French, German and English. His parents prepared him for a musical career. They had every reason to expect that he would be a celebrated composer and performer. But in the year 1918 when he was already a University student a constitutional disease appeared and that obliged the parents to alter their plans. The Chevalier family, in and between prosperous and incomfortable. The father died at 53, died of [illegible] at the age of 46. In his letter that follows [illegible] the young student Chevalier was left an orphan to the care of his uncle Eugen Chevalier and his friends. These two friends [illegible] all their world for the life of their dear nephew under the very difficult conditions then which the country suffered during the great war and the revolution which followed. It was at this juncture that he began at the University to attend to my lectures on Indology and Sanskrit literature. He very quickly mastered all the difficulties of Sanskrit literature, owing to his quite extraordinary memory he also very successfully went through all other sections of Indian literature which I considered as that time in the University of Leningrad. When we began the study of Pāṇini on the basis of Bhaṭṭojidīkshita-Kaumudī he was particularly impressed by, and full of admiration for the genius Indian Grammarian, he learnt by heart almost every sūtra and elucidated his own time a method of verifying the grammar of the Russian language according to the grammatical interpretation of Pāṇini. After that we studied with the

Col. T. H. Bonneville.

Kangkha Shong on the texts of Aryadeva (*karika* and the *Akhyanapitaka* where the young scholar became thoroughly versed in the Madhyamaka style. A cultured man (see Tibetan philosophy). This is the usual order of studies in Buddhist which are followed in the Geshegend University. After having acquired a good basis in Buddhist it became a pilgrim may hall to acquire the knowledge of Tibetan and Mongolian language, where he also acquired in the respective literature an thoroughly Indian, the grammar and vocabulary offered—for a man so gifted as was Obermiller—no difficulty at all. After having taken his University degree of Ph.D., Obermiller was engaged by the Academy of Sciences of Leningrad as an indo-tibetology to the Institute of the Bibliotheca Buddhica where he at once begins to work also as an independent scientific producer. His first works were two Indian authors Vibhaga-Kavyadi and Bhavaviv Tibetan of the celebrated work on Logic by Dharmakirti, the *Pramanavartika*. They were concerned with the greatest care and thoroughness in every detail; the scientific activity of Obermiller primarily only after 9 years, from 1927 to 1936. During these eight years he has produced quite enough to fill up a large and extensive Dictionary to volumes. Here is a list of his main works—

1. *Gandhar and Tibetan* (*Indo Tibetan in Pyapchinda, Nyaya-Kusuma Pita, etc.*), Bibliotheca Buddhica, Leningrad 1927.
2. *Tibetan and Sanskrit Indian Tibetan* in the same work, Leningrad 1928.
3. *Abhisamayalankara, Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation*, jointly edited with Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky, Bibliotheca Buddhica, Leningrad 1929.
4. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*, Part I, in the Mitteilungen zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heidelberg 1931.
5. *The Buddhist Science of the Three Vehicle in Salvation*, a translation of Chomnyid of Bodhisattva Maitreya with the commentary of Asanga, Acta Orientalia, vol. 12, 1933.
6. *The Doctrine of Prajna Paramita*, as exposed in the Abhisamayalankara of Maitreya, Acta Orientalia, vol. 11, 1932-33.
7. *Bu-don's History of Buddhism*, II, Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heidelberg 1932.

9. The Account of Buddha's Worship and the Bhagavadgita mentioning in the Visuddhimagga, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. V, III.
10. A Study of Twelve Aspects of Nirvana, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, 1933.
11. Analysis of the Abhidhammattha-sangaha, Pondicherry, I Siddhartha Bulletin, IV.
12. Dhrtaya according to Vibhaga Tradition, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1936.
13. On the meaning of the term 'Bhagavat', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, July, 1934.
14. A review of the *Mulapanchasilapaccavekkhanapalipa*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1935.
15. [illegible] as an Integral Structure, Calcutta 1933.
16. Barnett's *Writings of Buddhism and the Bhagavadgita*, (Ed.), London 1932.
17. A review of Quilibet's *Philosophy and Practice of Mahayana Buddhism*, BBI (Ed., No. 1).
18. A review of Wintersnitz's *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, January 1937.
19. Upanisada Abhidhammapitakapalibhasa by Prof. U. Nyanatiloka and Prof. Th. Mahathera, and metal, through the press by R. E. Chandika, Siddhartha Bulletin, XXI, 1933.
20. Additional Indices to the Doctrine of Pugala Pinnacle as expounded in the Abhidhammapitakam of Mahanya, *Asia Orientalis*, vol. XI, 1936.

Th. Kumaranatha

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Tpastha

(A Polyhymnic Hymnbook in Sakian Cuneiform)

We possess 80 documents of the anti-Polyhymnic cary, apparently coming from Tendy, and all of which belong to the Sakian period, ranging from the year 19 of Ba-Ma-ra (?) to the year 8 of Ghadyam. They are mostly statements of material subsidies, and one of the hymns—a list of the sacrificial kids is particularly interesting. Notwithstanding the paucity of this sacrificial text, it throws some light upon the question of the "Dhaly-Sakian subsidy." A study of these documents, by M. C. Grimm, has just been published in the Revue des Études Anciennes, year 1936, Nos. 3, p. 6—24. Here are the numerical results of this study:

The number of the kid is reported for certain months as:

the 7, the 14, the 24 and the 26,
the 8, the 12, the 20 and the 27,
the 6, the 14, the 21, and the 28,
the 5, the 14, the 24, and the 27,
the 8, the 14, the 26, and the 27.

"The result of the above comparison may be summed thus: the days 7, 14, 24 and 26 of each month, that is to say, the end of each phase of the moon, are marked, as a rule, by the sacrifice of a kid, but Qaw

are many exceptions to this law. The day introduced by the circumcision is always an earlier one than the normal date: 8 instead of 7), 15 instead of 10 (coming after a Shab.), 29 instead of 21 (coming after a Shab.). Even the 50, we pass on to the 51, and the interval of seven days is observed, so to the 14, which brings us back to the normal date. In the present state of our knowledge, we are unable to explain these anomalies.

A suspicious scene called for between this killing of a kid in the end of each period of five years and the interlunium mentioned, for the same Sabaeans[1] as the hierologists for the normal 'Feast and Sacrifices' (ZDMG 10.420):

"The priest of the many tribes shall not be most unclean on the ready and so washed hand. He shall not change his skin. He shall not put on clean (robes). He priest offer to sacrifice. The king shall not [illegible] his chariot. He will not speak like a sovereign. On the place of the appointed he shall prepare for meal. The doctor shall not touch the sick with his hand. This day is not favourable for the execution of a plan."

The reason for all these interdictions is given in the book of the chapter: the day is something in an hierogliphic pre-Horus [illegible].—

The hierologists give proof (they and some previously then say [illegible]), that the days 7, 14, 21 and 28 of each month have this special character. What does the Jewish sabbath have in common with what has been called "the Babylonian sabbath"?

The Jewish sabbath, as it is provided, after the return from the exile, shows two outstanding features: a strict periodicity of 7 days

1 The same interdictions are repeated in Jesus book for the 19th day. This has been explained by the fact that the 19th day of the month is the 49th since the beginning of the preceding month, and that 49=7×7. But this is true only when the preceding month is a 30 days one. And what does one find another instance of such a calculation?

2 There can be found again in the fragments of the ancient Greek [illegible] article, published by Fleischer, Sb., 18, 1866, but for other months, and without any [illegible].

independent of the phases of the moon, and on absolute interdiction from work of any kind. This resting day is not, however, an [illegible], or a market, or a hunting day. Isaiah (58, 13) desires that the "Sabbath be considered as a delineation."

The Jewish sabbath, at least since the seventh century, is then in complete opposition to the "Babylonian sabbath." But the Jewish sabbath has evidently gone through an evolution. And if we try to determine the causes why the interval of 7 days was chosen by the Hebrew in preference to others, this one seems the most probable: 7 is the whole number which comes nearest to dividing the average length of the moon periods: 7 days 3,6; 7 3,14; 7 3,68.

Like the "Babylonian sabbath," the Jewish sabbath has probably been instituted, original ly, in connection with the periods of the moon. The two celebrations, though different in many ways, may have originated in the same cyclic[illegible].

But question of a comparison between the Jewish sabbath, and the "Babylonian sabbath" has often been discussed; but, generally, the Indian view on the subject has predominated. Wilhelm Pertsch has proposed an explanation, quite ingenious, and which might be called the "Dualistic sabbath." In the Pali Buddhist Society's Pali-English Dictionary, we read, under the word uposatha:

"In the time of the rise of Buddhism the word had come to mean the day preceding four stages of the moon's waxing and waning, Vin. Iii, 68,156, that eighth of the lunar month that is to say, a weekly sacred day, a Sabbath. These days were utilized by the pre-Buddhistic religious associations for the expounding of their views, Vin. I,101. The Buddhists adopted this practice and on the 15th day of the half-month held a chapter of the Order to unpurpose their dhammas, ib. 102. They also utilized two or other of these Up. days for the recitation of the Patimokkha (pātimokkhuddesa), ibid. On the days between have upon themselves the Up. vows, that is to say, the eight Sīlas, during the day. The day in the middle of the month is called

2. Revue des Études Juives, 1896, tome, I, p. 1 [illegible]

[illegible] or [illegible] according to the moon's [illegible] or longer. The reckoning is not by the month (*māsa*), but by the half-month (*pakkha*), so the (*uposatha*) day is simply [illegible], the same as the eight[illegible] day. There is no [illegible] Up. called *[illegible]*, "reconciliation Up.", which is held when a quarrel among the Brotherhood has been made up, the general confession having to end in the reconciliation."

By this article, it seems that the 14th day of the month, as the 15th, was an uposatha day, "something in the moon was shorter or longer," and that in the same fortnight the 14th and the 15th day could not both be uposatha days. But if we read the 14th rule of the *Kuddakasikkhā*, we observe that the 14th day of the month was uposatha (*tathāgatassa uposathaṃ* ..... *I and (at) the same day, (14) of the month, was also uposatha (tathāgatassa uposathaṃ* ..... *)*.

This is confirmed by the Sutta (*Cf.* the Vinaya in Pali, *Mahāvagga* II, 1, 1):

"Now when the Blessed's King Bimbisāra, was alone, and had retired into solitude, (as following conversation presented itself to his mind) "The Uposathas belonging to Tittiya's school, uposatha are on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month, and twice each fortnight. The people go to Uposatha in order to keep the Holy days. They are filled with Sense towards, and are filled with Will to, the Pañcāsikkhā (?) belong to Tittiya's school, the Pañcāsikkhā (?) belong to Tittiya's school, gain reverence. What if the venerable ones (the Bodhisattas) were to assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month."
Mahāvagga II, 1, 1:

"So that time the Blessed, considering that it had been prescribed by the Blessed Buddhas to assist the Pātimokkha on the Uposatha day, ordered the Pātimokkha (four each half month, on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month."

We see that, as a rule, there were three uposatha days in each fortnight (*pakṣa*). In simplicity, when the half-month consisted but of 14 days, there were only two uposatha days.

The sanctity of the three uposatha days was publicly recognized in Asoka's time, however. In the 8th Pillar Edict, he says he holds that

animals be sacrificed on "the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th day of every half-month."[1]

According to the instructions given by the texts, the ceremonies of uposatha may be represented as follows: At the time of the rise of Buddhism, several sects celebrated already the uposatha. This ceremony was adopted by the Buddhists. By the end of Asoka's reign it had become a sole institution.

This system did not go without some drawbacks. The Uddipas were no astronomers, and it happened that inside a synodic month of thirty several (six) day up the Uposatha of the pakṣa, which where lasted upon to an the fifteenth; another months started the day on the first day of the pakṣa, and the sun, on the fifteenth of the preceding pakṣa. The Mahāvagga IX, 3-6 indicates how the difficulties were to solved by following the advice of the majority. The word of a seven-simple section must prevail (Mhv. Sacc. VII).

It seems that Sanskrit Mahāsāṅghika, some of the synodic days were (with two) supplied to VIII Uposatha days like others. The Sāṅkhyāyana Śrāuta includes the killing of animals on the 8th, the 14th and the 15th of each month, but it mentions even the killing or the offering of fish on the 14th, the 15th, and on the day after the full moon. The 8th, too, was not omitted (?) in many Brāhmaṇas as the 14th and the 15th.

E. Sayce is not definite as to whether the 14 and the 15 mean the 14th and the 15th of the month, "but in any of the two (14th or 15 day) are applied to the second half as well." He has chosen the second solution. "But according to modern computing" I think that Asoka may possibly have had in mind the day before the full moon, and the full moon itself, in the reckoning of the new moon. Moreover, the Mahāvagga IX, 14, 3, recognizes two uposatha days only: the 14th and the 15th:

> How the Uddipas (disciples): "How many uposatha (days) are there?"

1. Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi, II, p. 37.
2. Ap. Rocky, Eastern Monachism, p. 186.

> They told this thing to the Blessed One:
>
> "There are the following two operations (*karya*), a Tathāgata, the Arahant[illegible], and the Dhamma; these are the two operations (*karya*), O Tathāgata."

The word operation (*karya*) obviously is to be taken in a sense more limited here than in the older texts, where five operation days were adopted for one half-month. The modern system, too complicated, was being simplified.

The Babylonian solution, had probably remained very near the religion. It is directly inspired by the shape of the moon, the complete cycle of which is 30 days, with some unavoidable differences: 7 days 1 (?), 8 (?), 14, 7 (?), 7 + (?). One cannot see difficulties in matching the Buddhist outlook to the Influence of the old Babylonian system. But the difficulty arises when any point of resemblance here the Babylonian solution of four days a (quite), the Jainas in India a system of five days for a half-month. However, Bridge gave clearer if not accurate to the Pali dual, in Pali (*ṭhā*), *ṭhāna* and the new terms were already mentioned by religious other and [illegible].[1] The Babylonian system [illegible] upon the original [illegible] name, but been added, to an Indian system, [illegible] upon the half-month, particle (*pakṣa*). The two results, point to the later [illegible], that a system of 8 operation days for the longer months, which was evolved

1. I have studied the problem of Buddhism influenced even by [illegible] of India (*ca.* In the [illegible], Bonn's Orientalistische, 1898, *ca.* 4, pp. 103-108. To the astronomical references which was given in this article may be added: W. Kirfel, Die Zeitrechnung der Inder, pp. 39-40; P. Pradhan, [illegible] astronomy on [illegible] of Asia Hindu, Sacra de [illegible] de Bombay, 1926, [illegible] de [illegible] de Bombay, in Bibliotheca Indica; G. J. Stolz, Mythologisches und astrologisches [illegible], in Bibliotheca Indica; W. D. Whitney and R. R. Deming, "A Parallel between Indian and Babylonian Sacrificial Ritual" (1894), vol. 15, pp. 111-128. However, the question has been taken up, using the composition of Dhanishṭhā, and Revatī, into account, in the work of P. Bhu. [illegible], which the Bulletin de [illegible] Pondichéry (1911) [illegible] is publishing at present.

2. Cf. A. Richemond, [illegible], pp. 75, 1[illegible]

as it is for the short years. However, as high as it is possible to look back in India, the upanishad system does not enjoy the same reliability as the Babylonian calendar, the Buddhist calendar is calculated on settled dates; it shows, up to a certain point, though not as firmly as the Jewish calendar, a relative independence towards the origin of the world.

It can be objected that the observation of the lunar periods is not unlikely to have given birth independently to the week system both in Babylon and in India, so that the upanishad would not necessarily come from a foreign origin.[1] But if the upanishad had been copied in the Indian by the observation of the wages of the week, the result would have been different.

In fact, according to the Vedic context, there were three or four holy days in the lunar month: 8, 14, 15, 30, the last day relating to the 30 days period. Of all these holy days, 8 and 14 were principal, they marked the opening of the sabha. The 15 and 30 only were actually sacrificial, "not on the eve of the Rites sacrifice."

The Buddhist replaces this ancient custom by the institution of a fixed upanishad for each period: 8, 14, 15. This is a positive creation. Naturally the Buddhists, who have adopted the Vedic sacrifice and retained fasting and [illegible], adopt the upanishad-Upavasatha system to prevail upon that of pratipada. The observance of the pratipada law, however, survived in India in times after the Buddha, as proved by the 6th Pillar Edict of Asoka, and even by a text of the

1 Hopkins (not unknown) to prove that the division of the lunar month into four quarters is a relative fact which was been imported spontaneously in different places (Die astronomischen und kalendarischen Angaben über Indien und Baktra bei alten Autoren, in Abhandl. Prof. Morr. Winter. Breslau, 1898, 1, 2, 4; Die Weltanschauung der Brahmanen, Philosophy und Ethik, 1901, 1, 2). Having carried upon a study by Arthur, the Jahrzeit or Anniversary (or Yahrzeit) anthropy, Breslau, Wien, 1923, 1, 2, pp. 1018-1, he believes to have strongly stated the notion that the holiness of the number 7 was due to the 7 planets, and therefore to the Babylonian astrology. But the Indian status shows proves that the upanishad and the "Sabbath" were not linked to the number 7.

Pali Vinaya. Kāṭhinaṅga (I, 31), I wander a distinction between "lunar
gives each twenty-eight (pakkhāna) each opposite day (uposatha-day)
on the first day of each twenty-eight (pakkhāna)."

In short, the Buddhists have considered the two Pañcs, opposite
of the 13 and of the 28, in which they have added in each period
one days it and 14, thus reaching a total of 6 days for each month.
11 day had considered the astronomical basis, they is to say the
stages of the moon, they would have added two days, and two days
only, to the two stages already marked by the opposite of the 13 and
28. Therefore, it seems likely that the pre-Buddhistic system, based
upon the two stages of the moon, has superposed over the more ancient
Vedic system.

A. Pontecorvo

ISMEO

Religious Policy of Aurangzeb*

II

(B) *Hindu converts to Islam during Aurangzeb's Reign*

The Annals of Aurangzeb's reign furnish an interesting list of Hindus who were converted to Islam. The proselytising activity of Aurangzeb comes to start about the year 1669 and continued unabated till the end of his life. The following list has been compiled after an exhaustive study of the original sources of his reign, more particularly the news-letters and the correspondence of the period.

Kirt Ram Bhagat who had been converted to Islam in December, 1666 was given a daily allowance of Rs. -/8/- only.

The next set of converts found below. Basant Singh, Ram Das, Bakhtawar, and Chaman Bhaga were given Jagirs of Rs.[illegible] on 19th February, 1667; so also Nur Mohammad, a Khatri by caste, on May 4, 1667.

In April 1667 the sons of Nur Mohammad collectively (Jaswagpal) were brought up before the Emperor. They had been Hindus for various terms. On April 22, 1667, it was reported that they had expiated for their shortcomings by reciting the Kalma whereupon the emperor was pleased to order good treatment.

It seems to have been formally decided about this conversion to Islam was a sure method for securing all sorts of exclusive and remuneration.

On May 4, 1667, Gaurdas Bhaviya, Paramanand similarly embraced Islam and was thereupon honoured with the award of a Jama of honour. On the same day, Mohan Dass Khatri was also similarly honoured.

On September 1, 1668, Dharam and four others were reported to have been converted to Islam.

On January 28, 1669, one Chanda submitted that he was a mahant of Dhuli Prabath, a Samadhi. If he be put aside and the Samadhi be assigned to Chanda, he declared, he was willing to become a Muslim. Aurangzeb was prepared to accept this time-

* Continued from p. 307 of vol. XX.

serving convoy, but the survivor, Sankalchand Bhan, appealed to a much-hooky majlis deputation of an incensed Bandahi.

On January 10, 1773, one Gopal Nath was converted to Islam, given a daily allowance of seven rupees and named Asif Muhammad.

Another attempt at conversion was made five years ago. Bhagat Singh requested that his brother Kirpal Dass be given the vacant chief-ship of Chaki Gurh. Aurangzeb at once used the occasion for attempting a conversion and ordered that Kirpal Dass be made the chief of Chaki Gurh if he accepted Islam. It seems that Bhagat Singh resisted the temptation and fled with his life.

A brother of the Bandahi of New Delhi accepted Islam and was given the name of Ishan Yar. He was in some position in the government of the Bandahi, supervising the existing chief. A copy of his che [illegible] still exists. We feel that this agent at least served the purpose of a lure for enticing the men of contemporary Bandhus. Devaram Singh and Bhagwan Singh were both joint-chiefs of Chaki Gurh after their conversion to Islam in the Remaining of the eighteenth year of the reign.

On January 18, 1775, two Hindu converts to Islam were promoted to the emperor who bestowed them by increasing prices of honour on them.

One Roopa Ram who had recently accepted Islam was similarly honoured on August 21, 1776.

Devi Chand, Bandahi of Bandar Pur had been disgraced of his chief-ship and thrashed from his Bandh. On Feb 12, 1785, he accepted Islam, whereupon he was restored to his rank of a com-mander of 150 and also given back his estate.

On September 16, 1785, an order was issued that all prisoners who would accept Islam be set at liberty.

On October, 28, 1787, Tulu Ram, a Gurungo of Bhagal was pardoned in his office and given robes of honour on his conversion to Islam.

The other converts were Jalwan (November 3, 1788); Raj Bhagh (October 18, 1788); Muhammad Thayat (October 19, 1789); Khalil Abdulla (November 8, 1792); Chaudi Khan (January 20, 1800); Wa-ziddin (January 21, 1800); Karam Sing (April 21, 1800).

On April 17, 1800, a Hindu convert was let off on his being con-verted to Islam.

Kishn was given a dress of Honour on October 13, 1901; Jodhan on November 6; Hanga Ram on December 13; Jawala, a blacksmith, Sukh Dal, and Bhag Ram on December 8.

In the month-intervals of the year 1904, many converts have been converted: Sukhmana, Jawala, Sukhsingh, Chotar Singh, Bhandari and Dina Raj, Jodhan, Sangi, Rattaji, Bhawal, Barkat, Tikkam, Dhanpa Ram, Ram Dal, Ilia, and Mor Singh.

Rajan Raj, an erstwhile Gurusaja of Kalhor, who had been dismissed on unofficial audits, joined the ranks of the new believers and was therefore selected to be Gurpa pastor on June 7, 1906.

The following commissions are mentioned in the correspondence of some years spent such years:

Gurpa Dal and Ram Singh from 1, 1905.

Ghazi Dina and Sikhan Ram (May 16, 1907).

Ramdas Ram (March 28, 1908).

Ramdas Ram and Gagan Singh were mildly persecuted during the course of an inquiry held in the Sessions. They were convicted on May 27, 1909. Baptisal services are mentioned in the correspondence for the year 1910: Sh. Nur Kalpanji and Ghulam Muhammad, on March 3, Delhi; on June 12, Nur Bakhsh; on September 17, a Marathi Dhanraj and a Khalsa Chhadda; and on December 18, one Dev Das.

The correspondence for the problem of baptismal speech of the conversion of several Khalsa Gurus in the years 16 and 17 of the reign.

The year 1911 yields many cases of conversions. Lala Ghazi's conversion is assigned to March 31, 1911. Ram Dev earlier converted from Bhandana was appointed to the catechumenate on May 8, 1911. Dhanbahadur Khan, on May 7. On May 13, 1911, an unsuccessful attempt was made to convert Rajab Sahn, Bhagat's preacher, in whose refusal, Jawanpal gave orders to Bhakkhalchandra to watch for a favourable opportunity. On May 14, however, Bansi Singh was converted. The office of Qazaqar seems to have provided another convert on June 28, when Bhim Raj, a former Qazaqar of Kalhor, was converted. On September 9, Jawala Nath was admitted to the fold, two days later Jal Nath and others were converted. On the 15th was Muhammad Rashid a new convert to reported to have made his appearance in the baptismal room. In the month of November,

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Mir Singh, a grandson of Raja Kishan Das of Amber, was [illegible] and recognized as the Shekhawat of Lakhai Garh on September 18. Sheikh Abdur Muhammad, a [illegible] servant, figures in the nomenclature of November 6. Shamsher Nath, a Domrilla who was in prison got his fetters opened by conversion to Islam and was restored to his former office on November 21. Sheikh Ramzan figures in the nomenclature of Phamadan 30. In the month of November many more [illegible] were brought before the emperor. On Shawwal 9 Muhammad Wali, who had come from Kumar Singh, paid his respects to the emperor in the open court. On December 28, Sardar Rawal, son of Rai Bulloch, an official in the revenue department, was honoured by an imperial audience. Bilah Chand was admitted to the court on December 29.

Lodhi, Zada and Khyber of Bara Bank could not from some money. He could not make arrangements for the payment and was therefore imprisoned. While in prison, the light of the great lotus descend on him and he exclaimed that if he be released, he would accept Islam. Orders were at once given for his release. He was brought to the imperial court and on February 28, 1704, the emperor personally initiated him into the faith. His descendants were Sayyids and his Wazir was increased by a monsoon of 200 to 400.

Mewaris princes provided two more converts this year. After the death of Raja Sona, some princes of the family had fallen into the hands of the Mughals. On January 24, 1704, a daughter of his was married to Shamsher Beg. On March 5, a daughter of Sahibzadi, who had probably been converted earlier to Islam after her father's conversion was married to Faqir Muhammad.

Several Rajahs of high caste figure as converts from Hinduism. Pir Ram who rose to acquire the title of a Raja is mentioned in the nomenclature of Jumada II, 1704. Dalpat, another convert is spoken of as a commander of one thousand in the nomenclature of Sha'ban 17. Bhawani, Rajah of Tehrda, figures in the nomenclature of an earlier date, June 18.

As usual the ranks of the Qazaqiyan provide some more converts. Bari Chand, Qazaqiyan of Sidhora, is mentioned as a convert on February 5, 1704, whereas Bazza Dom, Qazaqiyan of Shamshad, makes his ap-

position as a convert towards the end of the year on December 18, 1704.

Aurangzeb himself converted some Sikhs from Rohtak and several others on November 4, 1708. On September 4, 1708, Dhan Nath, Raiwal of Anandpur, was converted and given the Muslim name of Ishar Das.

Several other converts are mentioned in the newsletter of this year. Mahal was converted on February 1. He was given an elephant on May 31. His son seems to have soon followed his example and on July 4, they figured as new converts in the court news. Khandhe Nath's conversion is assigned to February 14. In March, Bhagat Bal was converted to become Mohammad Ali. In May, Bhaj Bhatt Ishar Dhali and Khushi Ghazi was also converted. In the first newsletter of June 18, Tulbaraj's conversion is mentioned, whereas Bal Dhian and Nir Singh were converted on October 16. Nanak Dhan Sprow as a convert in the newsletter of November 14. Nath Ram and a companion of his were converted on March 30, 1705.

On November 28, 1705, when questions against the Jats were brought to a successful conclusion, Bhoh Singh, son of Raja Ram, was converted.

Original collections (Bhatwara) the questions, however, mention several other cases as well which unfortunately have not detailed.

Ana Ram was converted in the year 1707-1708 and given the name of Abdul Latif.[30]

A letter of Aurangzeb recalls a very interesting man. Raja Udaya Ram was a convert from Rajkulam. He had, as Aurangzeb declared, promised to bring his mother, sister and several others into the fold with further his conversion. Nothing probably was heard of it this conversion later on. Aurangzeb therefore wanted it to be known that if his sister was willing to accept Islam, she would be married to a grandson of the emperor.[31]

Ram Gopal Singh of Balmiyar was an imperial Khandelkar. He was accompanying Aurangzeb's army in the Deccan and had left his son, Hanu Singh, in the state. The son (name) invited to the selection

(30) Ahwalnama-i-Ishaq, 98. (31) Kalimat, letter No. 139.

[illegible] and [illegible] a [illegible] of great [illegible] to his [illegible]. Gopal Singh, [illegible], complained to the emperor and [illegible] that he was [illegible] to the Deccan. Aurangzeb [illegible] [illegible]. To avoid the consequences of his [illegible], Ratan Singh had become a convert through the good [illegible] of Shivaji, who put him in possession of the [illegible]. When the latter reached his [illegible] he [illegible] to the [illegible] of his Muslim [illegible]. Gopal Singh [illegible] with the Rana. Naturally this [illegible] of Ratan Singh in his conversion, produced a very [illegible] effect. Many members of the [illegible] [illegible] the Rajputs [illegible] in any way of [illegible].[illegible]

A [illegible] of Aurangzeb, to prove his zeal, [illegible] that he had [illegible] a Rajah to accept the true faith and probably sought Imperial permission for the purpose of bringing him to the [illegible]. Aurangzeb wrote to his [illegible] that he had [illegible] [illegible] to accept him where he was. But [illegible] difficulty he might take him to the court of the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] him [illegible]. In any case Aurangzeb [illegible] [illegible].[illegible]

Indra Singh, [illegible] of Rampur, [illegible] to the emperor that he was willing to be converted. The emperor, [illegible], ordered that he be granted a [illegible] above all the [illegible] of the rights of a [illegible].[illegible]

The Raja of Udaipur was offered [illegible] terms if he would accept Islam.[illegible]

Rebia Bhaskar Bhadurya became a convert and was given a [illegible] gift.[illegible] A Brahman was converted in 1700 and given Rs. [illegible].[illegible] A Chaudhari of Ahmadabad was converted in [illegible] and was given Rs. [illegible].[illegible] A daughter of Raja Amar Singh Rathor was married to Hussain. She was first brought to the palace and then converted.[illegible] Shiva Parvati, son of Raja Bir Bhanan of Kuti, Bihar, was [illegible] into the true faith while Aurangzeb's mother was busy in its [illegible] against his father.

[illegible] Khafi Khan, [illegible].
[illegible] *Akhbar-i-Darbar*, Rampur.
[illegible] Ibid., [illegible].
[illegible] Ibid., [illegible].
[illegible] Sarkar, *Rajput*, No. [illegible].
[illegible] Khafi Khan, [illegible].
[illegible] Ibid., [illegible].
[illegible] Ibid., [illegible].

Probably the most notorious case of the reign was that of Sarmad; he was Shah's[illegible]'s commander-in-chief. When the Rajputs were subdued along with Mewar, Sarmad was given a command of 5000. When Shah[illegible] escaped from Agra, Aurangzeb sent orders to Raja Jai Singh to capture Sarmad and to send him to the Emperor's Court as a prisoner. Raja Jai Singh carried out his orders and Sarmad was sent to Agra. There he seems to have been kept a close prisoner. At last, in the words of Abul Fazal Khawaf, he sought release by embracing Islam, though the official annalists would have us believe that he was a willing convert. He was dismissed Liberated and given a mansab of 1500.[illegible] Later on he left the Kingdom and went back to Shiraz. There not only was he taken back into the Shah's fold, Shah sealed him by giving him his own daughter in marriage.[illegible]

In the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign Shah[illegible], uncle of Sarmad, was also converted.[illegible]

A son of Dalpat Jat was converted to Islam after his father's death and he became one of the most faithful servants of the Queen of his days.[illegible]

In the North-Western Frontier some forty miles from Peshawar, the inhabitants were subjugated by the power of the Emperor.[illegible]

A daughter of Amar Singh, chief of Bhadkaryan, was, after being captured into the Muslim fold, married to private Ram Dhillah on July 19, 1692.[illegible]

A daughter of the Raja of Jaipur was married to Muhammad Amin in the eleventh year. She also had been converted first.[illegible]

A Hindu chief lifted the Muslim ladyear of his choice. He was compelled to become a Muslim.[illegible]

Under the guise of the fact that the rulers are Muslims, they persuade from poor children to the street and in any of the Indian various Muslim, it is in order not to work any more.[illegible]

[illegible] *Khafi Khan*, 186.
[illegible] *Kalim Ahmed*, II, 108; cf. *Khafi Khan*, 187, 191, & 197.
[illegible] *Chandi Charan*, 180, *Kalim Ahmed*, II, 107. [illegible] *Ahmad Nawaz*, 108.
[illegible] *Ahmad Ghaznavi*, 16. [illegible] *Chitra Ghaznavi*, 179.
[illegible] *Ahmad Ghaznavi*, 16. [illegible] *Ahmad Ghaznavi*, 18.
[illegible] *Kalim*, 181. [illegible] *Francisco*, I, 90.

Raja Kishan Singh and his son [illegible]. The son promised to become a Bhadhaur if unlucky against his father. He became a Bhadhaur and later on was the founder of all Bhadhaur.[illegible]

A letter, written by the President and the Council of Nirmal on January 26, 1888, suggests a novel (again) method of making contacts. The Lesser state that trade had been largely obstructed by the bravery of Amritsar and his persecution of the Khalsa. "If a Bhadhaurwala had no desire to discharge his debt to the Nirmalas and if the Raja demanded the payment of the same, the Bhadhaurwala would lodge a complaint to the Nirmalas that they he had called the prophet, namely or spoken contemptuously of their religion, produce a false witness or two, and the poor man was forced to compromise and could to endanger Islam. Several persons had been thus served in the great house of all.——— This king put in all involving resulting of his kingdom given himself wholly upon this incurring to which persuading the Khalsa[illegible] Ramdas, [illegible] of the Khalsa in front of last Guru Gobind, to plan of adjusting [illegible] based in Bombay. The English, however, turned upon their [illegible]. They closed their [illegible] in Bombay and [illegible] of Nirmalas [illegible] as to Punjab in the response who was [illegible] to be [illegible]. [illegible] because of [illegible] signed we do not know. "But Bhadhaur of Kalpur became a creation and was named Sahendi Jalaja (Pavitr-Vidyalaya, III). Ishar Das, a Jat's of Raja Jai Singh, was converted to Islam and nicknamed as Tuli's Tur (Nyal-Jalaja, III, 1, 3a).

A study of these cases brings to light the several methods used by Amritsar for the purpose of making converts. Whenever two Gulamals in a property quarrelled, the most approved method of proving one's Hik was to become a convert. This provided the most convenient approach which nothing could upset. Of course the recorded cases only refer to such important Hindus as were brought before the emperor. It is unlikely, however, that this 'mass made hot' of the emperor was not followed by the lower county who had to deal with lesser Hindus. This worldly advancement was placed on a 'let's ladder

[illegible] Mamuri, III, 38.
[illegible] Prachin Panthi, vol. VII, 38. [illegible] Jat., vol. [illegible], 38.

likely candidates for conversion and it would not be unnecessary to state, India's large number of conversions in this course. Another method was to make terms with the convicts or captives. Whatever might be a man's crimes, he could expiate for it by becoming a Muslim. Beheads then could wash all their misdeeds, taking their leaders, thereby the worst crimes of embezzlement and defalcation could be easily compounded for by entry into the charmed circle of the faithful. Economic pressure was also used freely for the purpose of making converts. The Jizya, i.e. the poll-tax, was hanked and the Hindu traders paid higher taxes. War was used as a convenient weapon for the purpose of extending the faith and princes of war often coveted the treasures of the infidels. The converts, whatever their earlier failings, were always sure of a place at the court, in the imperial secretariat, and in the revenue or the accounts department. In various cases 'worldly inducements' were also offered.

Popular Hindu and Muslim traditions attribute some restrictions by force to Aurangzeb's reign. It seems it did heightened the colours in the picture. But the complete picture shows plainly that the emperor made it a part of his imperial duty to encourage conversion, personally which converts to Islam, and grant favours to the converts. If the converts is seen to be well-fed and fat, it only shows to have changed their faith for religious reasons. Unequal to accept some conditions or terms, and impose economic benefits formed the motive force in most cases. It may be argued that the religious which these converts attach all as really were here being very lightly on them. But the history of the world contains a few martyrs and a host of renegades. Hindu India of Aurangzeb's reign was no exception. The results is not that so many were converted but that the vast majority of the Hindus kept their faith amidst so many temptations and such prescriptions.

3. Aurangzeb and the Sikhs

Aurangzeb's relations with the Sikhs raise some controversial questions. When Aurangzeb ordered upon the war of succession, Guru Har Rai was the leader of the Sikhs. After the battle of Samughar, Guru left for the Punjab and he said to have waited upon the Guru whom wisdom he had been.[illegible] The Guru protested his will and actually

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] of Rāja Jaswant for his help. But when [illegible] happened to take place owing to alleged neglected of his unfortunate protégé, the Guru [illegible] [illegible].[311]

After his accession to the throne, Aurangzeb recommenced the force to assume the [illegible].[312] The Emperor, however, refused to make upon the suggestion to persuade Ram Rai to the court.[313] He was accompanied by [illegible] of the Sikh community so that he may not deviate from the true path. Ram Rai so depicted himself at the capital that the emperor was very much pleased with him. Whether this incident predisposing circumstances as Bābā Bālā suggest[314] or interpreting a text from the Adi Granth in Aurangzeb's authorities,[315] or both[316] is doubtful. Rather than be pleased at his son's diplomatic conduct, Guru Har Rai recalled his disciples, dismissed by Dārā Shukoh, [illegible] and appointing his minor son Ram Kishan as his successor. The Bālā [illegible] in Kirtāpur, 1721 A.T.[317] (Nanakshāhi, 1664).

Guru Kishan succeeded his father. He was [illegible]. Guru Rai preferred his elder brother for succession and left Rāja Gurū [illegible] to the court. [illegible] to be regarded by his followers. [illegible] of a [illegible] followers. [illegible] died on Friday, [illegible] 1721 A.T. [illegible], 1664.[318]

Aurangzeb had [illegible] given to Jaggi the present site of Dehra Dun to Ram Rai.[319] Raja Jai Singh's temple and treasure the bodies of [illegible] were prepared to accept his authority. Guru Kishan had however left his disciples in a fix as to his successor. He had told them that the Guru of Dehra would be his successor. But there were many Bābas (descendants of the Guru) in Bālāda and each claimed to be the successor designated. Tegh Bahādur, a younger son of Guru Har Gobind and the grandfather of Guru Kishan was at last accepted

[311] [illegible] Gandhi, 71. [312] Gulābā Jaiswan, 107, Sahāranpur.
[313] Bālā (Ms) tells us that the emperor asked Ram Rai to see and bestow his blessed of the Granth. 146. [314] Dhāhā (Gulābā), 147.
[315] Gulābā Sāhāran, 108. [316] Bālā, 146.
[317] Bālā, 146. [318] Ibid., 146. [319] Ibid.

on the ninth Guru.[96] After a Sikh spell in journeying in various parts of India, Guru Tegh Bahadur had settled at Kiratpur in the present district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. There he seems to have been arrested by imperial officials and brought to the capital. Aurangzeb ordered his execution[97] on Magha 5, Vikram Sam 1732 (11 December, 1675).[98] This judicial execution has been attributed to various causes by different historians. A Kashmir writer attributes it to Tegh Bahadur's refusal to become a Muslim.[99] Sikhs like Macauliffe ascribe it to the Guru's refusal to perform a miracle[100] and, in being cut by the author given in the biographies of the Guru written by the south Guru Gobind Singh.[101] It seems likely that the Guru was arrested as a man who claimed to possess miraculous powers.

The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur proved a baptism of fire. It helped his son and successor Guru Gobind Singh in transforming the Sikhs into fiery warriors of King Jaipal characteristic in the eighteenth century. Not for several years after Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution, the emperor, who had left for the south in 1681, left the Sikhs alone. Thus towards the end of the year 1685 Aurangzeb learnt that Guru Gobind Singh was planning to be an intercessor of Guru Nanak. He issued his order on November 26, 1685 that the Guru be admonished.[102] This did not prevent such attempt. It was soon reported to the emperor that the Sikhs had caused a good deal of disturbance and Lakhmi was a general order for their suppression was issued.[103]

A Sikh at Agra threw a stone at the emperor while he was returning from his Friday prayers in the public mosque. The Sikh was executed[104] and some have been subsequently punished.

In the Sacker of Sirhind a temple of the Sikhs was demolished to give place to a mosque. The Sikhs in their turn have pulled down

[96] Khafi Khan, 76. [97] Ibid.
[98] Bhaki Nal, 174.
[99] Quoted in the Latter Bhaktas, p. 75n.
[100] Sukhe Bal, 176. [101] Twelve Dhaal, Ms. T. 10. Young, 180.
[102] Dates Sabha Sahel November 26, 1685. [103] Khafi Khan.
[104] Bhaktas Lakshan, 185.

the number and [illegible] the Sikhs who had been appointed to lead the [illegible] in their project.[illegible]

Further trouble from the hilly 'mountaineers of Punjab' was apprehended and orders were sent to Jafar Khan, son of Asad Khan, to Khalqiyar Khan to send his contingent under his own to help Khwaja Kamil's Khan who had been appointed to put an end to the Sikh disturbances.[illegible]

The battle of Chamkaur in the system of the use of Aurangzeb's intense when military force Gobind was ordered to be mobilized for the imperial Sikh domain.[illegible]

When prince Muazzam was appointed the governor of Kabul in 1681, some misbehaving sewas in have been seized at instance the prince and the Sikh Guru. The prince arranged that the Guru be left alone, and the Guru also made up his quarrel with Sri Kripal Sewaramsewak, advising his followers to give [illegible] Dhaper when were in due.[illegible]

When the Guru was at last compelled to leave Anandpur two of his sons fell into the hands of the Mughals. They were asked to embrace Islam and on their refusal they were buried alive in a wall of Sirhind. This led the hostilities of Sikhs and between the Sikhs and the Mughals which [illegible] one of by Punjab to successfully against [illegible].

Some time after this 10,000 Sikhs were killed while they were going to the country of Barkari Afghans. Their Muslim escort fell in fight in co-operation with other Sikhs leaders. We do not know the circumstances which compelled the Sikhs to leave the Punjab and go to the rugged districts on the frontier. It might have been due to the persecution by their Muslim rulers in the Punjab.

Aurangzeb issued orders to prince Shah Alam to imprison the Sikhs and expel them from the Sikhism under his commands.[illegible]

They thought later on the Wazir made peace with Aurangzeb, the judge bequeathed a cordon of hostility between the Sikhs and the Mughal Government. The Sikhs handed down the order memory of

[illegible] Khafi Khan, [illegible]
[illegible] Khafi Khan, [illegible]
[illegible] Rajiwan, [illegible]

[illegible] Jadu Nath Sarkar, [illegible]
[illegible] Vir Singh, [illegible], [illegible]

the attention of the whole Sikh nation and the burning zeal of the tenth Guru's life-mission?

A short time later the Brahmin returned from Anjan on a Friday. His head and face were pale, but a green and red tilak remained on the door. He disappeared into the gate of the river. He remained the Guru for seventeen years and nine months. He died on the thirty, bright half, Friday.

After Guru Arjan's death his son Har Gobind became his successor. In order to arrange himself for his father's succession he began girding his swords. As his disciples his followers became very strongly inclined towards him. Whenever became his disciple brought horses and arms as an offering. His followers also began wearing kirpis.

The loss of general over between the Sikhs and the Muslims. It is said that they took his coat that his forbidden. Some say that is wrong. Someone asked the Guru, "Why do you wear two swords?" He answered "One is for avenging my father's death on the Muslim, the other for establishing the religious seeking power of the saints and prophets." His sons were named Gurditta, Tegh Bahadur, Atal Rai, and Ani and Phoga Singh were his sons. Gurditta and Atal died childless. Bahadur Singh and Tegh Bahadur took refuge in the mountain fastness during the life time of their father, being driven thence by their brothers. Baba Gurditta left his sons, Dhirmal Rai and Ram Rai. Ram Rai received the land in Dehradun given to Gurditta and was there. He died at Kiratpur, 1687 A.D.

After this battle, Aurangzeb [illegible] the throne of Khatara. He was independently. He had a wife [illegible] Nawab to [illegible] He gave birth to a son who was called Ram Bhakta. Another son was called Ram Rai. When Aurangzeb heard of the Guru's miracles, he invited him to his palace. It is said that the Guru revealed himself and met Ram Rai. He told him to keep the secret till his death. When Ram Rai came before Aurangzeb, he asked him as a well which had been covered on his forehead (the Ram). There was angry exclamation. He was not however injured. Aurangzeb was afraid that he died and gave a chosen place for his tomb. It is said that he asked to read Guru the Rahim and a dome for him to pay. He said it and only a quarter to the spiritual power of the Rahim. Another day the Rahim asked for the dome. Ram Rai had gone down when the city and the tomb of the dead. He prayed for the life. The dome rose on the tomb top. The Rahim asked him "where is the tomb?" He answered "In the stomach of your spiritual power." When the Rahim saw his power to work miracles, he said this being will gave him a sign to the pleasure of the Aurangzeb (Darbar) accordingly. Though the Guru withdrew his blessing from this place, he said not desire that the place of worship of all. As he had spread the dome of calendar before the Rahim and demanded the order of his father, Dhal Kalyana and Bhai Harnam, who had accompanied him by his father's order to see Ram Rai to tell and were for

(13) *Suppression of Sikhs*

A contemporary writer tends to set up the grievance of the Sikh Guru and especially mentioned among minor to put down whatever he thought was unlawful.

straight path, found that there had no weight with him and took his imprisoned. Both of them met him and came to the Guru. They told the Guru Gobind. He immediately left of there. Having placed his younger son, Hari Rai[illegible], as the Successor next to Guru on Baisakhi, 18th March, Saturday, 1737 A.P.

In Anandpur Guru Har Rai's son Dhir Mal[illegible] who was only six months old. It is said that in also was called to Lahore by Aurangzeb. The Guru said, "I will not see the face of a Muslim." Mir Ataullah carried him to a palanquin and brought him to Delhi, as Mal he was five years. When the minister of Lahore arrived in Delhi spread, some persons brought it to a Kazi who was deeply offended on the Guru's to see Tegh. He said that the Guru was not a saint and therefore had no reason to come to Delhi. It was straightness. He said that if it was true, the Guru would himself come to his house. When the messenger was sent to, the Guru's prosecutor handed his house with, at Jahangir, he was taken into the house and served well. The Vilaya, the Guru's [illegible] 1737, he died of small pox. He said before the Sons of a Muslim" While he lay dying, he the sighs water, two whom [illegible] and [illegible] on the [illegible] to be the [illegible] of his son was. He said, "Make the Baba of Bakala." Bakala is a village near the Beas River. He remained there for 2 years, 7 months, and 19 days.

The disciples who had been sent to Delhi by the Guru about his successor began to assemble for him. The village of Bakala included many sons of the sons of the Guru. They began to talk with other. The Guru appointed the Baba as his successor. "There are many Babas here. Whom shall we show us and Guru?" One of them said, "I have visited the Gurdwara in the Guru. Whomever sitting from descendants of the Guru would deserve this seat of my master to the person Bibak to whom the seat of the Guru." All agreeing, a chair was found. All the descendants of the Guru were mentioned and gurdwara was offered to them. When the turn of the sons who had made the seat came, Guru Tegh Bahadur who was present sitting there touching the offerings, sought hold of his wood and demanded to know. He also prostrating a forget sermon for was praying him. The disciple attempts called off of Guru together and will show to and discovered the seat the others they had been looking. Then was the Baba of Bakala. He said Guru Tegh Bahadur the practical sermon and with the presence of all sacred. Sits on the seat of the Guru.

When the Guru of Guru Tegh Bahadur came, he [illegible] disciples came to his help and increased his influence. He said to Dev a good life. He was [illegible] with [illegible]. Whenever his disciples brought to him, he [illegible] and kept nothing for himself. The [illegible] was Guru's and he that

The Sikhs were divided between the Bairāgis and the Udāsis. From time to time the Bairāgis had sought the help of the state in order to bring the erring Udāsis to the true faith. Aurangzeb issued an order for the appointment of Darōgā Ajaib and Bhawānī to their monastery. But all these seems to have contained[1] no like order but the next year their faith saved.[2]

The Kirājas received his attention soon. Their leader Bhagwān Bhatt[3] was ordered to the court. Rather than face the lion-emperor he poisoned himself while on the way. His sister son, who was only leader, was taken to the court. His followers however accused the governor of the province of Gujarat of having poisoned their leader and succeeded in to disconcerted the making orders against the governor. The Fujdar of Bharoch did not allow his son of the leader across the Narbada. They took possession of the town by force and made themselves masters of the city of Bharoch. The local Fujdar sought help from his neighbour Sid. Sing (?), and succeed in expelling the notorious rebels. The emperor therefore ordered the provincial governor to take the fort by assault. From his affairs were assembling

[illegible]

[illegible]

A timely warning must happened to you about the corpse of the Guru boy and with, "The Sahib has my face will. Such things would not be given to nothing, and truly would bestow entirely deserved." The Sikhs brought the head to Anandpur and buri it. The body was consoled at Dhak town. The place of cremation, or cremation and the burial of the head have become shrine of pilgrimage to the Sikhs. The happened in 1666, in the month of Magha, the 10th day of the bright half.

(Translated from Sarup Das's History of the Sikhs)

[1] Khafi, I, 308.

[2] Khafi, supplement, 73.

(1) in accordance in carrying his budget. Eventually the imperialists had to pay dearly for their venture. This probably happened in 1124 A.H.[77]

Khafi Khan narrates that one Yogi was beheaded by Aurangzeb's orders on account of his writing a book in a Christian tendency which some of his Muslim disciples could relate. Another youngman is said to have been similarly executed.[78] A Yogi who claimed to be the God was executed in 1084.[79]

Shah, a Kadiri, would not acknowledge Muhammad as the prophet of God in the usual orthodox way. He was therefore beheaded.

Hamza Malik was beheaded for disrespectful language towards the prophet's companions.[80]

In 1060 he stopped the celebration of the Muharram as well.[81]

Other Persecuted

A Portuguese who had a few years converted to Islam and then reverted to his own Christian faith was imprisoned in the Ignoble House Bijapur[82] for his conversion for using blasphemous language towards the first four KHALIFS. He died in prison in Lahore in 1084 A.H. During the Muharram he held an assembly and on account of certain honour guilty of blaming the first twelve for not had actually sat. His House and Mosque supplied to Kadiri.[83] All Shahadi used to cursed. When remonstrated against, he declared that he was guilty merely with his angles.

His mention of Hippies and Gulbards was the partly verified in the hatred of the Shia religious. Of course he had inherited from his father who had made towards upon the Movement policies to proselytize Hindus in Bijapur territories. Hindus were also planted partly on account of the secretary which the Shiahs had imposed here in the administration.[84]

When Kamal, a famous Sufi, had received Sufi from Hyderabad towards the end of Shahjahan's reign, Sher Shikar had sought his

[75] Idem, I, 195, 196.
[76] Mirza Tahir, Amal Jan 7, 1064.
[77] Khafi Khan, II, 346, 348.
[78] Ibid., Dastur-i-Amal, 280.
[79] Bernier, 271, 315, 317, 330, 331, 332.
[80] Dastur-i-Amal, 280.
[81] Dastur-i-Amal, 300.
[82] Bernier, 33.
[83] Dastur-i-Amal, 300.
[84] Bernier, 32, 330.

conspiracy and gold him seven months of respite. But when Aurangzeb came to the throne, the things took a different turn. Bernard relates: "Whereas guided the knowledge of His secret because akin to unbelieve Dharma. The Bhils says that the prophet revealed the heresy, Bernard replies: (sic) the heresy came into the prophet." The Rajputs were bound to opportunity.[19] Bernard had said that the conversion of the prophet to Prof. Bhakari seems to imply to his article on Bernard.[20] He never seems to praise of the prophet. Aurangzeb took the right (sic) to Bernard to question (sic) about his reality. Bernard replied it by declaring that the devil had the upper hand. His answer was so troubled as to offend the Emperor by a pun on his name. But this in itself was not enough. Bernard was summoned to the royal court and asked to answer the charge of the Muslim court. Bernard went as far as to declare that there is no God. When asked to repeat (sic) he said he was saying heaven were on Berkers. He now he was condemned, as he expected. After the sentence brought forth (sic) [illegible] he said pronounced I saying "I have you to [illegible] from you come or come?" (sic) replied Bernard. Has a master. [illegible] with his [illegible] (sic) of a great saint.[21]

Another minister who like the Vizier of the emperor was Bhakta Shah Pakhtiyali. He was a disciple of Bhakta Shah. He was to acquire great reputation as a teacher and saint. Bhakta Jahan and Bhaka was passed his very death. Bhakta Jahan used to mention, "There are two emperors in India, Bhakta Shah and myself." He was however too independent to give in to worldly considerations. He always met Bhakta Pirana while travelling to order not to have to pay him any honours. When Aurangzeb came to the throne he sent for him on the instigation of some of the courtiers who were opposed to Dara.[22] Bhakta Shah was in Kashmir and refused to leave his pleasant abode on the Dayal Spring in Srinagar. The emperor however sent a the governor who at last provided upon him to accept the royal summons. Dara Shikoh he

19. [illegible], p. 101, [illegible], 102, 103.
20. Bhakta Pakhtiyali, Vol. VII, 101.
21. Aurangzeb [illegible], 101, 102, [illegible], 102, 103, [illegible], Vol. [illegible], 170, Bernier, 107. 103. [illegible], 102, 103.

and a disengagement of the emperor's memories. The emperor was very much pleased thereat and allowed him to live as Lahore. The young lady now lives (her mosque). He died in Lahore in 1707 and was buried near the grave of his guide Mian Mir. Mulla Shah was a great writer and wrote a commentary on the Quran as well.[illegible]

Sayyid Ni'mat Allah was also connected with Bengal. He had been on good relations with Shah Shujah. He adopted to obey the royal mystery. During worship, he was placed him in a book which was about to burn when another order came controlling the previous mysteries.[illegible]

Shaikh Muhibullah of Allahabad also incurred royal displeasure for one of his works. Fortunately he had passed beyond the royal reach. His disciples were called upon to explain their teacher's heretic opinions. One of them (Bengali) [illegible] upon his master. Another, Shaikh Muhammad [illegible] Nur Ma'rifat a disciple of his master but he repented that he had not attended to the questions of his master and could not [illegible] either by repeating his master's words or proving it to be orthodox.[illegible]

The emperor's displeasure could not stand above a good goal. Muslims were [illegible] which pleased the emperor. But in order to save the soul of the poor Muslim [illegible] the [illegible].[illegible]

So great was the emperor's hatred of this 'modern calling' that first Mulla Ata very strictly controlled the Christian of another theologian by suggesting that the soul of the office was a book of a woman. The second had to convince the emperor that he had nothing whatever to do with such an objectionable act as poetry.[illegible] On account of this the emperor's hatreds, he was ordered to be beheaded.

But even Aurangzeb could not remove dark from the temple of his theological lumpers. The chief Qazi refused to cast the Kalima in Aurangzeb's name as king of Shah Adam was alive and hence his life. A Shia person from Sujlur was brought forward, who claimed to convince the already convinced emperor that the name he had adopted was 'heretical'.[illegible] Earlier still, one of them had refused to bless his

[illegible] Khafi Khan, [illegible] 179 to 179.
[illegible] Ibid., 180, 181.
[illegible] Ibid., 181, 182.
[illegible] Ibid., 185, 186.
[illegible] Ibid., 186.
[illegible] Tarikhi-i-Dilkusha, 1, 186, [illegible], 1, 185.

[illegible] when he reached an the age of accession.[illegible] When he was [illegible] Rajputs and Shi'ahs some of them again protested and resigned.[illegible]

A general between the Qazi of Lahore and the governor of the Punjab made the former lose his life and the latter his office.[illegible] Thus all the protestants were made upset by the privileged position occupied by the clergy that on hearing the report of the Mughal difficulties in the north, he suggested that the clergy be requested to use their spiritual power.[illegible]

Aurangzeb then tried to reconcile the impossible task of serving Muhammad and Dev alike. He continued ruling over a vast empire and tried to serve its God as well. Unfortunately for him, the Hindus too, either of government, had never had to deal with a vast majority of non-Hindus subjects who could not be easily converted. Still more unfortunately he refused to take advice of Hindu's practical reasons to organised them as innovations. The result was that the unprofitable state of Akbar's reign gave place to the Hindus state of pre-Akbar days. With this change in the Hindus's is to not surprising that it shared the same fate. The pre-Akbar Hindus state in India had not held up the vast majority of its subjects whose ruling loyalty it had never been able to secure. Potentially these majority of Indian history (1564 to 1707) had seen the rise and the fall of Mughal dynasties in Delhi——the Ghuris, the Slaves, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, the Sayyids and the Lodis. Their average life had not been more than sixty years. Aurangzeb could hope to live no better. His religious policy lost him the active loyalty of his Hindu subjects. As under the Pathanes they were not concerned what particular label the ruling dynasty bore. They seemed to be interested in the fate of their rulers as they knew that it would make no difference to them. Aurangzeb thus destroyed the raison d'etre of the Mughal dynasty.

[illegible] Pandit—Kashmir, 28.
[illegible] Khafi Khan, II, 365. [illegible] Irvin., II, 227, 228.
[illegible] Irvin., II, 226, 227. For the privileged position of the theologians in the court of Aurangzeb, cf. Evans, [illegible], I, II, Dacoits, 97, 102, 20. Bada Lahori (Persianised Hindu), Inspired post 40, 50; Khafi Khan, II, 346, 347.

But all this happened in the seventeenth century. Aurangzeb was no more than the servile parliament in England which passed the Clarendon Code. His legislation lagged far behind the revolutionary of the collective society of the English of that time. He did not oppose, but, with the exception of private religious worship of his Hindu subjects. He did not forbid their private heathen worship. He did not exclude them from the public services.

Aurangzeb stood in sharpest with the most of the contemporary rulers of the world. If his church was that of a minority, so was the Protestant church in England. It is hotted the Hindu as the majority of his subjects, the proportionate majority of the Roman Catholics in Ireland would on paying the tithes for the support of the alien Protestant church legally till the Prime of the nineteenth century but virtually till 1869. For almost everything that he did, he could find an excuse in the state policy of his time.

But he had brought it upon himself. Since the poll-tax by Akbar, Hindu-Muslim had not endeavoured to liquidate of the church and treated the church in the state church as of one in the state as well. This of course was the work of Raja Ram that Muslims had been warned in its early stages by the Sikhs and Jats but been a deaf ear. Between the two, As Plumb said, at that time when men quarrelled about religion they quarrelled about everything else. Toleration was supposed to be dangerous to the safety of the country. Bad advice had shown him to Lal's that a policy of religious toleration was far from being dangerous to the state. It had really consolidated the Mughal state in India. With that determination to free him, when Aurangzeb attempted upon a policy of religious persecution in India, he allowed the religious fanatic to get the upper hand of the King. He reminded Garcia Charles I of France who tried to make the state principles with the most disastrous effects on his own fortune. Aurangzeb had not the English Protestant excuse for his religious policy. If Cromwell persecuted the Anglicans it was partly because they were dangerous to the state. Aurangzeb had no such motivation, let alone basis.

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Royalty and Nobility in the Fourteenth Century

II

In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (October, 1931) I traced the relations between the Rulers of Delhi and their nobles down to the year 1320 A.D., when Khusrau Khan was defeated and killed by Ghazi Malik. The throne of Delhi was left vacant, and there was no claimant whose title was based on hereditary right. It was only natural to expect that Ghazi Malik, the victorious general, would step into the place of his cousin whom he had overthrown. His conduct at this crisis, however, was unlike unexpected. He did not assert his claim; he declared that it was for the 'nobles of the State' to decide the question of succession. Whether he felt assured that the decision would naturally be in his favour we do not know; but he appears to have been fully conscious that his position was precarious.[1] He recognized the nobles to be large men of our country's land[2], and, if 'no grant of the royal throne' had appeared, he seems to be driven 'more worthy and proper person' to whom he himself would gladly pay his allegiance. The phrase 'more worthy' implied that the conspirators had left no trace of the royal blood in Khusrau, and declared that there was no one 'worthy of royal' among the princes who had been in favour in the Khalji's and had 'deserted the Khusrawis from the side of Khusrau and Parwiz'[3] who was 'worthy of royalty and fit to rule.'[4] It is not necessary, therefore, to say that Ghazi Malik owed his throne to the election by the nobles. The role of the nobles as kingmakers was in very few instances brought to so clear a relief. Both parties acted properly, and that is the reason why Ghazi Malik's elevation marked 'an infancy among the nobles who had formerly been his equals.'[5]

1. Barani, Wise and Serious, vol. (R), pp. 396-398.

2. Sir Wolsely Haig (Cambridge History of India, vol. III), p. 148 says that Ghazi Malik was prominent from after in classic profession of statesmanship, but he does not account for this 'classic profession of statesmanship' on the part of a man who had no civil.

3. op. cit., p. 400.

The man who tore his throne to the ashes and necessarily [illegible] the conscience of the State to subdy [illegible]. We are told that all soldiers and officers of his grandmamma were confirmed in their possession and appointments.[1] He rewarded "all those whom he had known and been connected with, and all those who in bygone days had shunted him [illegible] or rendered him a service."[2] A policy of conciliation was unhesitatingly called for, but this system of dividing the spoils of victory weakened the monarchy and strengthened and emboldened the nobility.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss the mixed question whether Friedrich-Wilhelm Tugelbund Bloch's death was due to an accident or to a deliberate conspiracy engineered by his own and successors. It is enough to note that his eldest son, Wilhelmund, on whom he had already bestowed a royal temper and whom he had declared his heir-apparent,[3] succeeded [illegible].

This strange identity of the origin of 'Wilhelmund Tugelbund' is generally well-known. We may take the intermediate period to ascertain, with the attitude towards the nobility. The numerous records which bestow on Bailiff the origin from nobility (Bl), or he thought, to the traditions of 'Old Bailiffs world', to "[illegible] only for the sake of distinction and glorious".[4] He decided to embrace the hereditary task of engineering [illegible], not as the nobility of the old nobility who enjoyed an independent political and social position, but in name of obscure origin whose career depended upon the favour of the Bailiff.[5] Ibn 'Sadu Khadir, on whom Bassel bestows such accomplishments as 'hero-hero' and 'the shadowy', was placed in charge of Dhir and

4 Bassel, Dhir and Dreams, vol. II.I, p. 190.

5 Op. cit., p. 191. 6 Op. cit., p. 192.

7 For his attempt to move his title confirmed by Ibn Khadir, see the present writer's article on 'The Islamic Bugging in India' in Frankfurter Orient Revue, April, 1928.

8 Cf. Julius Ibn Wilhelm Berg (Gesellschaft Bibliog of India), vol. I.II, p. 179 in regarding 'Tugelbund' as a tribal name.

9 Bassel (Dhir and Dreams, vol. II.I, p. 192) says, "[illegible] I have other social life i.e., the bribed court with company of [illegible], [illegible] ..... But when I see his prowling and hankering low and contentious gestures, I am left in consternation."

Rikin.[8] There he intended "deny rights of his foreign states and chiefs of the military", and for this achievement he was succeeded by the Sultan with "a robe of honour and a congratulatory letter." Rowzat mentions, "This daughter of the foreign ruler of Dhofi, on the news spread of their being foreigners, caused fears of Dangle and Dujaili, and every other place to India and to Jemal was into confusion."[9]

We have two contemporary authorities for the history of the reign of Firoz Shah. Barani relates the story of the first four years of his reign. Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif continues the story for the middle years, but his account of the last years of the Sultan's life is far from complete. Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, "supplements the meagre information of 'Afif from about 200 sources."[10] The story includes facts which "were evidently commonly in his times, but were forgotten after, a century and a half later, the historians of Akbar's time were fairly aware of the so-called Pathan period."[11]

In an article published in *Indian Culture* (July, 1935) I have dealt with the disputed question of Firoz Shah's succession,[12] and I have shown reason to believe that Firoz Shah was nominated by Muhammad Tughlaq as his successor[13] and proved by the nobles to succeed the throne.[14]

It is interesting to note that Firoz Shah tried to create a loyal army military class. The contemporary chronicle, 'Afif, says that he promulgated an order to the effect that, "When a soldier grows old and incapable, his son shall succeed him as his heir; if he has no son, his nephew and failing any nephew, his slave shall

(8) Rowzat, Elliot and Dowson, vol. iii, p. 418. (9) Op. cit.

(10) Sir Zafar Hasan Preface to H. K. Sherwani's translation of Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (1936). (11) Op. cit.

(12) See Tughlaq Rule (1934), July 1935, pp. 49-53, and Cambridge History of India, vol. iii, pp. 43ff. I had to show that Firoz Shah had no reasonable doubts' title to the throne. I have modified his arguments in my article referred to above.

(13) The story of nomination is given in Barani, Shams-i-Siraj, Sirhindi and Firishta.

(14) See Tughlaq Rule, ut supra, pp. 53.

[illegible] [illegible] might create a tradition and [illegible] [illegible], but its inevitable effect was to strengthen the power [illegible] [illegible] whom the loyalty of the soldiery was thus primarily due.

Formerly the chief of his reign Firoz Shah, [illegible] by [illegible] as well as by 'age and infirmity', seems to have left to Wazir Khan-i-Jahan,[illegible] to 'absolute' authority over all affairs of State.[illegible] Unfortunately, however, 'vanity' leads on between the minister and Prince Muhammad Khan, afterwards Sultan Muhammad Shah. Their domestic [illegible] [illegible] of great trouble and danger to the [illegible].[illegible] Now again a powerful minister took advantage of the weakness of the Crown and tried to secure a position to which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] by any claim. The 'Vanity' caused the [illegible] of a 'Vanity against the Sultan's life', [illegible] [illegible] other prominent [illegible]—apparently the general [illegible] in this alleged conspiracy, and [illegible] [illegible] to give 'vanity to a conversation.' But the Prince succeeded in [illegible] the Sultan's confidence and in securing his money from the [illegible] position which he had been enjoying.

Three years [illegible] the [illegible] of Shah Shah and the accession to the throne of his Highness, who assumed the name of Muhammad Shah and [illegible] the Khan-i-Jahan [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible], for an other [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and Equity during the [illegible] of his father. But for prompt measures [illegible] "gave himself up entirely to pleasure,"[illegible] and the nobles, the customary guardians of the State, sought to transfer the responsibility of sovereignty to other hands. The action of events during this crisis cannot be accurately determined,[illegible] but the conflict ended as a result of the intervention of the people of the capital, who "brought out the old King as his prisoner, and placed his head in the street, between the two lances."[illegible] Pietro Dikki again exercised his full authority. He, however, felt himself unequal to the task on account of his age; and, "At the instance of the [illegible] clergy,"[illegible] he placed in a guardian, Prince Dikjakolidis, a son of his elder son, Fanti Dikki,[illegible] upon the throne.[illegible]

The reign of Dikjakolidis was very brief, for the nobles, "together with the [illegible] troops,"[illegible] put him to death for his addiction to luxury and neglect of the affairs of State.[illegible] The resistance of the Queen again contained the nobles for the sake of peace,[illegible] and they enthroned the

[illegible] Kanyo ha Mokkan (K. K. Ross, p. 145), which however is questionable, says that the nobles had "[illegible] up to the expulsion above by Mirza Ikkoi-ukidis and [illegible] Kuroi of Ohi, [illegible] up to opposition to the prince, and placed [illegible] in Pietro Dikki." [illegible] (Ch. I, Section 4, p. [illegible]) says that Pietro [illegible] (B.C. [illegible]) [illegible] "the names of their assets and jubilee against [illegible] and [illegible] who were the partisans of Muhammad Shah, are [illegible] in opposition to Islam." [illegible] (Briggs, vol. 1, p. [illegible]) says that the disgruntled nobles supported the claims of Pietro Dikki-ukidis and [illegible]. This charge seems to be clear. In the first place, there was a movement against Muhammad Shah; secondly, the nobles, supported by the troops, were responsible for it.

[illegible] Anarchy (absence of the [illegible] of the state) is accordingly disgusting.

[illegible] He died a few years ago.

[illegible] Briggs, vol. 1, p. [illegible]. "But the brilliant and talented of Islam shared the fate of primogeniture. Displaced the land was Pietro-ukidis (Muhammad) [illegible] were [illegible] to the throne [illegible]. Pietro Dikki [illegible] for the first time. According to [illegible] (K. K. Ross, pp. [illegible]), Pietro Dikki [illegible] Tughlaq Shah, [illegible] Muhammad-ukidis, as his "[illegible]," and [illegible] to his the affairs of government." The latter is said to have [illegible] the throne on his death, "at the [illegible] of the [illegible], Malikis and the Pietro Dikki clans." (K. K. Ross, pp. [illegible]).

[illegible] Tughlaq-ukidis (K. K. Ross, p. [illegible], note). "The nobles [illegible] of the government was neglected, and the Pietro Dikki clans [illegible] power to [illegible] that the [illegible] and all [illegible] [illegible] the State."

assistance of "the Lowlands troops" in sending and mustering troops, Bajazet-ukdin was succeeded by Abu Bakr, third son of Umar Khan of Ferghana. The Waqai says "he seized the throne," but his jubaqi were "many of the Lowlands troops, who were concerned in the conspiracy,"[1] were put to death. In his memoirs, Babur-nama, Muhammad Khan, who had so long been compelled to work for his living, came to Delhi, imprisoned Abu Bakr, and again conquered the throne.[2] One of his first acts was to put to death the Lowlands troops who were "his most complete"[3]. The chronicle of the Wuzbks had almost become a reality. Now Julius Kilian, who was the commander of the Lowlands troops under Abu Bakr, and to whom Babur-nama "owed his conquests," was invested with the highest office in the state, but within a short time he terminated "treacherously, dangerous" and suffered death.[4] Babur-nama argues for a Qizilbash union that was much kind and a strong death.[5] He was also successor was Humayun, who assumed the name of Khusrau and died after a short reign of 45 or 46 days.[6]

Thus events were followed, not unfortunately, by "another disgraceful [illegible] among the nobles engaged in the conspiracy." Finally the nobles chose Mahmud Tughlaq, a descendant of the Lodi Sultans, and placed him on the throne.[7] But the Shaiq Lodi dynasty was made to control the nobility, who fought among themselves, and sometimes fought some

[1] Briggs, vol. 1, pp. [illegible]. It is interesting to note that "the most influential, disgusted with the governance of Abu Bakr, withdrew their troops, and retired under the banners of his uncle."

[2] Briggs, vol. 1, pp. 47, 48.

[3] Briggs, vol. 1, pp. [illegible], [illegible]. He was probably a converted Hindu. Sukhdev (R. R. Bhatt, p. 18) says that "he was recently put to death" on the "false evidence" of "a bad fellow who had a quite opposite face."

[4] Briggs, vol. 1, p. 47; R. R. Bhatt, p. 18.

[5] Briggs, vol. 1, p. [illegible]. Sukhdev (R. R. Bhatt, p. [illegible]) does not authentically refer to Kilian "Nizam's character" and says that Mahmud Tughlaq "consulted the [illegible] with the assistance (among) of the Amirs, Malikas, grandees, [illegible] and [illegible] persons." He adds, however, that "head of the Amirs and Malikas, who had, in pursuance of mutual bonds, on the [illegible]" were so [illegible] to pay homage to the new Sultan.

against the young king.[37] Then came the invasion of Timur. Mahmud Tughlaq, after some unsuccessful efforts to oppose the invader, fled to Gujarat,[38] leaving his Afghan nobles to their fate.[39] Timur left India, after having appointed Khizr Khan as "Viceroy of Multan, Lahore, and Dipalpur."[40] The city of Delhi remained in a "state of anarchy,"[41] and the provincial governors "no longer acknowledged allegiance to the throne, having established their independence during the civil war."[42] Mahmud Tughlaq returned to Delhi, "where he was invited to receive a pension, having thus any interference on his part in the affairs of the government might prove fatal to him."[43] Rent, however, he was compelled to go to Kanauj. He is said to have been "delicate both in person and manners,"[44] and his conflict to descriptions as "indecisive."[45] His "dissolute and deplorable origin"[46] ended with death in 1419 A.D. "With him," says Ferishta, "fell the kingdom of Delhi from the rank of 'Dwelle'[47] The chiefs assembled Daulat Khan Lodi as the successor, the latter obtained that dignity in his own name."[48] But he was defeated and imprisoned by Khizr Khan,[49] who thereupon occupied the vacant throne of Delhi.[50]

SUCCESSIVE REVOLTS

37 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 456n. a glorious or dishonourable, Sunnat Khan by name, was placed on the throne by a powerful party known as the Khilji, who "revolted the authority" in the name of the "legitimate" sovereign. K. K. Basu, p. 161.

38 It is said in Abul-Abbas-al-Ahmad (Rogers, History of Gujarat, pp. 70-80) that he was received "with all honour" by Zafar Khan, the then governor of Gujarat. "Mahmud Muhammad Shah was in conflict Zafar Khan's children and in attempt upon Delhi. "The Khan did not obey the emperor's orders, as the latter had oppressed and imprisoned" his Nakiya. "But the Sultan did not return to Delhi and tried to organise an alliance to defeat the enemy to whom could be ever not active in revolution or Jemdina would make him appear."

39 Briggs, vol. I, p. 456; K. K. Basu, p. 170.

40 Briggs, vol. I, p. 457; K. K. Basu, p. 171.

41 Briggs, vol. I, p. 458. 42 ibid. (vol., p. 459).

43 (Vol., p. 460. "Nizam Ud. D. Basu, p. 180 says that he "had no condition in the affairs of the state and thus lessened his consequence and entire dwelling."

44 Briggs, vol. I, p. 461. 45 Ibid., p. 456. 46 Ibid., p. 464.

47 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 464-5; K. K. Basu, p. 186.

48 Briggs, vol. I, p. 465; K. K. Basu, p. 186.

49 Has my article on "Kingship and Nobility in the 15th century" in Indian Culture, Kolkata, 1986.

The East India Company and its trade monopoly

Pitt's India Act of 1784 is the first Parliamentary enactment which brought the political affairs of the East India Company under the effective control of British ministers. Under that Act a body known as the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India was created, the President of which was usually a well-known British politician who joined and resigned office along with other members of the British Government. To the Board were given the powers of superintendence, direction, and control over the civil and military government of India but they were precluded from exercising any control over the Company's commercial operations.[1] The Company's trade monopoly was for the moment left untouched, but when in subsequent years its charter came to be renewed, gradual but quite obvious inroads were made upon it. A study of the negotiations between the Directors of the Company and the India Board which preceded each renewal is full of absorbing interest and throws a flood of light on contemporary places. It shows how the Government kept a watchful eye on India as it was then really controlled a competition between the Directors and the Board—the first representing the commercial and selfish interests of their clients, the Court of Proprietors, and relying very considerably on the privileges of the Company, and the second advocating the claims of rival groups in the country and desiring a modification of the Company's monopoly in the interest of the society at large. It shows, secondly, as it could a powerful but now determined and implacable foe the efforts which the British merchants made to strangle Indian industry and commerce. And finally the record by adhering to the large Civil Lists which had come to stay offers a striking illustration of the way in which a system of monopoly is almost invariably productive of unfortunate results.

As the time for the review of 1813 approached, various commercial Lists of merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom adopted

1. For a general discussion of the position of the Board see my article in the Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, London, Nov. 1926.

resolution demanding a total or partial abolition of the Company's monopoly. This was the cause of petitionings of Liverpool and Manchester, of Glasgow and Paisley. They founded this demand on a series of arguments of great validity. They suggested that however admirable the deeds of the Company had been, Indian trade was bound to increase exceedingly if free trade between Great Britain and India were to be allowed. The time for such a growth, they contended, had arrived in view of the industrial development that was taking place in the country and the credit which the British merchants enjoyed in the world of commerce. Finally, they appealed to the recently discovered and indisputable economic principle that special privileges (though they might be necessary or useful in the infancy of commercial or industrial enterprises) proved fatal if persisted in the end. They declared free trade to be 'ordained by nature'. In the words of the preamble to the resolutions of Liverpool, '"The Creator of the universe having ordained the different climates of the earth with different products has laid the foundation of commerce, the object of which is to supply the mutual wants of man"'. In this statement the influence of Adam Smith, whose classic book, 'The Wealth of Nations', appeared in 1776, is clearly noticeable.[1] At the same time it is not improbable that revolutionary thoughts including anti-slavering at the moment, too many inclined to produce any appreciable results but sufficiently to inflict some hopes among the industrial classes. Kingsmill's 'Spinning Jenny,' Arkwright's 'Water-Frame,' Crompton's 'Mule,' and Cartwright's 'Power loom'—all these inventions in the cloth industry followed each other in such quick succession that they could not fail to create the conditions for a challenge of the existing order.

The grievances of the textile claims against the Company may be more clearly stated. It was asserted by Lancashire that the Company had neglected to develop certain markets. For the East Coast of Africa and for Arabia and Persian Gulf, that they had dealt a blow to the indigenous industries by the importation of piecedoth

1 John Bruce, Report on the Particular Interest the East India Company and the Public reputation the Charter of 1793 (1812), p. 2.

2 The trade monopoly a powerful attack on the Company, West Indy and Ivy, ch., vol. 2, p. 207.

and cotton goods, and from the use of large ships of lower tonnage had injured the British shipping generally. It was also stated and with considerable reason that more capital could be successfully invested in the Indian trade than had been done by the Company.

While discussions occupied half month in pointing out the disadvantages of the Company's monopoly, Bengal cotton bowls still retain equally demands. It succeeded that the Company's charter should not be renewed for the long period of twenty years, and that accordingly the British merchants should be allowed to trade within the limits of the Company's charter in their own ships. A desire to foster the cotton industries in the support of Indian based expressions in a demand for a continuance of the duties on cotton piece goods imported by the Company, and for a prohibition of the importation of the higher class of piece goods on also of the import of cotton machinery to that country.[1]

These representations made to plain to Pitt, the President of the Board,[2] that partial modification of the act of 1793 was essential. Even though accepting, largely by yet unknown to the Company, some concessions to the private traders and interests. What precisely that concession was going to be, he proposed to settle in consultation with the Directors. Accordingly in January 1793 he informed them of his intention to bring the matter of the charter for consideration before the House of Commons, for, "Before doing so, it is, of course, my desire to have the most full and candid discussion with the East India Company on all the different points which most naturally suggest themselves for consideration on this important and extensive subject."[3]

It would be tedious to trace in detail the discussions which took place between the Board and the Court in this connection and from the letters written most either. The merchants of Great Britain asked for a total abolition of the Company's monopoly. On the other hand the Company was not willing to make any concessions in their favour.

1. John Bruce, op. cit.

2. Though Dundas actually became President only after the passing of the Act of 1793, he had a major hand in drafting the measure of the Board, cf. Pringle, John Dundas, p. 186.

3. Indian Office MSS., The Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 180, p. 300.

A free trade was suggested by Dundas. He expressed himself in favour of a regulated monopoly by which he meant that while the Company was to continue to enjoy its exclusive privileges, it was to recognize the right of the private traders to carry on trade with India to a limited extent. The merchants would have preferred to use ships of their own, chosen (or) to defrauen by the Widow of the Directors. It was decided that only the Company's ships were to be employed although the freight charges were fixed. The reason why the Company was allowed to retain its monopoly lay in the fear widely prevalent at the time that if free trade with India was established swarms of irresponsible British emigrants would enter that country and become a menace to the metropolitan. "The policy of this system without any formal plan," said a special committee of the Court of Directors dissuading their longstanding Dress (in spite) Wm of Aberdeen Independence, "would gradually and insensibly undermine the government, and leaves impaired the rights of British Subjects, to give or to refuse which would form a most considerable question."[7]

I have remarked above that the interest of the British merchants for a prohibition of the Indian manufactures in the British market. In view of the exclusive monopoly in India lately (but the interests of India have been all along) subservient to the British interests, this demand assumes an added and a greater significance. They demanded (i) that all manner of calicoes, muslins, dyeings, and other cotton piece goods, manufactured in India, China, or Persia, or other parts of Asia, or in any other foreign parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope, which are or shall be imported into this Kingdom, shall be prohibited from being worn or used within the realm of Great Britain (ii) that all calicoes, muslins, dyeings, and other cotton piece goods which will be prohibited to be worn in Great Britain shall, after entry Cleared, be forthwith seized and put into such warehouse as shall for that purpose be appointed by the Commissioners of Customs for the time being, and there kept until the exportation thereof; and that the several laws and statutes made and now in force, for so much as relating the sale and exportation of wrought silks, Bengal stuffs, and

7. Dundas Miscellaneous, vol. 180, p. 31.

painted, dyed, printed, or stained calicoes, prohibited to be worn in England, should be extended to calicoes, muslins, dimities and other cotton piece goods manufactured in Persia, China, East India, or other foreign parts and yet that for encouraging to the Kingdom the benefits of the traffic in, and carrying trade of, calicoes, muslins, dimities, and other cotton piece goods manufactured in Persia, China, India, or other parts within the limits of the Company's trade, in order to the encouragement of the said articles, it is fit and proper that the whole of the duties now payable on the importation thereof should for such long time as the same shall be prohibited from being worn or used in this kingdom, some and be discontinued.[8]

It may be mentioned that the Indian piece goods were now in this date actually produced in Great Britain.[9] The proposals of Hamilton, therefore, which were even further essential in nothing short of a call for their total prohibition. It is to be deeply regretted that neither the Leith Board nor the Ministers who rejected this demand did so not sympathy with Indian interests. Not a thought for the well-being of the Indian artisans whose industry had placed at the mercy of a foreign government owned Rule needs.[10] The objection of the Ministers was based on the fear that the above-mentioned provisions would deprive the Company of some of their remunerative trade with Persia though that on other hand of competition would strike a blow at the home industries which it was the avowed purpose of these provisions to safeguard.

The Act of 1720 explained a triumph for the Court of Directors. The Company were allowed to import and sell in the United Kingdom cotton and silken goods so far as they were not prohibited to be worn

8. Home Miscellaneous, vol. 321, pp. 340-41.

9. Cf. the following extract from a Memorial Cover a Committee of Secret Memorials Home, Home Miscellaneous, vol. 321, p. 330:—"The Gift duties on Indian fabrics imported will completely secure to the British manufacturers the home market. Whether your 10[illegible] on the green calico, which is to have 2[illegible] or 3[illegible]. The duties on cotton articles are still higher, many others are entirely prohibited.——"

10. Cf. Aitchison, Treaties and Sanads of the British Power in India, II, p. 189; [illegible] and Wilson, History of British India, VI, p. 300.

to and under existing restrictions. The monopoly of the China trade was continued to the Company. For the use of the private traders the Company was to set apart on their ships a tonnage of 3000 either way but the rate at which this was to be done, namely, £10 per ton was too heavy.

The heavier expenses were often the last straw into operation. Very little of the allotted tonnage was utilized for the purpose of the exports to India.[13] On the other hand there was from the start an insistent demand for the extension so as to enable it to cope with the growing imports from that country.[14] This demand, however, did not imply that the existing means were so satisfactory. It was only indicative of the real increase in trade that was certain to take place under more suitable conditions. For at the time, it must be noticed, there were routine factors which impeded its development. For one thing the freights were so heavy (£10 heavy) charge on the exports, subjected, in the great people in which the private traders usually specialized could not bear it. Secondly, the Company's ships, which on account of reasons of state were used in India by the government in their wars of annual and figurehead and also in multiple deviations of routes, were not suited. The time at which the private goods were required to be ready for conveyance was also inconvenient. The result was that the circumstances under which the private traders had all along clamoured did not show any signs of alteration, the Company being able to transport goods at a much cheaper rate and at more convenient times.[15]

13 Sandeville, in his Property rule the Practical Results of the Charter for the government of India (1858), gives the following figures —

[illegible] tons.

[illegible] tons.

[illegible] tons.

14 In [illegible] the Bengal demand were estimated to [illegible] tons. Vide Tracy to Wellesley, Sept. 11, 1800.

15 G. Bainbridge who stated before the House of Commons Committee of 1813 that a very large portion of the trade was in the hands of merchants who were ships to India on a much less freight than the Company. Thus 40 to 50 million (pat ton) cost imported goods, at a much earlier date, than Bagshawe could in England. Other expenses of insurance, refitting, and insurance being very considerable.

The circumstances under which its origin in peculiar circumstances. On account of the monopoly of the East India Company, other British merchants were forbidden to trade with India but, curiously enough, this prohibition did not extend to the nationals of other states at peace with Great Britain. Consequently the Americans, the Portuguese, and others freely traded with India and were helped by the Company's European servants who were anxious to transmit home the fortunes which they rapidly made in India. No doubt the Company's servants could make use of the Company's bills of exchange but there were two difficulties. In the first place, any such purchase on a large scale would have exerted the suspicion of their superiors; in the second, such bills were not always available, as the Governments in India knowing the temper of the Directors also were unwilling to send them at times more sufficient to meet them.[illegible]

The foreign trader came to the notice of the Company's servant. He would send to the trading agent for purchases with it, while in return he would draw a bill of exchange on his agent in Europe, and hand it over to the Company's servant. But although, as explained above, this traffic originated with a view to the transaction of business, it had now spreadd to affect most England whose sole objective was trade, and which regarded attempts of clandestine commerce from foreign parts and under foreign colours had grown up.[illegible]

If this trade was to be stopped or at any rate diminished, the only course was to employ Indian ships. The private traders instead of being compelled as they were under the Act of 1698 to employ only the Company's ships should have been given the option to use Indian shipping in the course of their trade. This would have meant cheaper freight. Besides, other advantages would have flowed from it. Under the existing system the merchant in India was not certain whether he would be able to obtain any portion of the allotted tonnage (which in practice was enlarged from year to year by the Local Governments but to what extent it was impossible to predetermine) and so could not

[illegible] H. Cunningham, Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Modern Period (1903), p. 486.

[illegible] Home Miscellaneous, vol. 470, pp. 349-50.

which upon his purchase with confidence. Moreover, even supposing that he proved fortunate in securing the tonnage, the freight which fluctuated from time to time might deprive him of any profit which he expected to make. On the other hand, if Indian ships were admitted, he could settle the terms himself with the owners, could procure as much tonnage as he needed, and regulate his purchase according to the prevailing freights. The difference in short was all the difference between having the control of transport at hand and depending on ships which came from a considerable distance and under uncalculated conditions.*

Further opinion is here cited that for as early as 1707 an estimate of an appeal to the ship-holders of London may exhibit considerable influence over the Company to allow the Indian ships a share in the trade. He stated that the idea of prohibiting these Free traders to Great Britain was "not only in itself of great injustice, but would in the tendency have no effect but the increase of the ship-builders in the river Thames directly the reverse of what they intended to apprehend."† It was an act of injustice because which ended the Navigation Laws. Goods or the East India were allowed to send their produce home in their own ships, Indian though under the British Sovereignty did not enjoy this privilege. It was argued in Westminster Lecture that that the prohibition of Indian shipping made a proportionate room by the Company's shipping was profitably injurious, and the only effect of such a proceeding had been to throw the trade into the hands of foreigners. If this system was provided i.e., British merchant, the shipowners were bound to lose the profit of refitting the ships. In fact in 1800 twenty-five Indian ships had come to London and the expense of refitting amounted of them had amounted to the handsome figure of £127,000.

But Bombay's letter made no impression on the shipping magnates. It is true that Bombay ship in Black whether any activity which brings them profits is detailed an injustice to another community and

* [illegible] the opinion of Jones, Bombay, and Bassett on private trade, Appendix to the Fourth Report 1812.

† Martin, Wellesley's Despatches, V, p. 127.

do they care how their interests are going to be affected by the Company if only for the time being they are sufficiently safeguarded to bring in American goods. Accordingly, the policy of the Company where in the Court of Proprietors the ship-owners had acquired secondary ownership participated. In vigorous debate was there held that any petitions which had been brought in before the Court for a reduction of the freights or other concessions by disinterested proprietors had been defeated. There were in that body from one hundred and fifty to one hundred ship-owners with their supporters and shareholders. Some was certain of such a motion, failure would be most critical by the Indian seeking their fulfilment not to have their ends. Of the independent proprietors had religious themselves with ignorance and without, in reality, and in short to take care that no motion, calculated to result in a reduction of the freights or the dividend, have a chance of passing.[illegible] That being so, in 1791, a motion had been introduced in the Court of Proprietors resting on the need of the civil list declaring that no proprietor should exercise his right of vote on any question relating to a contract in which he was interested but it was lost.

In 1800, however, the question was raised in its acute form by a vigorous despatch which Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, addressed on the subject to the Court of Directors. He pointed out the disadvantages under which the private traders laboured and asserted that Indian shipping of the requisite quality was available, the contract from the latter may indeed be given on showing the level at which the Indian shipping does exist, in spite of all discouragement and lack of incentive encouragement. "The Port of Calcutta contains about 30,000 tons of shipping built in India, of a description calculated for the navigation of rivers. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the Port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the art of ship-building has already attained in Bengal, combining a still more rapid progress and supported by abundant and increasing supply of timber, it is certain that the Port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever extent may be required for conveying

[illegible] the speeches of a debate at the East India House held on May 16, 1796. See cf. Aitken, op. cit., II, pp. [illegible].

in the Port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal.[1] Equally damning is the testimony of Mr. Udny, Member of the Revenue-General's Council, who wrote: "At this moment there are above 18,000 tons of shipping rendered not at non-usual in Bengal, after two ships have been recently provided with cargoes to the amount of 1,200 tons. Under proper fit shipbuilding here and in the vicinity abroad, the are lots arrived in Bengal, at a high price; a great number of artificers are constantly employed, and on account of a ship launched there the foundation of another is laid in few days. Spacious and convenient docks for repairing ships are also erected."[2]

Indeed it appears that shipbuilding was just one of those industries in which India and Great Britain would compete to their mutual advantage. The Indians were very rich in timber, turpentine, oil, vegetable tar, and hemp, the best qualified for cordage and canvas;[3] while certain Eastern jute and pepper would be gratefully and cheaply supplied in the form.

Dundas supported Lord Wellesley and urged on the Directors the necessity of employing Indian ships. This was being resisted by the Directors who asserted that an outstanding constitutional battle with the Board over the issue.[4] Mr Jenkins's letter had stated that the Company should engage some ships for the use of the private traders which might be British or Indian and then select those without profit.

This concession had, however, been intended from the Directors who had been threatened Parliamentary intervention if they did not yield. Consequently, the rights of Indian ships in London did not please them: "The arrival in the Port of London of Indian produce

(1) Webster to Dundas, Sept. 21, 1800.

(2) Udny to Wellesley, Sept. 11, 1800.

(3) Letter of Mr. F. J. Cox concerning Bengal (1808, pp. 21-30).

(4) This interesting controversy is contained in volume 108 of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the Bengal; the Directors of the Company, to Lord Dundas, President of the Board, mentioned in letter, vol. 18, p. 218): "Two years, then a year or two have been disputing about our rights, the Board declaring the same (taken) intention of interfering with it. That question we rather desire this period our rights and powers of acting have been completely acquiesced. Even (up to this we have) partially submitted to restrictions and attack, ..."

in Indian-built ships," says Taylor, the historian, "caused a sensation among the monopolists which could not be exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared on the Thames. The shipbuilders of the Port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm. They declared that their interest was in danger and that the handiwork of all the shipwrights in England would certainly be reduced to starvation"[7].

It seems, however, that the regulations of 1802 did not really result any serious change[8]. The Company by its policy prevented the private traders from enjoying any of the anticipated advantages. The demand for allowing other than the Company's ships had been based on the assumption that they would be free from the failure to which the Company's shipping was subject. But events proved that some class ships had been engaged by the Company. Any ten seamen from the same will. They were liable to be detained both in London and in India at the discretion of the Government, at no cost with troops or stores from one presidency to another. The consequence was that the shipowners of Bengal which had been the strongest protest for their admission to trade in India. It could happen, for instance, that if the owner of the [illegible] Bengal-built ship, [illegible] per ton on the supposition that [illegible] would perform three voyages, but owing to [illegible] only one, he suffered a loss of [illegible] per ton. That would hardly be deemed a rate of [illegible] per ton [illegible] which did not compare favourably with the rate charged on the Company's regular ships.

Furthermore, the freight charges considered to be higher than what they might have been, had the merchants been allowed to engage their shipping directly, for then they would cause the ships by which their goods were to be conveyed, whereas under the present system the

[7] History of India [illegible] [illegible] the Institutes, etc., p. [illegible]. From Dundas's letter to Wellesley, March 18, 1801, it appears that no earlier attempt to admit Indian ships had had to encounter protest on the part of the shipowners.

[8] This proved, however, of some benefit to the Indian shipping industry. "From 1802 to 1833 there were built on the Hugli 237 ships of 130,[illegible] tons, and according to the statutory rate of ten seamen of various and [illegible], a number, the most of which was absorbed in the payment of wages to native artificers and labourers, to the great benefit of the country"—R. Abdulali, A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity (1961), pp. 107-8.

[illegible] of cargo consisted at the discretion of the Governors of the Company. Thirdly, the merchants continued to be unable to get the requisite cargoes at the time required, so that if some perishable goods had been brought under a belief of the cargoes being available which proved to be mistaken they were subjected to considerable loss. Lastly, the exports from India continued by a very wide margin to exceed the imports, and yet curiously enough the cargoes continued to be allotted to London.[30]

It is thus clear that the position remained very much what it was before 1813, or, in other words, as long as the monopoly of the Company was preserved, any experiment which might be made for the benefit of the private traders were liable to be defeated by the Company. Thus, therefore, the time for another renewal of the charter received there was a clamorous demand for the abolition of the Company's monopoly.[31] To the usual Constitutional objections there was added over the intrusion of sectarian influence exercised by the Nonconformists. The Bristol petition protested that the act of 1813 had ended the Company's monopoly. With the exception of tea profits in tea and the China trade, to which it was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].[32] In 1833 [illegible] exclusive privileges with [illegible] and the East India Company while retaining the government of India lost its commercial character altogether.

Pramod Deshmukh

[32] Private Papers, op. cit., pp. [illegible].

[30] See the [illegible] of petitions of the merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom presented to Parliament in 1830.

[31] The interesting negotiations on which the Act of 1813 is based are contained in the Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 27, of the India Office Records.

Grace and Forbearance in the Jātakas

Ideal of Justice

The Jātakas abound in thoughtful instructions about the importance and necessity of a conscientious discharge of legal duties. Repeated emphasis is laid on impartial judgment. Indifference and precipitancy are not to be found. Calm consideration must be given to the different sides of the case. The king, who was the fountain of justice, was repeatedly warned to have no regard whatsoever to his own will or wishes in administering justice.[1] It is wrong for one who knows what is act without trying the case.[2]

The following verses testify to the high standard of justice:

> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible]
> [illegible][3]

The house of a Brāhmaṇa (Sudā) was once burnt, so it is in keeping, regarded as a symbol of regard and unbiased justice.[4] Among others,

1. Jātaka, II, p. 4.
2. C., III, p. 138, "based upon unbiased letter in justice, judge for instance."
3. C., III, p. 138, [illegible] cf. [illegible] Commentary to the Dhammapada: Buddhist Wisdom Series, [illegible], pp. [illegible].
4. C., I, p. 175. [illegible] Commentary (Dhammapada [illegible]).

[illegible] is an essential quality demanded of a judge [illegible] [illegible].[illegible] Punishment should be exacted with 'careful attention' [illegible], proportionate to the nature and degree of the offence committed.[illegible]

All these are no doubt sound maxims and wise instructions bequeathed to the Kings. These are ideals worth striving for, but translation into practice.[illegible] But the general impression that one gets from the various stories is that in the days of which the Hittites spoke, the administration of justice was not all that we desiderate.

The King as the fount of justice

The king was regarded as the fount of justice. In fact, the chief (or model) (or as understood this), all the same were heard and decided by king in person, so it is always to the king or the Queen that the usual wrongs quoted above are addressed.[illegible] As a rule the King tried to hear cases, and we may conclude that, the King 'ordinarily went each morning to the court house' [illegible] 'at the Gate' [illegible] [illegible]. In an instance some of his ministers decided for him, e.g. the governor, the envoys and [illegible] the princes were called in judges, in addition to their normal duties in their respective spheres of action. A judge was called [illegible],[illegible] and there were many times. Cases are judged as we be assured from the term '[illegible]' as mentioned and in the myths.[illegible] 'In case Zinada the wrongs is given to Dev.'[illegible]

The Hall of Judgment is frequently mentioned,[illegible] where the judges appointed by the king[illegible] sat and attended to their daily duties. There is

1. *J.*, III, p. 110; IV, p. 30; cf. *J.*, IV, p. 40, phrase 196.
2. *J.*, III, p. 100; phrase 180; p. 101, phrase 1; IV, p. 40, phrase 126, also text, phrase 132-33.
3. Akkadian word has been in available equal and impartial justice, written by Hrozny, see Hittite Akkad. 13—[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], p. 200.
4. Hrozny, [illegible], 16, p. 186.
5. *J.*, II, p. 3—[illegible] (Bernhard von [illegible] [illegible]), pp. 186-91, 5, p. 5; VI, p. 106.
6. *J.*, VI, p. 102; 108, p. 196. 7. *J.*, II, p. 180; VI, p. 46.
8. *J.*, V, p. 420, 'Israel gives victim [illegible] [illegible] ... [illegible] [illegible]'.
9. *J.*, I, p. 150; 18, pp. 6, 105, 107; 11, p. 106; 17, p. 108.
10. *J.*, V, p. 100; VI, pp. 32-38.

an adversary to a definite code of law by which the judge may guided in deciding the cases, but we do come across such passages as these: "he acts 'exercise justice in this way' and 'he had righteous judgments inscribed on a golden plate'"[7] or "How he wrote a book of judgments to be written" and acts: "by observing this book ye should act thus."[8] The question of the authenticity of such books in Sanskrit lacks, and there is no reason why the existence of such useful works should be doubted, when one of the functions of a government was to administer justice in the technical sense of the term.[9] It is also possible that, a body of precedents had grown up by that time.[10] Still with all this, the question of deciding cases depended largely upon the personal characteristics of a judge, his nature, wisdom, temperament and even prejudices. For in the stories, judgment is often mentioned with bribery.[11] It is rather strange to say that there was no authority or systematic procedure in which the cases were decided and to find the frequent mention of the squabbling of a bad judgment of one by others. The accused, the opposition, the proof in each case are mentioned—what happened to some upset the cases and to which the party who had lost his cause appealed for redressal.[12] The one who judged rightly was applauded by the people and then he could be formally appointed by the king as a judge.[13] In one of such instances, the king while appointing the man to judgeship gives the following directions as to the time and the way in which he should frame his daily routine: "It will be to the advantage of the people if you decide cases. Accordingly you are to sit in judgment. ..... You need not try cases the whole day, but ..... sit in the place of judgment at early dawn and try four

[7] J., V., p. 320—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[8] J., VI., p. 280—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[9] Bal Krishna in his Department of Justice, Lucknow, 1936, pp. 108-09.

[10] Bimla Rao, Economic and Political conditions as reflected in the Jataka, p. 82; cf. Shamasastry, [illegible], (1), p. 126.

[11] J., II, p. 280; V, pp. 108-09; VI, p. 88.

[12] J., II, p. 187; V, p. 186; VI, p. 88.

cases: thus saying, ——and, after partaking of food (at 3 or 4 o'clock noon) cases.[1] In this way he was required to try only eight cases per day. This arrangement was apparently made for the convenience of an officer whose time was usually occupied by spiritual work and we have reason to believe here and elsewhere[2] that, the court sat the whole day, from morning to noon after which all business was at stop.

Trial

Let us now proceed to have a glimpse of the nature of cases which came before the king or his court of justice and the procedure followed in the decision of them.

The cases said for a law-suit in aya and the actions are called the appellation. 'Officially' here was a great hostile movement among the nailing actions in the presence of the royal palace where generally the Court of Law was adjudged.[3]

Theft and robbing cases in fact form the most primary cases that come before the Court for adjudication.[4] Very often an innocent man was arrested on a charge of theft and brought before the Court. In fictions of fortune with a view to which confession of a robber were provoked.[5] A simple thief, consequently, perfectly innocent man, is arrested by the king's men (people) on a charge of theft of the queen's pearl necklace, and is forced to plead guilty of the charge only to avoid the troubling and sufferings those which treated to him. 'If I bear the charge, I shall die with the hoping I shall get free from these sufferings. I'd better say I took it.'[6] Then the case had to continue. And when brought before the king he entirely implicated the Treasurer (purohita), the latter, in the same manner, implicating the Chaplain (purohita), he the chief musician and thus a courtesan who already denied ever having received the necklace.[7] All the five prisoners were, however,

[1] J., I, p. 199; [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[2] Cf. Hopkins: 'and what are their cases, the ordinary kind of judicial replies to Indra'—[illegible], [illegible], p. 18; also [illegible], I, p. 302.

[3] J., I, p. 464. [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[illegible] and pleased. Another very interesting story[illegible] is that in which Dhammapala, a critical government servant, "the most [illegible] man that ever was born in the world", should charge of four offences, viz., (1) non-return of cattle taken on loan,[illegible] (2) misbehaving, (3) murder, and (4) injury to a horse.

He is brought before the king together with the plaintiffs. In a partially published version, the proceedings are related in the story. The plaintiff, in each case, sets forth his complaint. The king [illegible] (Dhamma) the accused, about its correctness. The latter, on every occasion replies in the affirmative, but he also places his own story by way of justification of the case, without making any mention of it. The king commissions the complainants and finds them guilty of 'wilful omission or denial of truth.' Even both the parties are found guilty and deserve to be punished. The judgment concluded with [illegible] as every such the branch of a Bijaka tree[illegible] The judgment on the first charge runs thus: "You failed to present the cows and therefore you are the debtor for them. But this man, in stealing that he had not more from, left without his. Therefore you will pay two hundred shall pieces for your and you will pay[illegible] pieces of money as the price of the [illegible]." On the second charge the judgment runs: "Worthy, just take the cows with its young ones and when a cow shall be born to you, hand this cow to the herdsman." As for the third charge, this man must have a father. But you cannot bring him back from the dead. Then take his mother to your house and be you her a father to him!" And on the fourth: "This man has told a direct lie in saying that he did not tell you to bind back the horse. Now may you cut his tongue, and then pay him a thousand pieces for the horse's price." All the complainants were, however, dumbfounded at this and departed.

As to the judgment and punishment awarded in these cases, you noticed on first sight, we may safely pass them off as not reliable, for there is absolutely no trace of describing the motives of such charges

[illegible] I, 11, pp. 291 f.

[illegible] Cf. translation of the Jataka in the Lion of [illegible], VII, 11 : E. H. Kane, Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, p. 116.

[illegible] Op. cit., p. 118.

brought before the Court for decision. There we read, yet another adventure of Gāmaṇicanda, we learn that one was to pay a fine for causing abortion or give compensation for any loss for which one might be liable.[30]

In the tale[31] we notice that, there is nothing like recommendation as we may understand to have been prevalent at that time. Only the judge himself questions the parties and decides anew.

Among other cases, those of disputed ownership seem to have been of common occurrence, in almost all of which justice is shown to the weak and helpless orphans. Several rightful owners are found deprived of their property.[32]

Once a contested case came to the Court to take advice as to whether, in the eye of the Law, she was still bound by the vows of a contract entered three years before with a man who had since died, yet needs to appreciate.[33] The judge advised her to prove to be former promise. This makes the Said Law, such rights providing contractual rights and obligations were lived in the law courts.

Much more valuable is the reference to a man who a father, who does not wish his 'Widow' son to inherit his property, goes to the Court and disinherits his son.[34] This more amply the existence of the necessary written records in generation of the family and also of the Court.

There is a vague reference to Revenue for the sake of proving the chastity of women,[35] but it does not appear that, it was a provident system employed and supported by the government as some Kōṭṭhās through concurrence with that institution as recommended by the Law-

30. J., IV, p. 300—[illegible] (this guarantee of [illegible] no [illegible]) [illegible] 'no [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]'.

31. Cf. also J., II, pp. [illegible] Here one of the litigant parties is a [illegible].

32. J., II, p. 200—[illegible] [illegible] Lawyer, V, pp. 2, 300, VI, p. 150; cf. also J., II, p. 57—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

33. J., II, p. 200.

34. J., V, p. 400—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

35. J., I, p. 304.

[illegible]ship,[illegible] does not mention it, critically, because he regarded such ordeals as unreasonable superstition.[illegible]

Legal Procedure

In the instances of cases that we noticed before we saw how a person intending their claims and counter-claims by the opposite party. There are some references to rules which if constituted and covered in their application would seem more act of legal practice. 'Dress'[illegible] we are told, a certain Bodhisatta earned his livelihood by following a rulers. In one place[illegible] rulers applies to 'trade', whereas in another[illegible] to the administration of justice. That it was with the latter is also clear from the expression: in *Dhammaram rajap kheci, vinicchayam avaccaro* ... *amaccam pi dhammam* [illegible] *vinicchaya-sabha, anusasing akaraharo*.[illegible] Thus the procedure of rulers with [illegible] resulted in the place that [illegible] by the law-courts and the [illegible] were guilty in the Order (*dhamma*, though not [illegible] it was in 'actual fact'.[illegible] Though we have no details regarding the holding of courts, the instances already cited, we have shown that the complainant [illegible] and he answered [illegible] *vinicchaya*, probably [illegible]. Witnesses (*sakkhi*) were to produced,[illegible] though we have no clear indication for this. Perhaps on the evidence of a witness, [illegible] considered as the same as [illegible], according also to the Abidan Nibbana, seems to show.[illegible]

(8) See CBD., I, pp. [illegible]; F. H. Dawson, Public Administration in Ancient India (p. [illegible]).

(9) See Bhadrika Birth Lore, [illegible], pp. [illegible]; Chapman Pitta, p. [illegible].

(10) I, [illegible], p. [illegible] [illegible].

(11) I, [illegible], p. [illegible] [illegible].

(12) I, [illegible], p. [illegible], [illegible].

(13) I, [illegible], p. 3.

(14) See Khadira, Birth Lore, [illegible], pp. [illegible]; [illegible] in [illegible] Pitta Pitaka, [illegible].

(15) This is contrary to Hindu, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

(16) I, [illegible], p. [illegible], v. [illegible].

(17) I, [illegible], p. [illegible], v. [illegible]; Pitta Pitaka (P., Burma, [illegible]), [illegible], p. [illegible].

On the whole, it seems that the court was a distant place by itself, with something of legal atmosphere pervading it.[illegible] With the growth of various trades and professions, special judgeships were instituted.[illegible]

Crime and Punishment

We have noted above the nature of some of the more [illegible] offences that came up for trial and punishments meted [illegible]. Striking to [illegible] punished with heavy fines.[illegible] Some wine-merchants, were accused of [illegible] making, are stated to be executed by the king.[illegible] Healer was punished with a fine of [illegible] *kalippuram*.[illegible] Adultery in women (but that in men is more relaxed) is as something punishable: was punishable with death, imprisonment, mutilation or even shaving [illegible].[illegible]

Punishments were of various kinds: fines, imprisonment, mutilation, banishment and death penalty (*vadhaDandaMuvvaraMadhya*).[illegible] Of the four [illegible] *Kalinga* [illegible] king, one is mentioned to consist a thousand [illegible] *Kalinga* [illegible], another to be imprisoned in chains.

(8) It would be interesting and also [illegible] information in this connection to observe the [illegible] and realistic photographs of these days represented on a [illegible] at Bodhi. The [illegible] is taken from one of the [illegible], [illegible] 1966. A reproduction [illegible] the description of the scene as given by [illegible] in his *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. [illegible]: Angela, the [illegible] wife, whose husband is [illegible], has been [illegible] in which she assigns an interview for [illegible] of the window of the same night, and it is also to great capacity [illegible] that she seems her [illegible] to be packed by her servants. At the [illegible] shown by the sculptor, we see in the midst of the court: the king is seated on his throne, surrounded by his [illegible], with [illegible] right side, viz. of the women of the harem is raising a [illegible]; [illegible] is standing on the other side, but [illegible] hand on the shoulder of her [illegible], and in her arms, the [illegible] of [illegible] of the [illegible] have already been [illegible] and the heads of three of the [illegible] [illegible], while two [illegible] bring the [illegible]. See Ibid., pl. V, fig. 3; Huntington, *Origin of Buddhist Art*, p. [illegible], fig. 3.

(9) J., IV, p. [illegible]; [illegible] (Pali-English Dictionary). See also, *Bhaja Bowls*, [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible].

(10) J., I, p. [illegible]. (11) J., V, p. [illegible].

(12) J., I, p. [illegible]. (13) J., V, p. [illegible]; also J., [illegible], p. [illegible].

(14) J., V, pp. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (Pali-English Dictionary, IV, 3; [illegible], V, [illegible], IV).

the field to be ploughed with a spear, and the fourth to be crucified.[illegible] Confiscation of property was not uncommon.[illegible] Excepting the criminals to death under the list of slaughter-men have been in vogue.[illegible] But such cruel and harsh punishments were reserved to be the case of wild thieves and robbers. Some offenders were sometimes banished from their country in great humiliation, with all their property confiscated to the state or were ordered to live in the Pundala settlement.[illegible] Hearing the heads of criminals was regarded as a severe punishment.[illegible]

Thefts and highway-robberies were not uncommon in those days. And it is not at all wondered that the kings of those days very often dealt very severely with these criminals. In some first, an legal punishment, some of the kind of which we have spoken before, was given through to such cases. Sometimes punishment by the king seems to have been the ordinary course. "Whenever a thief was brought out," he was first of all beaten by the people themselves and then dragged before the king for punishment.[illegible] Sometimes, although investigation is made to find out the criminal, such as by showing all the city-gates and searching the suspected places.[illegible] Private life is thief even to me.[illegible] Though such statements in the Jataka are probably the king as "all with him, begets life on the road,"[illegible] are parts of the hundred cases, it is nevertheless certain that judicial punishments in Jataka

[illegible] J., VI, p. [illegible] shows [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the criminal on a wooden stake,[69] and the otherwise by axe,[70] were not uncommon. This whole spectre of execution and the office of the executioner (*sesqhetaw*)[71] seem to present a realistic picture through the description of the victim which we should note.

Execution

When a person was to be executed as to be executed, special accommodation (*sqhfdwt*) was made.[72] The condemned man was tightly bound, his hands behind his back, and a garland of red flowers (*hnqmwrw mdymdt*) was placed around his neck. He was splashed with halal dust on his head and then, arranged with wings on every square (*sesdhkw*) and was led away through the north gate to the place of execution (*sqhfdwt*), to the music of hammering drum.[73]

The figure of the Gerghtheb is as distinct as it is cruel. A bracket (*ghemwt*) on his shoulder, and a flower wreath (*hnqmwrwt*) in his hand, dressed in a gallabiya (*mdqmdqmwt*) and adorned with a red garland (*mdymdt*), he manipulates his terrible profession and prepares himself for his cruel task.[74] There in the place of execution (*sqhfdwt*), the condemned person was placed with the "Vital circle" (*dhwwwqmdkhyt*), and he was put on trial.[75]

Punishment

Let us now turn to the full administration of those days. Begins prisoner—headhunting—old world.[76] Did we do not know

69. *A*, 18, p. 6a; 19, p. 3b; 75, p. 5; cf. Moss, 1935, p. 88.

70. *J*, 13, p. 13a; 18, pp. 12, 13(b); 5, p. 30b.

71. The executioner was also known as *Khwrt* (*ghwr* the judge) who had many: *J*, 13, p. 6; 75, p. 46; — 30b, 31.

72. *J*, 5, p. 13b; 18, p. 3b.

73. *A*, 1, p. 30b; 13, p. 38b; 31, pp. 3b, 10b; 17, p. 13; cf. the figure of the condemned man in the Hwrkhyt-Ghebr.

74. *A*, 18, pp. 3b, 10b(c); 5, p. 30b.

75. *J*, 13, p. 6; 18, p. 13b. A curious idea is mentioned in a public, ca. 1000, inquiry in an 1007. See *J*, 75, p. 46, where it is said that "the society should not allow the executioner, nor should he serve all the victim in a dirtiness list".

76. *A*, 1, p. 30b; 31, pp. 3b, 10b; 7, p. 40b; 75, pp. 3, 10, 30; 47.

what kind of offenders were imprisoned or how the period of imprisonment was apportioned in accordance with the seriousness of the offence. Innocent and trivial activities are often thought into prison for plotting against the life of an innocent man,[70] for what have we are not told. As to the life of the prisoners, it was very hard indeed. They were bound in chains of iron (*santhāgāra-bandhanam*).[71] The sad and miserable plight of a starved prisoner (*nikkhamanakā*) is taken as a standard of comparison for a person who has not halted the days together, are chained for month are performed any bodily affections.[72] The stories seem to suggest that the prisoners were wholly at the mercy of the king, their life and death were in his hands. A king, in order to save his own life from a pothin, promised to send to him one man daily as his food. His ministers encouraged him by saying: "Do not trembled, there are many men in the jail. The king at once began to send one prisoner daily and after a time the jails became empty."[73] In the same way in another place,[74] the prisoners are mentioned.

In case of outlaws even the prisoner were blown upon and the relatives, thieves and robbers were employed as spies and fighting men against an enemy.[75]

In certain special occasions also like the return of a prince from Takkasilā[76] or his marriage and coronation,[77] or on festivals,[78] general release of prisoners was declared by beat of drum (*bherīsaddaṃ ghosetvā*).[79]

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70. J., VI, pp. 197-98. 71. J., VI, p. 487.
72. J., VI, p. 9, cf. *Ibidem*, IX, p. 98.
73. J., IX, p. 208-and compare, total transformation manner in ——— [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].
74. J., V, p. 400. 75. J., VI, p. 487.
77. J., IV, p. 126.
78. J., V, p. 404, VI, p. 28, v. 116.
79. J., VI, p. 207, v. 1000-so that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Taxation of Vijayanagara

It may be stated at the outset, that one of the most important factors that contrast the affairs of the Empire of Vijayanagara with those in medieval times, was the immense revenue which first Europeans could command even from the very earliest stages of her political importance. Tradition has kept this fact in the mythic story of Vijayanagara and the shower of gold for its giants.

The system of taxation was very productive and efficient. Three features characterised its system, firstly, the ancient Hindu theory; secondly, the usage of the Cola and the Hoysala kingdoms, and lastly, the Muhammadan practice.

The principle of a tax, into the mind in Vijayanagara, as it is now. The modern view of the nature of a tax is stated by Prof. Seligman to be the phrase of a Hindu 'quid pro quo' between the taxpayer and the public authority. The definition of Kautilya and Manu are consistent to this, and date to the complexity system.

In Vijayanagara the use of different terms like gatha, pattam, nirkh, vaddaya etc. clearly that they recognised the essential features of a tax as distinguished from other financial obligations to the state. I do not mean to suggest that there was any clear cut distinction between Taxes and Receipts. Such an absolute distinction is almost impossible, now, because in every case both the elements are inter-mixed. Again the definition of a tax cannot be pressed too far because of the doctrine that the State owes to the people.

Apart from the term Receipts that I use to signify several receipts, Sri. Sastri mentioned were "public revenue" to differentiate certain other features of a tax system non-existent in Vijayanagara, such as paper money (notably put into circulation, or the receipts from public harmonings, or the sale of seals.

Sastri's name Sastri to successor to the meaning from the term "public receipts," that I have used, though I believe that it comes more than mere contract rights and the social duties of the modern times.

In Ugaritic public receipts were quite important. They were receipts from public property partly held, such as the royalty on silver and bronze that were based not, Schorbe and probably good-Roberts, were like the royal palace, etc., and not from land as distinguished from land revenue etc. But it is important to include any receipts that the state received on earlier that level, because these were an element of a tax even in the Sumero Kiyaskeo-ugar's rule of Ugarit.

Developing this distinction we found Lure we have "Taxes ordinarily so called". This includes (1) Land likewise as distinguished from Land rent, (2) Contract and Duties, (3) Taxes on the free and plantations, (4) Taxes on Houses, (5) Taxes on certain persons like Kings, Judgments, Knights, merchants etc., (6) Taxes on professional classes like the soldiers, shipowners, temple-priests, and even shepherds. (7) **Taxes on Commodities** like the sale of slaves, (8) and lastly, on commodities like the implements of work, etc., tools, furniture, weights, oil-press, engravers and chariots etc. Articles of consumption like fish, eggs, wine, grain, fertilisation etc., luxurious possessions like gold etc., and **miscellaneous** provisions for village tavern, grain, and tower work also taxed.

We then have **miscellaneous** Lefrancois, which often formed a very considerable amount. This bulks the mental of our division.

Thirdly, there are the Land Taxes. There is no direct textual evidence to prove the key of these, though there are several hieroglyphic about the remuneration of Royal Labour. If we can distinguish this from the labour exacted as a tax on subjects and workers, we may get an Lutayan of a Royal Land of earning, which, in terms of economics, is very little different from a Royal Tax of commodities like gold.

Fourthly, we have penalties and fines, judicial or administrative.

To these seem to added a few other items in which the tax element predominates, though they are not taxes in the strict sense of the term.

Firstly, we have the receipts from enterprises carried on by the State with the use of monopoly power to raise the prices above the competitive level. Kiyaskeo-ugar's rule of Ugarit seems under this head, because it was a state monopoly, and the prices were

mind or most cases show a possible competitive level so to be able to cover the cost of the total number of horses that he bought, though he retained the best of them for his own use.

Secondly, we have the voluntary gifts. A comparatively large number of inscriptions dealing with this subject leads us to conclude that this was quite a regular and substantial factor in the state's income. The idea of the maintenance of Dharma was so dominant in that state which stood supremely as a champion of Dharma, that any help rendered to the king in performing his Dharma was in itself a pious act and conducive to merit. These gifts took several forms. There were conventional presents at the birth of a son and a daughter (respectively, five Tuka presents, presents of a religious nature, and other conventional presents given occasionally to superior merit).

Thirdly, there are the special payments.[1] I do not think that there were any special assessments from Bhoja's the people of Vidarbha might have sanctioned the increase in the value of property by special circumstances, like the building of a new temple or the construction of a tank (lake or a canal).

This classification by Dhanapal Sarat Sir adopts classification of the Bhoja Sangraha. The classification of Bhoja is based on the rule of the tax and the Sacrifice-Offering, says:

> 1/50 on cattle and gold.
>
> 1/10 or 1/8 or 1/12 of the crops etc.

Kautilya's classification is based on which intensive commodities, as for instance gems, timber, and elephants under the head of the treasury, silk, flows, wights, glass, pottercliffs, prostitutes and gambling under the head of the forts and so on. Sukra's classification is much better, and I have tried to follow him as far as possible. But even Sukra is confused when he tries to differentiate engagements and charges. Dr. Shamsha translates the Sanskrit as "what is received without cultivation or ploughing." Sukra is author's contribution. The latter is interpreted as the fixed payment. Whatever be the etymological grounds for this interpretation, I do not see the point in this. Again, in what sense does

1. By special assessment I mean what Prof. Seligman defines as "a compulsory contribution, levied in proportion to the special benefits received, to defray the cost of a specific improvement to property, undertaken in the public interest."

Aylmer thinks of with an Hindu footing? Some traits seem that which is dependent with the state on one scholar interpretes. It is to avoid these difficulties that I have adopted my present classification.

We can go a little further and consider all these in the light of the popular division of taxes, as direct and indirect, temporary and permanent, on income and on capital, on property and commodities and on persons and on things. I will not go into the details, however, partly because it is largely a matter of theoretical interest and partly because such differentiation is more apparent than real in many cases.

It is obvious from the incomplete nature of what that the Vijayanagara rulers were not believers in the single tax system. Even if we within the notion of a single tax so as to include all taxes measured on income or on the capital value of property, it does not include all the taxes in Vijayanagara particularly the taxes on Religion, Kings, on marriages etc. A Multiple Tax system was preferred firstly because the Hindu mentality allowed a wide margin in the varying of taxes, especially in extraordinary times, and secondly because of the special factors which brought about the rise of Vijayanagara. A third reason, I believe, is mainly, if not purely, economic. That is the issue of equity of the rulers and the relief of Vijayanagara—the idea that it would lead to very bad distribution of taxation to allowing certain people with great wealth especially to escape.

The existence of a Multiple Tax system in Vijayanagara worked off two of the worst evils of a tax system based on a single tax. Accordingly as between persons were easily converted by one tax if not the other, and practices were less easy, perhaps non-existent.

A special feature of this multiple system comes to us the fact that the rulers thought that it would be fair as much as possible. The question of its justification or otherwise will be discussed later on. But it is a noticeable fact that opinion in Europe was among the earlier economists as regards its justification. The rulers of Vijayanagara as well as the people seem to have been aware of the fact that "taxation was not for women only." Everybody was aware of the nature of the of the exemption and relation of Vijayanagara, and believed that they were doing their Dharma in paying their taxes to their King. We have a statement in Rajatarangini, Book Four:

"Without wealth a king may acquire religious merit. Life however is much more important than religious merit."

"Every day temporal savings lay religious merit, O Son of Kunti, and it is in consequence of the tendency that the realm of the kingdom extend."

Kaun says,

"Let him not cut up his own rock by digging in hopes for the root of trees by scientific pursuit, by cutting up his own root (or thereby to endure himself or those wounded)."

Sukra also writes on the same Sutra.

In contradistinction from these philosophers go such Sanskrit and say that not only can the mind be increased but the value very considerably upon forbidden fields.

If we bear these ideas together with the conception of the duties of a King (i) from Gods, (ii) the Rishi (iii) people must have realized their participation in the maintenance of Dharma. To this we have to add the spiritual or private people expressed in their inscriptions recording relatively unselfishness of various kinds.

There were other reasons that also contributed to a Multiple Tax system. The spirit of the ancient Hill-dwelling Jaits of Southern India to be something akin to that of Arthur Fleming, quoted by Dwaddle in Kilsyth: "If I were to fashion a good system of taxation, it should be that of taxing lightly on an infinite number of points, heavily on none." The very fact that they wanted the community at large to feel the taxes, made them take recourse to this multiplicity of taxes so that the burden may not all be felt by any one section. Besides the fear of credit or some necessity of critical of non-payment of taxes as numerous inscriptions show, made the material relinquishing something any one particular section.

A third cause is the historical one. Dr. Dubois stresses the importance of this cause when he says: "Almost everywhere, and even in Kinan Dwaddle, whose tax system is simpler than that of any other important modern community, the so-called historical reasons have led to a needless multiplicity of taxes and to needless complexity in methods of assessment." In India, this group of causes had much greater importance, especially in Vijayanagara times. The Vijaya-

[illegible] [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] to the Hoysala and the other pre-Vijayanagara dynastic traditions. One needs only to look into the [illegible] of taxes in the Vijayanagara and the Hoysala, Tamil and Telugu Kingdoms, to see that this is true.

That the rulers of Vijayanagara inherited from the same dynasts an all elaboration of Multiple Tax system was found to reflect, if they carry their arguments to its logical limits. Finally, the total money burden of the tax on the community as a whole was by no means lost because it was widespread. I will refer to it presently when dealing with the question of incidence. Apart from this it was not good from the point of view of ease of levies of the taxes.

Now we come to the question of incidence. There is another word that is remembered as much as this one, I mean the word tax. Prof. Dasgupta proposes to discard the term altogether, but it is surviving and is still [illegible] popular. This has to be carefully distinguished from the [illegible] money burden, and the term the direct and indirect and burden of taxation in the system of taxation. Even [illegible] writers on this subject, Dr. H. A. Gulshan, are not clear about this [illegible], which for me shows that the incidence must have varied from particular to particular [illegible] the religious [illegible] of people from one [illegible] to another. We have remarked on the fact that, actually incidence was for the most important cause of their migration. Though the incidence of the tax for the same in two provinces, migration may take place if the total direct and indirect and burden of the tax in the two provinces, and the indirect money burden of the tax or tax system in one province than another for in other factors.

Again, as we have already seen, the system of taxation must be considered as a whole in judging the incidence. Yes, even if the incidence of one tax is very light in one particular province or community it may be counteracted by the greater incidence of another tax on him, or on that community. Again, as Prof. Bastable points out the existence of varying standards of comfort even amongst the lowest classes of different times and places must be recognised in order to arrive at a satisfactory concept of the incidence. Bastable and above the physical requirements, there is what Mill calls "Moral Requirements." When that

incidence is accepted, there is something on which incentive may fall. In other words, to evaluate the incidence of a tax we must know its effect on the standard of life. This is the obvious mistake that most persons make when they read the list of cases of taxes provided in Vijayanagara or any ancient empire, and compare them with the present cases, completely ignoring the varying standards of comfort and the others on the standards of life. This is, in fact, the most important factor in our historical study of any Taxation system.

Some economists have tried to prove that the doctrine of capitalization of taxes is fallacious, but they have erred in taking the opposite extreme. The advocates of the doctrine of capitalization of taxes assert that taxes are taken at the permanent money of measure like the Lord taxes and many other taxes of Vijayanagara. Against this million value of the object taxed when they are dear purchased, but that no further a consideration to subsequent purchasers of the object, since they buy knowing that the tax is payable and have thus price tax accordingly. The opponents of this theory argued that were the subsequent purchasers of the taxed object free if the tax is repealed, and so the inconvenience occasioned by the relief they get from the repeal [illegible] by the first purchaser who paid the tax. But this objection seems to play with the word incidence and hide behind a pancy of words the real fact that incidence has two aspects, and that the incidence of a tax may become heavy or greater by the change of other conditions, even if the amount of the tax be the same. The argument that the incidence of a special amount of tax on the sale of land near the modern village of Vijayanagara has been the same during the 13th, 16th and 20th centuries, hardly needs any refutation. Besides, some critics seem to forget that incidence is but one of the many problems connected with a tax, and except in relation to these it has not got as much significance by itself.

One particular feature of Vijayanagara must not be missed in studying the subject of incidence. Dr. Sakaiya writes, "The lord of a general order or of limiting their homes, brought back a reverse society, the results of which were generally accepted as satisfactory." There are many inscriptions both royal and otherwise which show that the kings gave special orders to special officers to look into the matter,

and by some means hoodwinked the market himself. Nevertheless there was actual collection of taxes in general. In other words a compromise was arrived at by collecting a consolidated amount to be paid by the people.

Corporate bodies exercised a great influence in the matter of raising the taxes or getting exemptions or modifications of them. The importance and power of corporate bodies in the political life of South India is great and needs to be thoroughly studied. I can only add here that we have definite inscriptional and other evidence to show the organised activities of prosperous groups of commercial classes, which ruled for their co-operative the fate of the country.

If we now look at the problem of distribution, we must remember that even here we take account of only the direct and not of the indirect burden of taxation. Again we must remember that individual cases in themselves should not be considered as [illegible]. As Dr. Eglton's words, "There may be inequity in parts but equity in the whole."

A sense of equity seems have dominated the minds of the Vijayanagara rulers in the levy of taxes, as were their contemporaries and the differentiation made in the matter of the commodity and the nature of the person affected by the tax. We have simplified representations and enforcement of the six Vedic [illegible] and specific taxes. In the case of land taxes and other taxes on the permanent property the process of taxation, of survey and assessment of certain fields and land rents was followed carefully. Even in these collections certain definite methods or principles were adhered to.

Without much discussion we can eliminate the principle of cost of service and benefit of service, because in my opinion the principle on which the equitable distribution of taxation in the Vijayanagara empire was based was the principle of individual ability to pay. Actually in our times or nearer this to the principle on which the taxation of any country depends on, even if we do not agree that the other two principles of cost of service and benefit of service are impracticable.

What was the Vijayanagara conception of ability to pay? Most of the taxes conform to two principles, namely equal sacrifice, wherein the Chief (many branches of taxation should be so distributed that the

direct real burden on all taxpayers is equal; and minimum sacrifice, whereby the total burden of the taxpayers as a whole is as little as possible. That is to say, there were proportional taxes, like most of the ad valorem taxes such as house or succession, surplus, and some cases of certain taxes on land, and regressive taxes, like the specific taxes ordained per head or per certain weight (where the larger the taxpayer's income the smaller is the proportion that he contributed). The principle of proportional sacrifice and progressive taxation does not seem to be at all understood, though in actual fact the taxes tended to be progressive in many cases where the taxes were levied per unit of value, according to equal sacrifice. Whether this ignorance of the progressive tax was due to the fact that the marginal utility of income diminished slowly in those days, I cannot venture to say at this stage; because it still remains to be discussed whether the marginal utility of income diminished as rapidly then as it does nowadays.

The system of taxation as a whole, I think, tends to be slightly progressive, based on the principle of proportional sacrifice. The principle of minimum sacrifice is ignored and no limit of exemption is allowed. Even the artisans and the shepherds were taxed, though it is very unlikely that they had from all the necessities of life in abundance. But we must remember that utility is a term with a subjective meaning, and that opinions will vary about utility as always changing. Probably in the minds of the Vijayanagara rulers and the people, there was nothing very much that was inequitable in this system, or else it would not have lasted so long. If private bodies and corporations would come to their long leaving on these principles, we should be rash in saying that they were acting against their ideas of equity.

Let us examine the tax system from the point of view of the State. The first point is economy. Mr. Jevons Brown points out that taxes in countries like modern Persia, or Turkey and China, had very little margin over and above the expenses of current collection, and hence were highly unremunerative. To consider this in the case of Vijayanagara, we will have to go into the large problem of the administrative machinery of this empire and into the problem of leakage. But in a general survey like this, I may quote Dr. Fabricius who has gone into

this question deeply through from a different angle. He notes that Krishna adopted two ways of collecting land revenue, land tax applied to other sources of revenue (that) ... (2) Farming out to the rich men in the village. (3) Entrusting to officers of the Central Government with salaries of 1/16, 1/12, 1/8, or 1/4 of the revenue in the area. "Vijayanagara followed this principle and had both." This was so because the revenue administration of Vijayanagara seems to have been thoroughly centralised like that of the Mughal government, which had detailed surveys with accurate measurements, elaborate registers, an elaborate system of civil service and so on.

As regards contract and farming we know that the State level indicate contracts where they ought to be collected very much on the lines of Below, who says, "Dues ought to be collected at the market place, street and taken." "It is to be paid only once either from the buyer or the seller." But all this! It is accordingly difficult to judge, from the scanty bits of evidence, as to what proportion of the revenue collected was spent in the actual collection, and what proportion of the income paid by the tax-payer reached the state. Speaking broadly, I am only say that from just as special factors like the weak influence of farming of the revenue of villages for state is particularly not from the point of view of happiness. The fact that the taxes from the very poor were remitted or relinquished in some cases shows that consideration of necessity prevailed in spite of the firm particular opinion that everybody should contribute according to order that a sense of political responsibility should be widely diffused.

The last point shows that there were no impracticable ideas. Practicability was at the root of the system, and theory stepped in only to justify what already existed in practice. The competency of the administrative machinery in collecting any of the taxes imposed, and the probabilities of evasion and fraud must have admitted the tribes in many of the conclusions that they actually granted, of which we have instructional evidence. Yet one wonders how the ad valorem sixty duties were collected without either too much difficulty and inconvenience to the populace or a great amount of loss to the state.

There is one principle that the rulers of Vijayanagara must have greatly considered, and that is the probability of facing up the source

of use. In an agricultural community where conditions largely value the standard of life, and where the ability of the state to bring in funds a greater for example, was limited by so many factors (including the interaction of corporate bodies and the flows of densities and orders), the principle of "what the traffic will bear" must have been the criterion and in many cases the obvious factor that determined the demands of the state. Every landholder knows that even today it is an area of primary importance, the contract that the cause of the land holds with the actual cultivator is generally restricted, and that the actual return that the owner gets is determined solely by what the peasant can pay after the harvest. The government in the days of Vijayanagara must have been in a similar position in this respect.

From the point of view of the individual, the chief cause of evasion is the ability to pay. This is generally interpreted to mean ability with reference to personal identity, but Sir Lucas Scupp points out that even personal gifts to pay vary in reference to one's bargaining ability.

Various rent of policy have been given by economists. In the measurement of ability, the work of some scholars by Vijayanagara rulers, was helpful, while the system in many modern countries, where people generally think of things by the gold, though the vast majority of people think only in terms of thousands, and make the trade check and of them. A case like the Hoarding Law could not happen in Vijayanagara, for if this society depended on such a system she could have got no land revenue or excise duties from the extremely distributed agricultural classes and petty industrialists. There was not much difficulty about the recognition of the Free Income. This was known, at least in the case of land revenue and revenue from petty industrialists. There was no great likelihood of hoarding of capital. Again, there could be no distinction between earned and unearned income, since the enforcement of the income depended entirely on the mobility of the worker, the recognition of which being granted. In the majority of state formal circumstances and the factor of economic surplus distinction must have caused on the total direct and indirect tax burden of the taxpayer who maintained his activity in low cost monetary method of either a direct or an actual shift.

There are many other problems connected with taxation in Vijayanagara. Like the effects of taxation on the ability and tendencies of the people to work and save, its effects on the distribution of wealth, its economic effects on the community as a whole, its psychological effects and a host of others. These cannot be dealt with here in detail, but before concluding we may note three important points regarding the system in general.

Firstly, there is no society in the world in which the system of taxation has been established, systematically and deliberately. Every where the accidents of political and commercial considerations in past history have been perpetuated, and condition the present system. So was it in the case of Vijayanagara, and to attempt to modernised aspect is to raise probably the most intricate chapter in the financial annals which is now in contrapuntal with practical life. Unfortunately the administrative and other problems relating to the kingdoms which preceded Vijayanagara, have not been provided [illegible].

Secondly, with [illegible] of justice and equity in taxation change with the alterations in the social conditions. As Seligman says, "Powers and necessities are [illegible] and like all the facts of social life, taxation [illegible] only an historical category."

Thirdly, though the Tribunal Royal's Commission of 1904-05 decided that Land Revenue is essentially a tax on things and not on persons, and though Land Revenue formed a large part of the revenue of Vijayanagara, I cannot help thinking that the system of taxation under Vijayanagara was more personal and subjective than what Prof. Seligman has referred to as 'real or scientific taxation.' A personal tax (in order to be successful) must be national, and this was carried out [illegible] in Vijayanagara, because of the peculiar factors which brought it into existence, and maintained it for more than two and half centuries against various odds. To study the system of taxation in the Vijayanagara empire without substituting these factors is like trying to understand the modern post-war economic problems without much reference to the factors that gave rise to them.

At the root of all systems of taxation we have the idea of maximum social advantage. Opinion may differ as to what constitutes maximum social advantage. A typical particular branch impossibility on going and

[illegible] to maximum social advantage. But the problem of taxation loses its infinite importance in respect of maximum social advantage, unless it is viewed in its proper relation to expenditure. Wealth is a means to an end and the relative distribution is bound up with the question of how best that end could be reached. If, apart from taxation, that end could be reached by the action of the community as a whole in the capacity as the state, why not take a lot from the community in the form of taxes? In essence the argument of an extreme Gilbert Stick forces this. But it is necessary to emphasise the importance of the relative position of taxation in the system of finance in any country or kingdom, which again is an aspect of the wider sphere of the factors governing the rise and the existence of the state.

I have suggested a method for the study of the relative problems of not only Taxpayers but of every kingdom and empire for which we have [illegible] statistics account of Stock Rates Lists of rates of taxes added to the statements of individual observations of taxpayers are taken for a year but if the secularise or otherwise of any [illegible] of taxation, of any country, at any time. In the present method [illegible] to adopted is based is a right or a bold conclusion on Data Different from the Statistics. All systems need to be scrutinised over an all [illegible]

P. [illegible]

Sudāsa

Sudāsa was one of the great political figures in India in the first half of the second century A.D. The history of this king has been discussed by Shri Tukaram Rama Desai Ghanti,[1] Mr. R. D. Banerjee,[2] Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[3] and Dr. R. G. Gupta.[4] All of them have not without many important points to the subject on they concentrated their attention mainly to the discussion of the chief incident that remains and the long Rājyavardhana of the Pragupta dynasty. An attempt has been made here to reconstruct the detailed history of Sudāsa with the help of the available evidence.

The earliest reference to Sudāsa is found in an inscription[5] which is engraved in the cave of the Jālādhar of Bhāmagiri, in Cho-ma-na-na of Sarvana, in the Bhadrakal Bhagra of the Province of Bihar. The inscription begins with the phrase "Śrī-Kāṇḍāvanam-Āchārāchāryaḥ" [illegible] Sudāsa, as the inscription. Prior the palaeographical point of view, it is to be placed in the early part of the second century A.D., there seems to be any doubt that Sudāsa, referred to therein, is identical with Sudāsa, the adversary of Rājyavardhana. It is likely to have made the above inscription that Sudāsa began his political career in a small region of the country. But it suggested to him yet long, made by the scholars about the identity of the king who was the rival of Sudāsa. It is not, however, very difficult to arrive at a fairly definite conclusion on the matter.

The Bhadrakal Dynasty, who was ruling in 300 A.D.,[6] was followed in the Bhadrakal chiefs by Śrīvarmāsa, Śrīvīrasena, and Śrīdharmasena in succession. Śrīdharmasena lost his life in the early part of his reign about 320 A.D. If the date 319 A.D. is assumed as

1. Gupta-Vākāṭaka, pp. 1 ff.
2. Bengal Gupta, pp. 90 ff.; History of Orissa, pp. 108 ff.
3. Early History of Bengal, pp. 18 ff.
4. History of Pre-Gupta India, pp. 130 ff.
5. CII, p. 280.
6. EI, vol. XIV, p. 140.

the last year of Śīlāditya's reign, and if a reign of twenty-five years is allotted to each of Harsavardhana and Śrīvardhana, the year of Śrīvardhana's accession falls in 564 A.D. In any case Śaśāṅka, who was a contemporary of Śrīvardhana, was very likely a contemporary of the latter's father Prabhākaravardhana. It is known from the Eyn-Jhyarach or Sho-Dunnaut inscription of *Avalokita II* that Śaśāṅka and Jayavardhana granted the village of Tīrapāla, situated in the Vāhat Vāpya of the Nagara-Bhukti. Tīrapāla is Deo-Baranark, about 25 miles north-east of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad District in the Province of Bihār, where the inscription was discovered. Vāhat Vāpya roughly corresponds to the Shahabad District. This definitely makes that district was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka, and, probably, by a short period of his rule Śrīvardhana.

Dr. Dutt rightly thinks that Śaśāṅka "had his first administrative union established in Śrīvardhana's lifetime, he gradually extended his power by conquest of Śrīvardhana's territory, the world that came place in south, Bihār i.e. Magadha, Bengal and Orissa, up to Rohtas in the west, and the whole country in the north, up to Kalinga (Puri) Orissa, situated in the modern Ganjam district, south of Orissa."[1] In more quite difficult, Dr. Dutt said very true such a vast territory of Magadha, Bengal and Orissa as a feudatory of the Śrīvardhana. In fact, even the territory of the feudatory is to be taken to have been larger than that of the over-lord. Moreover there is no evidence to prove that the kingdom of Śaśāṅka, as long as he was a feudatory, extended beyond the Shahabad District. In ancient time Rohtāgiri, modern Rohtāsgarh, was an important political center. It was the capital of the successors of the Gupta of East Bengal.[2] As the Rohtāsgarh inscription associates Śaśāṅka with that place, the conclusion becomes inevitable that it was his early capital. This justifies the view of Dr. R.C. Mazumdar's remark that Śaśāṅka "was the first great national hero of Bengal of whom history has preserved

1. GEL, p. 180.
2. *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 180.
3. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 8.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

to take measures to the best one. Rama, the indication is quite clear, that some external force was threatening to deprive Bhāskaravarman of his royal position, and it was not possible for him to maintain his sovereign power without an alliance with Rama. It is wonderfully agreed that the enemy, whom Bhāskaravarman was afraid of, was none other than Sudhāsa. Mr. H. C. Seyid rightly states that[29] "Bhāskaravarman of Assam may have left the origin of Sudhāsa's overlordship in order to secure the support of Sudhāsa's enemy Rama to rule his alliance." It is equally possible that Bhāskaravarman wanted his throne of Kāmarūpa from Jayadeva, and was forced to surrender it to Sudhāsa, hoping that recognized Gauḍa from Lāṭa. Sudhāsa's desire to secure Bhāskaravarman realize that his sovereignty of Kāmarūpa was to danger. Whether Sudhāsa actually invaded Kāmarūpa is not known.

Sudhāsa probably made his northern conquests before he proceeded to the west. The Gauḍaḍa pattern[30] record that when Mahārāja Sudhāsa was ruling, Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Siddhapālaḍa II, Prince of the country of Kongoḍa, after the king of the Bhauma power, granted the village of Chandrāhāṭṭa, which belonged to the Bhaṭṭāgrī Vīrya, to a Brāhmaṇa. It is dated Saṃvat 100—A.D. 678. Kongoḍa, which was the chief town of Kongoḍa-Maṇḍala, seems to be identical with Kongoḍa, situated in the Ganjām Agency of the Madras Māṭṭa Presidency. Kongoḍa-Maṇḍala is identified with the Ganjām District. The inscription refers to Mahārāja Ayaśchāndra as the father, and the Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Siddhapālaḍa I as the grandfather, of Siddhapālaḍa II.

Siddhapālaḍa II belonged to the Śailodbhava dynasty, which from some late importance in Kaliṅga.[31] It appears from the Ganjām plates that Siddhapālaḍa I was a feudatory under some king. It may be suggested that Sudhāsa of the Pāṇḍuḍa group[32] during C.E. 575—A.D. 600, was his overlord. But we Ayaśchāndra was not a Mahārāja. This suggests that Ayaśchāndra gained the political power of his family to find of an independent king. But we Siddhapālaḍa

29. History of Orissa, vol. I, p. 58.
30. Ibid., vol. IV, p. 18.
31. Ibid., vol. VI, p. 143.
32. Ibid., vol. II, p. 36.

It was, however, carried to the rock of Behistun entirely by the Babylonian Sakkiku.

A copper plate,[illegible] found in Khotan, in China, was found by Mithraeraja Sakyaśiha. Mithraeraja was the son of Ayamhiha, and grandson of Sakyaśiha. Scholars agree that Mithraeraja of the above grant is identical with Mithraeraja II of the Kaspian plate. The Khotan plate records that Mithraeraja, from his camp of Kuigaka, granted some lands, in the village of Ambrayu, to the Thousand Vihara. It is further stated that Mithraeraja Sakyaśiha got the sovereignty of the whole of Kalinga.[illegible] There are indications in the same record that Mithraeraja did not obtain independent status at the time of issuing this grant. This implies that Sakkiku, having conquered Mithraeraja II, not only annexed the Kalinga-Magadha into his dominion but, the whole of Kalinga. The country of Kalinga comprised Gangaikalinga Vishaya and Vangapatana Vishaya and the part of the Mithraeraja Branch in Pre-Indian Kalinga. According to Khotan Tarikh[illegible] Kalinga was divided between Kalinga, Gauda Kosala, and Andhra, (comprising the Vangapatana District, and the Northern Kalinga to the east of the Ghats). This also is our knowledge that the Kaspian of Sakkiku extended up to the Northern shore in the north-west.

The Kikala inscription[illegible] states that the Chalukya Vijaiyadi II conquered Kalinga and Andhra country. He entrusted the government of Kalinga and Andhra to his younger brother Vishnu Vardhana in the year A.D. 696-97. Two inscriptions[illegible] of Vishnu Vardhana prove that his kingdom extended up to the Vangapatana District. This shows that the whole of Kalinga as described by Hiuen Tsang passed into the hands of the Chalukya dynasty before 696 A.D. Vijaiyadi II actually conquered Kalinga from Sakkiku and his brothers Mithraeraja II, Vishnu Vardhana and his successors held sway over Kalinga for several centuries without interruption.

(1) [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. [illegible], p. 75.
(2) Ibid., p. 98, article Kalingadhipati where [illegible] etc.
(3) Weber, vol. II, pp. 341 ff.
(4) Ib., vol. VI, p. 1.
(5) Author's History Orissa, in 1904, vol. [illegible], pp. 401 ff.

Association of Kōlāgas by Sukkiās implies his occupation of Urāma. The statement, by defending which Sukkiās became the master of Ākāsa, seems to have been disastrous, who was ruling in 500 A.D.[17]

Sukkiās, having consolidated his power in the east, seems to have made a bid for the conquest of northern India. The scandal that broke out there after the fall of Kanauj on the hands of the Maukarī Pratīhāras,[18] facilitated his task. Sujjāsaya killed the Maukhari Grahavarman, and marched the latter's queen Rājyaśrī to the fort of Kāṅgrādēśa. He then marched against Thāneśvara.[19] In the mean time Sukkiās also advanced towards Kanauj, and within a very short time took possession of the city. The statement that Sukkiās occupied Kanauj is supported by numerous evidence. Rājyavardhana, king of Thāneśvara, having defeated the Mālava king, met Sukkiās on his way to Kanauj. But he was slyly to reach Kanauj before he was treated fatalities, he would have forbidden imposed Rājyaśrī.

Sources state that Sukkiās early put off hostilities with the Mālava king against the Maukhāris and the Pushyabhūtis. Hāṅgāsa is no evidence in support of this statement. Hāṅgāsa was not killed Sukkiās responsible for the assassination of Grahavarman, and for putting Rājyaśrī into the prison. The military feelings of the Mālava king about attacked against Thāneśvara. The statement that was undertaken by Rājyavardhana after his victory over the king of Mālava, indicate that he did not even think of the possibility of another struggle with any other enemy on his way to Kanauj. But in spite of the fact that the vanquished Mālava king had an ally in the neighbourhood ready to fight with him, he would not have dispatched his veteran general Bhaṇḍi back to Thāneśvara. In this circumstance, the alliance of Sukkiās and the Mālava king cannot not be taken to have been independent.

Sukkiās, as has already been noticed above, overtaken Rājyavardhana somewhere on his way to Kanauj. The march of the successor Raṅ followed was shortcut to Rājyavardhana. Hence regarding that[20] Bhandavadhana, the younger brother of Rājyavardhana, was informed

17. EI., vol. II, p. 285.
18. Gauḍ, Bandhavādha, p. 12.
19. Harṣa-Carita, vol. VII, pp. 400 f.
20. Gauḍ, p. 18.

by a messenger that "his brother (Bengal) has had carried the Bilara away with affection and, had been allowed to embrace by [illegible] on the part of the king of Gauḍa, and thus respectfully making, and alone, [illegible] in his own quarters." The same authority records that[1] the death of Rājyavardhana took place due to assassination on his part, and gives a number of illustrations which have been gathered from ancient works, such as the Avadānas, Kāmandakīyanītisāra, Bṛhatsaṃhitā etc., in order to show that similar incidents resulting from the same cause, were not unusual in history. More emphasis has, however, been laid on the retaliatory measures taken by the ancient Kings in their dealings with women. In this connection Bhaṭṭa was told that[2] "the shadow of handfuls were striking Deva women had been brought collectively to the lord's bowing."

A commentary on Vāsavadattā, written by Subandhu in the twelfth century A.D., informs that Subandhu through his confidants made a false proposal to Rājyavardhana of giving his daughter in marriage to him. Rājyavardhana along with his ministers went to Subandhu's camp, and while enjoying a feast there was murdered by Subandhu in disguise. Bāṇa's mention of Subandhu in this matter is not known. Yuan Chwang[3] [illegible] Hsien Tsang reports that[4] Rājyavardhana came to the throne after Prabhākaravardhana. "At this time the King of Kamarupa—a king of Eastern India, whose name was Bhāskara Varmaṇa—sent his ministers to these words: 'If a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the congratulation of the (earlier) kingdom.' On this they advised the king to a conference and murdered him." It is further stated that the chief ministers and the magistrates told Harṣavardhana that "owing to the death of his ministers, he (Rājyavardhana) was led to subject his person to the hand of the enemy" etc. The inscription of Kāmarupa states that[5] Rājyavardhana "after upsetting his

[1] Ibid, p. 208. [2] Ibid, p. 184.
[3] Beal's Buddhist Records, pp. [illegible]; Watters, vol. 1, p. [illegible], p. 9.
[4] [illegible], vol. 1, [illegible] [illegible]
[5] [illegible]

remaining, after conquering his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his principles, gave up his life to the ministers of his foe.[11]

According to Bal Bahadur Hirā Chand Chandra and Dr. Majumdar[12] an alliance should be placed on the reports of Rāja and Rāma Tāṅg, who were prejudiced against the enemy of their patron Bhāgyacandra. Harṣa's inscription "does not allude to Śaśāṅka having played any part in it." Śaśāṅka defeated Rājyavardhana in a fair fight. Rājyavardhana had six or seven thousand soldiers after his fight with the Kālāmī king. Hence there was no necessity for Śaśāṅka, who must have been equipped with a large army, to take recourse to unfair means.

It is surprising that the Bal Bahadur has been able to fix up the number of soldiers, belonging to Rājyavardhana, that survived the battle with the Kālāmī king. There is no warrant for thinking that Rāja and Rāma Tāṅg (Chakhāi) by character of Śaśāṅka with accordingly speaking about as he (Śāṅka). Harṣa's inscription is not necessarily hostile of his foe. It makes it clear that Rājyavardhana went to the enemy's camp on the call of justice and not under the pressure of physical force. It is therefore obvious that Rājyavardhana did not go to the camp of his relationship with a view to kill his enemy. The suggestion that Rājyavardhana was invited to a feast by Śaśāṅka, and the former accepted that and lost his life in that fair fight, is ridiculous. The very fact that Rājyavardhana lost his life in his enemy's camp where he went under good, chivalrous, suggests itself that there was unfair play on the part of his assailant. The Śaśāṅka inscription will prove of the fact that he invited from the practice of treacherous's defeat or the disconfiture of his enemies in the hands of the enemy. In his own footsteps, was not in vogue without any special reason. If there was no moral justification on the side of Rājyavardhana, and partly on the part of Śaśāṅka, Harṣa would not in any case have stood to record that deplorable incident in his inscription. The Aphsad inscription[13] records the death of Dāmodaragupta in a battle with the Śaśāṅkas. Here the object of recording this fact is to glorify the

[11] Hoernle's Gauḍa, pp. 4-15; Herly (Ibid. of Brown), pp. 17-18.
[12] GH., p. 308.

victory of the Inca Gryphon over the Hyrdlarks, which was won by the bravery of Dimachangapta, though he lost his life in the battle-mêlée. Rinna's report, as a matter of fact, is supplementary to that of the Inca-priests of Ilatra. The motive which prompted Rahkkh to take overmuch to that market-method to sell very far to seek. Rajgurmilisma's victory over such a powerful thing as Rahkkhatlyr proved his high military skill. This was, no doubt, discouraging to Rahkkh. After his capture of Rinna, he had no other alternative but to fight with Rajgurmilisma, who was resolute to take possession of that city. Rahkkh's hope of victory over Rajgurmilisma entirely vanished when a new trouble manifested him from behind. A noble named Orgyn, whom I am inclined to identify with Dangrgyn, and who previously suffered a defeat at the hands of Rajgurmilisma, besieged Rinna. This placed Rahkkh in between the two armies. He got out of this critical situation by adopting violent means, as [illegible] shows.

Rinna relates that Rahkkhatlyr, on visit to the Inca-priests of Rajgurmilisma's [illegible], presented Gaf[illegible] "a large [illegible] a limited number of days he cause [illegible], of thunder, and [illegible] with lotus on the feet of all Rajgurmilisma [illegible] by the chief city of their home, then will [illegible] with [illegible], into an [illegible] form." Dangrgyn set out [illegible] Rahkkh. He put Rinna on his way, and made [illegible] from him the news of Rajgurmilisma's fight in the Vindlyn forest. Rinna reported to him that he "turned from [illegible] that after his majesty Rajgurmilisma was taken to paradise and Kingdrlyn was seized by the king named Orgyn, queen Rajgurmilisma from her imprisonment, and with her twice entered the Vindlyn forest." The more authentic narrative therefore that Rinna was told by the adherents of Rajgurmilisma that "you are not away from Kingdrlyn, from the imprisonment, then during the Spirit trouble through the action of a noble named Orgyn." The Rinna's trouble, mentioned above, evidently refers to the unhappy incident that occasioned to the death of Rajgurmilisma. The above report with it clear that Rahkkhatlyr had no hand in the matter of the release of Rajgurmilisma. The fact that Orgyn seized Rinna's other the death of

[illegible] Gonzalo, p. [illegible]. [illegible] Ibid., p. [illegible]. [illegible] Ibid., pp. [illegible].

Rājyavardhana, which was already in the possession of Sudeśna, indicates that his relation with the Bengal king was not friendly.

Hence, following the information supplied by Bānabhaṭṭa, ordered him to advance with his army, and himself went to the Vindhya Forest. He encountered Rājyaśrī with the help of a Buddhist monk. The Buddhists must vacillated both the brother and the sister to take up the yellow robe of the Buddhists. But Harṣa expressed his unwillingness to do that till he fulfilled the vow of destroying Śaśāṅka. He then offered a 'fire-chapel' carried out himself on the bank of the Ganges.[8]

Bāṇa closes his narrative abruptly with some vague references to Harṣa's achievements. We dare not tell us whether Harṣa ever came into actual conflict with Śaśāṅka.

Bāṇa says Harṣa on the bank of the Ajitavatī river, which is identified with the Bagri.[9] Perhaps in this Harṣa finished his conquest of Kuśā and the Ekānaṃśā problem.[10] These two expeditions of Harṣa were actually undertaken some days after his military campaign against Śaśāṅka, which was undertaken immediately after the death of Rājyavardhana. It is clear neither that the march of Harṣa's expedition against the Bengal king was before or after.

Bāṇa, on his return to Kānyakubja, his capital village, after his short campaign with Śaśāṅka, Hāṭ Bhāgavata by the Brahmin to inform to them the adventure journey of his gentle king. Bāṇa replied: "What more could possibly arise in a hundred of man's lives regarding his (Harṣa's) doing in full? If however you pass for a year, I am ready."[11] This prattle hopeful clearly that Bāṇa engaged in the middle of his work which concerning the adventure of Harṣa in presence of the scholars, he had made, before he proceeded with it. It follows from this that Harṣa's silence on the result of Harṣa's expedition against Śaśāṅka is deliberate. If this is combined with the report of the Gangam plate, the conclusion becomes inevitable that Harṣa's campaign against the Bengal king met with signal failure. As against this inference it may reasonably be argued that if the result of Harṣa's expedition as that

(8) Cowell, p. 204. (9) Ibid., p. 80. (10) Ibid., p. 79.

(11) Ibid, p. 77. न मनु प्रत्युपकारिणी मनुष्यशतिरमनः नीतेन सहोपकृतः पुनर्यदि तु नीतो उपकारो न तन्न तत्र ।

occasion was not favourable to him, why should Jîva be putting [illegible] word of promise to the mouth of his patron. Hsüan,[14] as has already been noticed above, is said to have prevented, immediately after the accession of the new of Râjyavardhana's death, that he would have him put to death if he would not make the monk free from danger in a limited number of days. The supposed, under above, would have carried great weight had not there been no evidence from an independent source to prove the contrary assertion. The fact remains that Siddhâra maintained his imperial power at least up to 648 A.D., and Hsüan could not fulfill his promise at least within further years after his appointment.[15]

The reasons that induced Siddhâra rebellion against Râjyavardhana, indicate that he had not sufficient military strength at his command, which the situation demanded. The death of Râjyavardhana only saved him from the impending danger. His power there is no reason of knowing whether he made any attempt to measure his strength with Gupta. He seems to have retired to Bengal leaving Gupta master of the kingdom of Magadha. Hsüan, having defeated Gupta, remained in camp up to Mid-October 648 A.D. by which time he celebrated the first quinquennial festival there.[16]

Siddhâra's political power began to decline after 643-644 A.D., in which year Pulakeśin II wrested from him the Trikûta and Gujarat Districts. Hsüan Tsang visited Magadha for the first time in 637 A.D. He remarks that[17] "in recent times Siddhâra, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burned what remained. A few months afterwards Pûrṇavarman, the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha, he given efforts brought the Tree back to life" etc. The same authority reports elsewhere that[18] "in the north (of Siddhâra's

[14] [illegible] P. T. Hsüan, p. 47; Cowell, p. 181.
[15] Ibid., vol. VI, p. 116.
[16] Life of Hsüan Tsang, p. 106. [17] Watters, vol. II, p. 116.
[18] Ibid., p. 97.

temple in the neighbourhood of [illegible] was a Jaina temple in course of construction by King [illegible]. To the east of this about 300 paces and outside the wall of the establishment was King Prapavarman's upper temple of Buddha more than 30 feet high in a ruinous building.[a] It follows from the above reports that Magadha was occupied by Sakiyas, Pravavarman and Jaina in succession. Prapavarman appears to have become the king of Magadha after the death of Sakiyas. In any case Sharp did not conquer Magadha from Sakiyas, but became its ruler after defeating Prapavarman or his successors. Hiuen Tsang tells us that Sakiyas had [illegible] a wife of Rajagriha (Rajgirdeh) [illegible] in his progress to 'Eastern India.'[b] The pilgrim does not say anything about the political status of Pragjyotisha, Samatata, Karnasuvarna and Uttara[illegible]. He visited these countries in 638 A.D.[c] The absence of this account does not imply, as has been suggested by some scholars, that Bengal formed a part of Harsha's kingdom. Hiuen Tsang does not mention anything about the political status of Kalinga and Kalinga. It is known from other sources that they were at that time ruled by the Eastern Chalukyas.[d]

The Purvavidehakulaka, the author of which had a very poor knowledge of Central Indian [illegible] "Shen, king of King Shen of the Kalinga [illegible]. The king Kaul the Nagaraja [illegible] was so much powerful as Sharp. It was called in a Gupta [illegible]. He [illegible] 300 [illegible]. If, the younger brother of K, came to the city of Pragjyotisha in Eastern India to fight with Sharp. By [illegible] force, Sharp was prohibited to move out of his territory, and was asked to remain there. Sharp ruled for 17 years, 1 month, 1 or 2 days, and died, and went to hell. His capital was destroyed by [illegible] pheasants. There there was trouble in the Sharp country. There was a [illegible] for a week, and another for a month. Eventually Sharp's son Bhaiva ruled for eight months and five days. They came Jayasingh on the throne."[e]

Some scholars identify the kings K, C, and Sharp with Bhairavendrasena, Kumaravishnu, and Sankha respectively. The Purvavidehakulaka

a) Watters, vol. II, p. 183. b) Ibid., pp. 184, 5.
c) Ibid., vol. VII, pp. 3940.
d) Jackson, Imperial History of India, pp. 1818.; Text, pp. 3840.

Indpa is full of inaccuracies, and it was written so if to Cancel the real history. The accuracy of the author's historical knowledge in this particular example can be judged from his report that the king it was killed by a king of low caste and not by Sona. Hence little value is to be attached to the above report.

Hiuen Tsang represents Sudhāka as a governor of Buddhism.[19] Sudhāka is said to have uprooted the Bodhi Tree. The Chinese pilgrim acknowledges that Sudhāka reduced Buddhism to a very miserable state.[20]

Sudhāka was a devotee of Siva. Some gold coins[21] issued by him, have been discovered. They bear on the obverse, Siva riding on a bull; symbol of moon above; the legend Sri Sa-dhaka, and the legend Jaya below. On the reverse, Lakṣmī seated on a lotus with elephants sprinkling water over her; the legend always is Sri Sudhāka.

The last known date of Sudhāka is 619 A.D. according to Hiuen Tsang's report to closed his edge some time before 637 A.D. Nothing is known about his successor. The Bengal epigraphist[22] of Belcandra reports that a Gauḍīa ignoty ruled in Rohtāgiri. Vaidyadevaśrī, the great grandfather of Jaiyadeva, was born in the family of that Gauḍīa. No connection can be established between Sudhāka, whose original home was Rohtāgiri, and the Gauḍīa family of Sona Bengal.

R. C. Gaudhry

19 Life of Hiuen Tsang, pp. XLIII.
20 Watters, vol. I, p. 366.
21 Allan's Gupta Coins, p.[illegible], coin-note.
22 Journal[illegible] of Bengal, vol. [illegible], p. 4.

Rajendra Karma Invasion of Bengal and the Origins of the Varman and the Deva

The political power and prestige of the Kalachuri-Haihaya dynasty of Tripuri reached its zenith during the reigns of Gangeyadeva and his famous son Karna. Mahipaladeva Kottabhed in the first half of the 11th century A.D. Karna performed the first annual Trikalika ceremony on the second day of the dark half of Phalguna, a Saturday of the Kalachuri year 750 and the grant was given on the 9th day of the new moon, corresponding to the 18th January 1000 A.D.[1] This places the death of Gangeyadeva in 999 A.D., however. The contemporary Pala kings of Bengal were Mahipala and Nayapala. It is known from the 'Bhadra plates' of Vaidyadeva that Gangeyadeva honoured Samara under the name of 'Vyavahariya'. The Bangaon plates of Karna mention defeats inflicted upon the enemies of Gangeyadeva and it is stated that he had imprisoned the king of the Kira country, defeated the Kerala, 'conquered all the lands of Utkala and was praised the king of Anga'. During the reign of Vigrahapala II Orissa was occupied by a Kerala chief and his son Rajarajadeva I had to recover it. Karna's alliance from the 'Mayas' and Karna's to put certain 'wicked' on the Pala throne had brought in the Kira, Kerala, Utkala and Anga. The order of Anga was, in all probability, a Kira. It is evident that the appearance of an powerful 'monarch' had awakened the greed of the power. Light could have been looked upon with apprehension by the Palas. Again, a colophon of a Ms. of the Bangaon was copied in 'Tirabhukti' in Samvat 1074 in the reign of 'Madanapalladevaya Pralaptavijaya Samrajyaviskhyam Chandrabhaya Jaiyasa-Kirtyaneka'.[2] Madanapala ruled for year 1075 in the Vikrama era, equivalent to 1019 A.D. and identified the king with the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva. Karna, K. P. Khastri[3], H. R. Dasgupta[4] and Tripathi[5] accepted this identification. M. Salim Lal has ac-

1. EI., vol. II, p. 183.
2. EI., Vol. II, p. 183.
3. Ibid.
4. Introduction to Bhaktamara, Bombay, 1940.
5. Bihar Orissa, p. 237.
6. EI., vol. XII, p. 180, v. 10.
7. Mitra Orissa, p. 200.
8. AASR., 1903, p. 18.
9. J.A.S.B., Vol. II, no. 2.
10. Gaudia., Vol. II, pp. 108 ff.

proved to be doubtful[illegible] about the identification because the Rulers did not use the titles mentioned in Avadda and because there is no evidence to show that Bhagadattas had ever exercised any political influence in Orissa or Tibet.

Mr. R. P. Chanda pointed out that Bhagadatta being under the Pālas and the territory to the west under the Chandellas, it is difficult to believe that the Kalinga Bhagadattas could rule over Tibet. The Bodhi Mandiras record that in 1013 Sulina Bhadrā (the working Bodhi) invented Kasaṅg. The Pālaṭāra king Bhagadatta of Kasaṅg tendered his allegiance to the Bodhi brother and allowed the city to be plundered. This enraged the other Bhadra kings of military India and they combined under the leadership of Dānda, the Chandella King of Jejākabhukti and Rāhulpāna, to punish this cowardly act. Under the command of the Chandella crown prince Vidyādhara they captured Kasaṅg and killed Bhagadatta. These events must have taken place in the last quarter of 1013 A.D. after the departure of Sri Bodhi.[illegible] This clearly proves that the Chandellas were a great power and the relations of community over Tibet with Bodhi were broken by them. The invasion of Bhagadatta has already been referred to and it proves that it was in the service of a valid and no pretender political control was exercised.

Dr. R. C. Mitra[illegible] is of opinion that the date 1203 of the colophon is to be referred to the Bodhi and that the king is to be identified with Bhagadatta, the successor of Dharmapāla on the throne of MAGADHA. If the palaeography of the Ms. supports this view,[illegible] it must be regarded as a solution of the problem noted above.

If the conflict of Bhagadatta with the Pālas is somewhat problematical and doubtful, the invasion of Bengal by his son Bhoja rests on the firm basis of contemporary epigraphic and literary evidence. The Bhoraghat inscription[illegible] of queen Alhadadevī states that—

"While the king (Bhoja) of unquenchable heroic prowess fell prey to his foemen.——Vanga trembled with Kalinga.——"

[illegible] Sri Nepal, no. 13, p. 48, fn. 1. 14 JASB., 1905, p. 175.

[illegible] 1905, p. 105, (Bhagadatta of [illegible]).

[illegible] The contents of the manuscript have been published and we cannot give our final opinion without consulting the description of the Ms.

14 EI., vol. II, pp. 14, 15, v. 26.

In the Kurashi inscription[16] of Ashurbanipal, it is stated that he [Kurash] was recited upon by the Gods, Ruhqu, Hanu, Sheshi, Bel-[illegible] and Ilira-[illegible]. In an interesting account[17] of Kurash's war with the king of Hamdu and Magallu, the following information is furnished by the Tibetan biographer of Vipashvara Sriphlam Ahdu:

"During [illegible] conflicts of Vaishnava, a Gypsy lovelyn [illegible] [illegible] Nagaphu, king of Magallu and the Fortuna [illegible] of the West, the latter made war upon Magallu. Telling to replace the city [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

was compelled to give his daughter in marriage with the Pala king. There might have been some other motive behind this matrimonial alliance. We know that Kanya in the height of his power had reduced the chiefs of northern India and During the last part of his reign he suffered many reverses at the hands of the Gurjara Pratiharas,[20] Deccan Chalukyas,[21] Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta[22] and of Orissa Somabamsis.[23] In the height of his power Kanya had practically annexed the Gauda kingdom during the weak rule of Jayanaga. The latter Pala king acknowledge superior Kanyakubja, brother of Dharmapala with the help of his Brihmaya general Gopala restored the Gauda kingdom after vanquishing the power of Kanya. Faced by the south and west by the powerful Chalukya and Pratihara, the racial power of the Gaudas was a great threat to the power and prestige of Kanya. It is plausible, therefore, that Kanya wanted a contented and peaceful Bengal in order to meet the rising tide of his swelling enemies and the motive behind this matrimonial alliance was political. Another thinking which had matrimonial connecting with the Kulaori Kings was the Varman of East Bengal.

Opinions of scholars vary, although as in the origin of the Varmans of Bengal. Dr. R.D. Banerjee opines that Vikramanka of the Varman dynasty founded a new kingdom arising in the wake of the invasions of Rajendra Chola in Jayasiddhi II or Jatasiddhi. Discussing his origin, Dr. R. C. Majumdar observed that

"The military ancestor of Vajrahasta who was only a member of a mercenary royal family, seems to have hardly allowed his territorial independence against such a mighty monarch as Raja Bhoja. He must have gained the reputation of that position with the help of some extraordinary superior power."

We agree with Dr. Majumdar in fact but can hardly accept the conclusion that Vajrahasta, followed Rajendra Cola, showed his prowess and ultimately established himself on the throne of East Bengal after the flight of the other Harikalamandala. There is no evidence to show that the Varmans followed the Cola emperor. It is clear from the Bhubaneshwar plate, the most important record of the

[20] EI., vol. I, pp. 180, 186; and also Pratihara-inscriptions.
[21] BI., vol. II, p. 110.
[22] Bidar, Deccanidas.
[23] Orissa, Subarnadhipatiyamandala, I, 130.
[24] Majumdar, Orissa, p. 116.
[25] Op.cit., 1918, p. 100.

Varman, that the founder of the political fortunes of the family was Hiravarman, son of Vajravarman, whose genealogy in regard to his earlier activities are very vague and general. It is to be particularly noted that in the 12th verse where his military and political activities of Hiravarman are described, great stress[9] has been laid first on his marriage with Vasati, daughter of Surya, and it seems that this marriage had got something to do with his military conquests. Again, though we cannot assuming the bramin of the recently discovered Vajrayogini plate[10] of Bhoja-varman because of the damaged condition, the way in which the words Kalinga and subhadrapati occur, it can be assumed that this marriage of Hiravarman was a great factor in determining the political fortunes of the Varman family. Both the Gaya and the Varman claim to have belonged to the Soma dynasty and the more traditional genealogical names are to be found in their epigraphic records. In the Bara inscription[11] of Bhojavarman, son of the founder of a new Chandraka, it is stated that

"The illustrious Jata was the ornament of the Jadavamsa, who had been in this world, in the intervening time, bringing forth dharma ..... He was nothing great enough among the subjects to give up his territory; due to which of whom (that the Kamrupa Revolution had happened) so long" (v. 14).

It is to be observed that the name in the Bara inscription is Jata while in Kalvan plate the name is Jata.[12] It could have been, indeed, to be, Jata if the reading Jata be correct, the scribe might have (though unwittingly) in the to some other reasons instead of in because the name Jata does not appear to be a standard one.

The logic of historical facts connect the Varman with the Kamata's rather than with the Gaya. According to the traditional

[9] "Thus begins the description of Hiravarman's political antecedents—'Jaya-mana (Kamrupa) ..... (illegible) ..... (illegible) ..... (illegible

of the Bolan pass, the Turanas originally belonged to Pishin proper. Dr. R. G. Bond[1] is inclined to identify this place with Bhagwan (= Bhalli) mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. It is known from the Bonchi and Rehanjungha copper-plates that Bhagwan in Kalinga was the capital of a line of kings whose ancestor ruled in Yamuna and this place has been identified with Bhagwanna between Chicacola and Narasannapeta. It has already been observed that the Kalpavri Gangapadma carried his campaign as far as the modern of Pihala and Kanga (the west territories near Kalinga). It is important to mention in this connection that Kanga received the proper title of Pakhilagalikkam which indicates his political control over Kalinga. It is quite probable that the Delhi armed Quazi's version of the Turanas who were given grain of honour. Alauddin might have encouraged Kanga in his campaign against the Gonda king. Otherwise, by his diplomacy and great serving was the confidence of the Gaj king who was pleased to give his daughter in marriage with him. The two-fold of Gaj-Gang 1306 of the Lower Lunar who was victorious for Kanga in Jaunpur and this perhaps often a better explanation of the fact that a local dynasty of Bhagwan would found an independent kingdom in East Bengal.

Another dynasty which established the Turanas in East Bengal was that of the well-known Deva of Bhagal. A gilt with the figure of the Gaidhan Bhagal with the inscribed name[2] Bhima deva Pilipana, has been discovered in Faridpur, the budget of the Deb Kanga's office. This king 'Pilipana' is generally identified with Pilipanna of the Deva dynasty. That the Deva belonged originally to the

[1] JA., vol. XI, p. 11, Dr. R. G. Bond's down attention to the Jaunpur modern product which records the initiation of a Deva bangle by Kanga, son of a Dhandhara king of the Punjab and in that record mention the line of earlier kings, their seats being in Yamuna. Kanga is described as having descended from a line of Dakora Kings of Bhagawan. Efforts were invited to identify the Bhagawan with Bhagwanpur in the Punjab mentioned by Sayar Hanang. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar remarks that there is nothing in the original itself which supports his conjecture in order it remains. The local site of the location of Bhagawan has been suggested by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in IHQ., 1944, Dec., pp. 1844, the Nidhi Bon the Turanas might have been called from Bhagwanna of Kalinga in the modern Orissa and also that the Dakora of Bhagawan of the Punjab might have traced Bhagwanna in Kalinga.

[2] ASB., 1908-09, p. 56.

Kerala country in the well known, by and repetition. From the statement in the final verse of the Bagger Prasad of the Paramara Udayaditya that Karna "joined by the Keralas had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean," Mr. Jayaswal[29] concluded that there was an alliance between the Gaḍa king and the Keralas and went on to try to prove that Udayaditya, the founder of the Paramara dynasty in Malwa, came to the aid of Karna's invasion. This has been suggested by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar[30] that the rise of the Kerala power had to be associated with the military expeditions of the Kerala emperor Somesvara I and his son Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukya dynasty. The argument advanced by Dr. Bhandarkar that Vikramaditya flourished forty years after Karna and therefore he could not possibly take part with Karna. In the epoch-making the Malkhed and Kalyani has not held good opportunity in the case of the Gaḍa of Bengal, in view of the fact that Somesvara and Karnadeva, has immediate predecessor of Vikramaditya, lived in Kalpa.[31] From the contents of an alliance between Karna and the Keralas and from Kalinga Udayaditya of the epigraph of Karna and Vikramaditya happens that the Kalinga might have come to the aid of Karna's invasion. But a close study of the relations of Karna with the Chalukya and Paramara makes this important point clear.

It is stated in the 17th verse of the Udaipur Prasasti of the Maharaja Karna that

"Seeing the Kerala, the lord of Gaḍa, the king of Gurjara, the Paramara and among many men the lord of Gaḍa, Dahala, Vaggala and Mahna ——— (in Hindi) brothers-in-law through only of the strength of their arms, as of the master of lightning."

The alliance of the kings were against the Paramara emperor Bhoja. The final verse of the Bagger Prasasti on which Mr. Jayaswal's conclusion is based refers to an alliance of the Gaḍa king Karna,[32] son of Gaḍa, with the Keralas against the Paramara

[29] JBORS., vol. IX, pp. 304 ff.

[30] Ibid. vol., Dynasties of Malwa.

[31] Bagger Ins., verse 3 and 10. Sandhi stone of Vikramaditya verse 8.

[32] Dr. D. R. Bhagwat, History of the Paramaras, p. 100 fn. 3. Dr. Bhagwat adduces convincing reasons from the evidence of Udayaditya, Dahala-Mandala, Jayaswal and the Dahala inscription that this Karna of the third verse is to identified with the Haihaya king of that name and the alliance was between the Haihaya king Karna and the Keralas.

Jayadaqa. The subsequent rivalries of the Eastern Rulers with the Kandyan after the disruption of Vijaya's power were far from being friendly. Bilhana says that after the fall of Bhoja the Paramara Jayasimha sought the assistance of the Chalukya king Somesvara I, putting aside all family jealousies. Even such distant relations as he was, Somesvara I realized that the extinction of the Gaul power over Malava would be to Prince Vikramaditya's power. He at once charged Atha and defeated the Kalacuri Karna and his ally Vikramaditya was directed to settle the internal affairs of Malava. It is from these facts (with the implicity of Bilhana that the alliance between the Kalacuri Karna and the Kandyan was a temporary one and it broke up as soon as the common object was achieved and the probability of the meeting of Karnata with Karna in Bengal is very remote. The relationship of great Vikramaditya VI and Gangaikonda cola Kulottunga I have been asserted by Bilhana and some scholars doubted the power and prestige of the Kalacuris. This perhaps explains why the pillars of Karna and Vijayasena imported to be in the same locality. The usual way of saying Somesvara as Trailokya-Malla is that and much with the marriage of Vikramaditya with a Kalacuri princess perpetual subject the overlordship of the Gaul in Bengal will the subjugation Karnata king, most probably Vikramaditya VI, [illegible] the Gaul Karna.

Pandit Lal Pata.

[illegible] Vikramankadevacarita, Sarga VII, v. [illegible]

The Identity of the Indus Valley Race with the Vrātyas

The recent archæological finds at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have given rise to problems which will keep the antiquarian busy for a long time to come. As the civilization revealed by these cities is, in the opinion of competent scholars, non-Aryan, it is of the utmost importance to determine, with the evidence we possess, whether it is closely akin than the Aryan, or contemporaneous with any phase of the same. For it was in the Punjab and the Indus Valley, especially in the former, that the Vedic Aryans originally made and composed their hymns, which are justly regarded as the oldest record of the race. If, from this, this revealed Indus Valley civilization be other than that of the Vedic Aryans, we seem expel the latter as the supervening conqueror of a race that gradually conquered India from aboriginal antiquity. Why not then look for some evidence in the Rigveda or other works, that will throw some kind of light on the existence of an earlier and not uncivilized people in the Punjab? If, on the other hand, this evidence does not seem contemporary with the Aryans at any remote period during which the latter was steadily advancing, a search for literary evidence is all the more necessary, and if feasible, can scarcely be overrated.

In the present article I propose to lay before the reader a piece of evidence from the Rigveda. It is in the form of a lengthy Ṛcchā (spoken) a whole people known as the Vrātyas who inhabited the Indus Valley region, as well as the greater portion of modern Punjab and Sind in post-Vedic times. That they occupied the commerce region (that from the Vedic Aryans is clear from the following lines. That the Āryaṇya Brāhmaṇa, which mentions the various non-Aryan tribes and means their origin in the disputed mind of Vākovākya, does not refer to them,[1] that during the Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣadic period the country of the five rivers was still Vedic in culture; and that in the

1 A.B. Ba., VII, 18.

subsequent to Epic period. It lies completely outside the pale of Aryanism. Lastly, the Hutchinsons and Pugh[illegible] appear to have been in the settled people of the same region as their own Pawnees.

The country of Rama is generally identified with the Doab between the Jamna and the Ganges, or between the Ganges and the Sona, and hence, the Rāmāyaṇa repeatedly states that the region ruled by the five chiefs, viz., Sarabha, Tiṭṭira, Jatāyu, Gandhārvāgni and Vikata, is also the country through which flows the mighty Indus that diverges from the Himālayas, is generally known as the Āraṭṭa or Vāhika country—the land of the extremely hospitable "Vāhikas." The central citadel of the Rāmāyaṇa is given as the boundary that divides the Aryans from Rama.

The scenario of the Ādi-Śiva is the quarrel between Rama and Rāvaṇa, in which the former appears the latter as being the sacrificial king of an alien, intelligent and [illegible] people. Cultural difference, as in self-known, [illegible] culture [illegible]. The death of the demons are as follows:

Rama Mahārāja of Dhāma asserts, after [illegible] the special object of Rama's [illegible] and is [illegible] the hundred [illegible] and [illegible] on their body." Their [illegible] in white [illegible], and they are [illegible] for their [illegible] (Ashura). Now what is true of the [illegible] must be equally true of the same class, and therefore the above qualities must be regarded as the possible physiognomical traits of the native race. We have, indeed, no evidence to judge of the complexion of the Mohenjodaro people in this distant time; but in regards the persistence of the musical tones, there is a curious agreement between them and the Vahikas. Dwarka Ravidi and Ghaka, who have considered the skills of Mohenjodaro, have mentioned their opinions as follows: "Many of the

* [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] (R.-Ā., [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]
* [illegible] ; [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] Brahmajāla Sūtra a very prominent heretical, and this heretical house are proposing." (vol. II, p. 400). The Nāgas are also said to be the descendants of two evil spirits Vedā and Ilāta who dwell in the river Tipāhi.[1] They are not the residents of Patālam, the Country of the whole mankind, or of the divine race. There is sufficient evidence to show that they were regarded as a race totally different from the layers of the plains. Cow-slaughter and beef-eating were among the lawful practices of the people, and slaughter houses (go-vadhsthāna) and butcheries (sūnanī) are said to (illegible) numerous in their country.[2] Now it is true that beef-eating was not held in abhorrence in Vedic times, but in the Epic period it had certainly become contemptuous among the Hindus. Hence the Nāgas are again and again mentioned as Asuras's 'bad-mens'. The Kinda women are the most abandoned of the world. They are extremely fond of wine and 'bad' and drop the baggy wherever they get them. A Kinda woman is said to be ready willing to quit with her husband or any man with the priests. Like the Sirens, whose Kings dwelling in the 'Paradise Land', Book I sol singing 'amorous Dhūta' the whole day in company of Tritonis, the Kinda women also sing amorous, bellicose songs and drink and dance and make merry, though not in honour of any particular god. They freely and strongly sing and are other examples to the virtue of chastity. Now there may be, perhaps, some little medicinal hyperbole in this, but even making adequate allowance for it, we must say that they enjoyed the greatest liberty imaginable on the earth. They are shy in wedding ceremonies and ideas of modesty abandoned.[3] They are again described as musicians, fond of playing upon mythings, drums, etc. jarabind

1 [illegible]
[illegible] Dīgha Nikāya, VIII 21, 22.
2 [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ;

instruments of various kinds. Making water by planting was a [illegible] practice among the Pañcālas of both sexes,[1] and it is for this reason that the male nomads (Pāṇi Pañcāla is a bull[2]) were covered in ancient times.

Dancing and Gymnastics seem to have been practised there on a large scale. For the people are said to be [illegible] that is, they bought [illegible] and dance the market. Cotton, barley, [illegible] with [illegible], and [illegible] were valued with [illegible] and gold; and [illegible] to be those dancing [illegible]. Dried grains (phrases) also seem to have been generally consumed among them. Wife of [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and other [illegible] were lently used in the dancing or Pañcāla [illegible]. Wooden plates and earthen pots were the vessels in which their food was served in them.[3] This is probably the reason why pottery vessels were advanced among them and play [illegible] pottery is so important among the Mohenjodaro finds.

There was no caste [illegible] among the Pañcālas. A [illegible] was given among them until he a soldier, or a trader, or even a barber, and [illegible].[1] [illegible] Now, the [illegible] from the barber's profession was not considered to be degrading [illegible] for a person to [illegible]. Dr. Mackay [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] before the Royal Asiatic Society of London only a few months ago, [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] among the [illegible] finds. But now we are in a position to understand why it is so. We now [illegible] that the Pañcālas who were the ancestors of Indus civilization were particular about getting [illegible] practically shaved and [illegible] the barber seals have been regarded as a very useful member of society, and his profession was not at all [illegible].

1 [illegible] R. IV., [illegible], 33.

2 [illegible] [illegible], VI.R. 15, 16.

3 [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] R. IV., [illegible], 33, 34.

The theology of this people comes to have been no demerable in the Aryans as the other features of their civilization. Manu denounces the Vrātyas as a people who are non-sacrificers and whose none of the Aryan deities, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., patronize. On the other hand, a terrible deityness is said to be worshipped in the populous town of Vrātapura, the capital of Bālhīka.[10] She is described as singing aloud a song of the following purport, on the fourteenth night of the dark half of every lunar month. "Oh! when shall I have the pleasure again of singing (hearing) the songs of these Vrātaḥs? When shall I have a magnificent bed of bed, pink, camel's and ass's flesh, as well as of roots and cooks with pungent wine to boot, in the company of the cows and fair female women? Verily, indeed, is he who sets no cash dakṣiṇā."[11] Rationally interpreted, all this simply means that on the particular night the villagers of Bālhīka, especially women, worshipped a goddess with the phallic-emblematic offerings, accompanied by songs of the usual pattern. But though worshipped as a goddess by them, the neighbouring Aryans looked upon her as a demon destroyer, yet as the newly imported Dyākshas looked upon the heathen gods as the slaves of Indra. The figures of the mythical Gandharvas, Yaksha or Rākṣasīkhara and Vātapāṇa, now, in the light of the above evidence, so appropriately expected will be interpreted as the figures of the same goddess.

Equally peculiar was the law of inheritance among these people. Property descended down, not from father to son, as it does in all Aryan societies, but from father to son, as it does in all Dravidian societies, but from father to nephew—a custom that still prevails among some castes of Southern India.[12] This is, however, the only point of agreement between the Vrātaḥs and the Dravidians, the rest of the evidence clearly pointing to their Dravidian origin.

10 [illegible]
[illegible] ;
[illegible] ;
[illegible] ;
[illegible] ; A. A., VIII, 10, 10-11.

11 [illegible] ; A. A., VIII, 10, 10.

Back to the evidence from the Rig-Veda. We further gather from Pāṇini, the great grammarian, that the Vālikas were divided into different martial clans, probably on monetary value, who hired their services to (or) one who paid for them.[illegible] Now Pāṇini's time is generally believed to be the 6th century B.C. (or all Indian scholars through some European scholars place him in the 6th or 4th century B.C.). But whatever date we accept, it is clear that from the time of the Brāhmaṇas and down to the days of Pāṇini, the Vālikas lived as a distinct non-Aryan race in the Punjab and the adjoining districts. What became of them later—whether they migrated to other lands or amalgamated with other races—is a matter to be determined.

The whole evidence, again, is of supreme importance in fixing the relative chronology of the Indus Valley civilization. For in the Vedic period this very region of the Indus and of the five rivers was resounding with Vedic Mantras (hymns), we find in the Epics the same rivers (especially associated with Bhīṣma) love and reverence. Thus the great sage Vāmadeva offers a hymn (praise) to the two rivers Vipāṣā and Śutudrī (Beas and Sutlej) laughing of Rama on many God. (RV., III. 33). And as to the Indus, Vālikas, or Bahlika river is more frequently alluded to in the Epics as holy in greater measure. The region of the five rivers (Punjab) is repeated in the notice of Aryan colonies in Manu Smṛti. And the culture of Bahlika or Vālika Śūra, in consequence, must have been different from that of the subsequent epic period. In the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad which is undoubtedly one of the earliest of the Upaniṣads, we find that two great scholars and philosophers, viz. Bhujyu Lāhyāyani and Uśhasta Śvetā had resided in the Bahlika country to study the law of sacrificial rituals, and that they were proved to benefited the best in the assembly of King Janaka before Yājñavalkya and other worthy Brāhmaṇas. (Br. Up., V. 3, 1). And the tale of Harita, the Bahlika princess, clearly refers to this earlier period of the country. It is again important to note that the Vālikas are not mentioned in the Aitreya Brāhmaṇa along with the Andhras, Pundras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas—the non-Aryan tribes living

[illegible] Manu, V. 3. 131

in the Brāhmaṇa period. But is there any mention of them in the Hymnique or in the Hero Epoch, though other tribes like Kavāṭiya, Sūta, Śrāṭhara etc. are mentioned in both. And yet the same region which was even the proud seat of Vedic learning and culture is found in the Buddhistic age a country of sinners and barbarians, where no pious man could stay even for a couple of days without pollution.* Now such a remarkable change in the cultural history of the ancient land of the Vedic Āryans cannot be accounted for except by supposing that there was some tremendous natural or political upheaval during the course of centuries that ended the close of the Vedic period. And as there is not the slightest allusion to any political upheaval, it is but reasonable to suppose that certain natural change came upon the new devised land and that, these vicissitudes impelled the Āryans to seek better, more fertile and more congenial lands in the east. We are, indeed, unable to imagine at this distant date, what these natural changes could be, but probably the periodicity of the climate, the drying up of the sacred streams of Sarasvatī, the general impoverishment of the country, and the dread of constant invasions of foreigners might be some of the causes. Further, we call this being more and more disturbed really history, still like other great events was made in the Punjab the sacrosanct Sūkṣetra, it has paid dearest by the Āryans. The legend of King Bhāṭiya and his place between Bhāṭiyāna as given in the Jātaka Pañcāmṛta is generally taken by scholars as indicative of Āryan advance in the east. The original home of Āryan settlers first fell out of the pale of Āryavarta altogether. It is for this reason, perhaps, that there are no sacred places of Hindu pilgrimage in the Punjab though its rivers are of Hindu reverence, being associated with the names of great Rṣis like Vālmīkīya, Vasiṣṭha and others. The the grounds of holy places begins in the Epic and Purāṇic period, when the the region with the Indus had been contaminated by the inroads of barbarians. Therefore the centre of Āryan civilization shifted to the east.

* [illegible] ; [illegible], VIII, ch. 1
[illegible] ; [illegible], III ch.
[illegible] ; [illegible], 46

A change exactly reverse to that of the Punjab name as Magadha or Bihar. For the same Vaiśyas who offer such fervent prayers in Tṛpādā and Sarādā to the Rgveda speaks of Bihara or Bihar in very disparaging terms, and implores Indra to smite their cows—their wealth—as the Aryas.[13] Such was Magadha in Rgvedic times. For the Kalabhāsya article is as the country of piety and culture along with Kuru Tṛpādā.[14]

This identification of the Pelasgians with the authors of the Indus Valley civilization, therefore, establishes the priority of the Aryan or Vedic civilization, though Sir John Marshall and others who follow him believe in the priority of the former. Again, it confirms the traditional date of the Mahābhārata War, viz. 3,100 B. C. since the earliest strata of Mahābhārata are believed to be as old as about 3,100 B.C., if not more. This linguistic evidence is, therefore, valuable if also contributes to permit [illegible] of the archaeologists as well, deep thin and clinks a genuine sympathy for the Indus Valley civilization should explain how the Vedic Aryans superseded an almost equally advanced race without leaving any the least trace of the conquest in their Upanishads.

E. R. Sarkar

[13] [illegible] (R. V., 10, 38)
[14] [illegible] (R. Ā., VIII, 103)

Narasiṃhadattin Stone Inscription of Vajjiladeva

A range of hills about 20 miles south-west of Dalmapur in the district of Sambalpur is called Gandharadhara. In a group of this Gandharadhara range there stands a temple belonging to the Orissan school of Gaṅga-Āryan style. The deity of the temple is known as Tiṇḍā Narasiṃhadattin implying the fellow form of Narasiṃha Incarnation of Viṣṇu. The traditional relating to the origin of the deity is recorded in an Oriya palm-leaf manuscript known as Purāṇa-collections. It reveals that a dancer Bhāṇḍa (mime) by name, being chased by Dānāgha has taken refuge in a hole underneath the image and Narasiṃha assuming the form of a cat has been guarding the mouth of the hole against the emergence of the dancer. The revered deity is the very same image of Narasiṃha in the form of a cat as Tiṇḍā and hence it is called Tiṇḍā Narasiṃhadattin. But we wonder to see that the form of image found at Gandharadhara is that of a cat. Curiously enough, it is a peculiar mixing of Hari, Śiva and Viṣṇu. Only at the Lingarāja temple of Bhubaneswar, though the deity is in Śiva form, it is worshipped as Harihara or the amalgamation of Hari and Viṣṇu. But we do not know how Hari is actually worshipped here as Viṣṇu.

A slab of black stone measuring 32½" x 22½" has been attached on the outer side of the western wall of Jagamohana or the audience hall of the temple. The inscription, edited here, is engraved on this slab. It was first edited by Dr. Dagle[1] and then by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[2] and Pandit L. P. Pandey.[3] Finding some discrepancies in the published readings I went to the spot to verify the original inscription. On scrutiny I found that Vajjiladeva, son of Tunadijadeva, the Raja of Patna, caused the erection of the temple on the 12th Gurul in-

1. Report of Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XIX, pp. 140-41.
2. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1904-5, pp. 256-58.
3. Ibid., vol. V, p. 166; Ibid., vol. VIII, pp. 64ff.

[illegible] and presented a necklace of precious stones along with [illegible] cows to the god Vitthla Pandurangadeva. He also granted to the priest of the temple for the maintenance of worship some lands situated in the locality known as Kilimandi and Vatlandi and a village given known as Bhagalgo [illegible] in the vicinity of Lohdongri. The gift was made on Friday, the fifteenth day of Chaitra, the moon remaining in the Tharh asterism in the year Vikrit. The object of the donor in making the gift was to have a son through propitiation of god. The text was composed by Jajhi, and was in Nilotti.

L.1. [illegible]

L.2. [illegible]

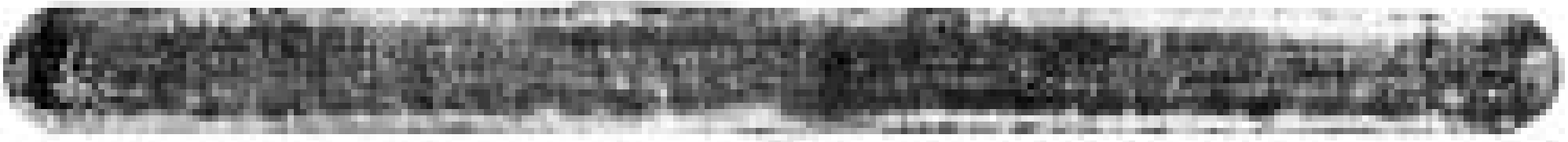
L.3. [illegible]

L.4. [illegible]

The traditional history of Satpta published in the Gazetteer of Central Provinces of 1908 and 1910 on the Bhilsa records that the title of Maharaja was adopted by the rulers of Patan State from the very beginning, but this inscription contradicts this assertion by showing the fact that Vatsaraja described himself simply as Bhoja.

It is very difficult to ascertain the date of this inscription by working out the above astronomical details. Because we do not know whether the cyclic year Vikrit of the Jagtiar of the inscription belongs to the northern or southern system. The Orissa character of the inscription cannot go back beyond the 10th century A.D. The date [illegible] A.D. suggested by Dr. Shamsheer A. Qureshi, [illegible]. His calculation is based only on the genealogical list of the Rajas of Patan published in the Gazetteer of Central Province on pages 480-1. The trustworthiness of this list can be questioned now, because Vatsaraja's son Vajjhadeva of our inscription is not included in it.

Mr. L. P. Pandey also [illegible] local records and Jagannathdhi or a Sanskrit work entitled Kalchuranda which gives the



accounts of the "Ancient Sites of the Bandelkhand District."[1] But I am not inclined to base the calculation of the date of the inscription on those accounts. Because the veracity of the said accounts is doubtful. The *chronogrammatic* verse contains Vatsaraja as the successor of Vaijabaka while the order of succession is reversed in the inscription. Again the *sloka* giving the name correct in one manuscript of the said work is either written in different metre or totally wanting in the other. For illustration I reproduce below the *sloka* of two different manuscripts.

[illegible]

(These *slokas* are published by Mr. L. F. Charley in *J.R.A.S.*, vol. [illegible], p. 140 from one manuscript).

[illegible]

(These *slokas* are found on p. 108 of the *Kalchuranda*, edited by Maharaja Sir R. K. Singh Deo, K.C.I.E., from the manuscript belonging to the Maharaja of Rewa).

1. *Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th Archæolo. Oriental Congress*, [illegible], vol. [illegible], pp. [illegible].

The scribe may not take note of the fact that the dates so produced show that the mere list of numerals of values is put in different words in different manuscripts of the same work by the same author. Again the *Bahir* (*navāntara* page [illegible]), giving the date of death of Bhāskara of one manuscript is not found in the other.

It is certain to the Kaulāvalī that Bhāskara, the founder of the Ruling House of Tāna, was Gāḍa in descent from the famous Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi. He married the daughter of the brother of Bijaladeva, the Gujarati king of Orissa. Pṛthvīrāja was killed in the battle in 1192 A.D. Now allowing a margin of 200 years for 20 generations we get 1392 A.D. as the date of Bhāskara, when in Orissa there was no Gujarati king, Bijaladeva by name. The last Bijaladeva of the Bhoja dynasty ruled in Orissa between 1190 and 1192 A.D. Bhāskara was certainly not a contemporary of the Bijaladeva or he was not the maternal ancestor of Pṛthvīrāja. Evidently the records given in the Paramāṇḍīdeva are unsupportable. There is, therefore, no ground to doubt the palaeography and assign the inscription to a date earlier than the 8th century A.D.

Rasaḥ Bhāsa

Sujata Grant of Jayavarmadeva of Tunkkadamalli's Time

This grant consists of 5 copper-plates, each measuring 7" long and 3½" broad. The plates are strung on a circular copper ring which passes through the holes found in the middle of the left side of each plate. The diameter of the ring is 3½". A lump of copper containing the seal covers the two ends of the ring. The figures on the seal are now indistinguishable. They are probably the those of other Budga guards of Sujata.

By friend Mr. P. Achaya, the State Archaeologist of Mysore, has recently purchased this grant from R. S. N. Rajagiri of Tunkkadamalli for Rs.[illegible] Rupees. I owe my indebtedness to R. Achaya for kindly lending it to me for decipherment. It is regrettable that no capital was to be obtained in more suitable.

The inscription begins on the reverse of the first plate and ends on that of the last plate. It gives Sankara Ravi son Vijayaraya alias[illegible] from Cunningham of Vijaya to have the grant with his own property to Raja Rajaparamadeva on the occasion of a solar eclipse, recording the gift of Sri Vikkaraya in the Tortoise region of the Kingdom occupied "Mamarlu Gramka, the place of Jaya, is mentioned. Then after the massacre of Lord Gokarnaswara on the Rajagiri mountain, twelve the position of Jayavarmadeva, the lord of Kalinga, belonging to the opulent Budga family, who granted the aforesaid village on the occasion of the solar eclipse of Vishuvam to the above-named divine belonging to the Vikkaraya covenant. Eleven relics and Vasu joins with the five ministers—Vasu, Bachi, Bhoga, Jamdagni and Gyanam. The document was written by Pulla-Bhagiya, the minister for war and peace (Mahasandhivigrahi), issued by Dharma Bhagiya and sealed by the queen Sri Rajaraja-mahadevi. The messenger (dutaka) was Mahanda. The date of issue was the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaishakha in the year 30 of an unspecified era.

It cannot be doubted that Vijayaryan and Jayavamsa are the two different names of one and the same person. The former is probably his private name and the latter official. Vijayaryan can be identified with the king of the same name of the Hiranya family, because Vijaya, the place of his residence, is unquestionably identical with Vijaya in the Puttalam district.

The texts of all plates of the Hiranya family (Hiranya family) have been published together and the problem connected with the said family have been discussed by me in a monograph entitled Ceylon under the Hiranya Kings. It is well to one of the plates of the Hiranya family that Vijayabahu relinquished the Kalinga.[1] This statement is now corroborated by the present plate. Hence Vijayabahu appears in this plate as an overlord of Jayavamsa, the lord of Kalinga. Therefore the unspecified era used in this plate can be taken as the same era found in the Hiranya plates. As the era of the Hiranya plates has been taken by me as the Vijaya era,[2] the date of this plate (a) be assigned to 1000-01 A.D. In that case, the creation of existing (the gift) can be traced to 101 A.D. in which year an eclipse of the sun took place in the lands of Vijaya.[3]

By friend Mr. Dignatha Chandra Ghosh suggests to me to identify this Jayavamsa with the brother of Jayabahu of the Dhammadigaddhiya grant of the Gangi year 1027 and take the era of the Hiranya plates as the Hiranya era. I have offered a suggestion as to the probability of use of dual era as by the Hiranya Kings.[4] But for want of sufficient evidence in favour of this suggestion, I have taken the era of the Hiranya plates as the Jaya era. Even I could have accepted his suggestion, if this identification of Jayavamsa had been based on some grounds. The identification suggested by Mr. Ghosh seems to be untenable for several reasons. In the first place, Hiranya Vijaybahu grant was issued from Kalinga-nagara and the present one from Sunaka which has been identified with Ghosh in the

1 Ceylon under the Hiranya Kings, p. 12.
2 Ibid., p. 31.
3 See Indian Ephemeris by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai.
4 JASBN, vol. 12, p. 108.
5 Ceylon under the Hiranya Kings, p. 16.

Gurjara, dawn by sound, which is. Secondly, Jayanandi of the former grant does not appear to be a ruler of Kalinga. Had he been a ruler, he himself would have issued the grant. And thirdly, I am tempted to hold that different branches of the Ganga family were ruling at different places in Kalinga. Sources contemporary to this effect occur in the grants of the later Ganga kings. Again the grants which were issued from Dantalur do not contain the Kalinga era which is those from Kalinga-nagara. However the former grants fall into one category and the latter ones into the other in respect of their texts and scripts.

In case of acceptance of Mr. Ghosh's suggestion, however, the date of the plate under discussion can be assigned to 597 A.D. Because Anantavarman of the Kalinga year 204 corresponding to 598 A.D.[1] (and have based the dating regarding the gift made by his brother Jayavarman after the death of the latter) from the year 597 A.D. in which a other unique task place in the month of Phalguna can be assigned to be the date of the present plate. In that case the actual date of the compound Dharma can fall in 597-598 597 A.D. i.e., only days after the commencement of the Harsa era. Apparently my identification of Dhanada, the father of Vishnuvardhana-yudhishthira, is not unmodified yet. [2] Kamalakantaka contemporaneous with Harsa.[3]

1. EI., vol. IV, pp. 199-202.
2. The initial year of the Indra era is 599 A.D., vide Ind. Ant., vol. XIII pp. 207-08.
3. Mitra, under the Eastern Ganga, p. 78.
4. Ibid., p. 79.

[illegible]

Plate I (Reverse)

L. 1 [illegible]
L. 2 [illegible]
L. 3 [illegible]
L. 4 [illegible]
L. 5 [illegible]
L. 6 [illegible]
L. 7 [illegible]
L. 8 [illegible]
L. 9 [illegible]

Plate II (Reverse)

L. 10 [illegible]
L. 11 [illegible]
L. 12 [illegible]
L. 13 [illegible]
L. 14 [illegible]
L. 15 [illegible]
L. 16 [illegible]
L. 17 [illegible]
L. 18 [illegible]
L. 19 [illegible]

Plate III (Reverse)

L. 20 [illegible]
L. 21 [illegible]
L. 22 [illegible]
L. 23 [illegible]
L. 24 [illegible]
L. 25 [illegible]
L. 26 [illegible]
L. 27 [illegible]
L. 28 [illegible]

Plate I (*Reversed*)

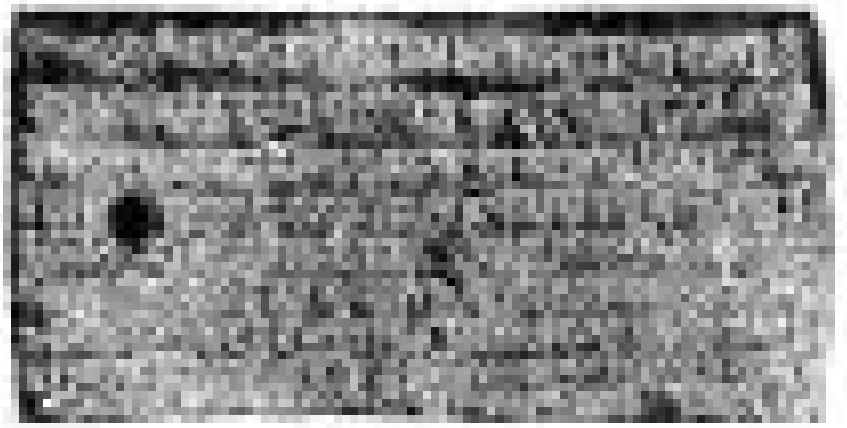


Plate II (*Reversed*)

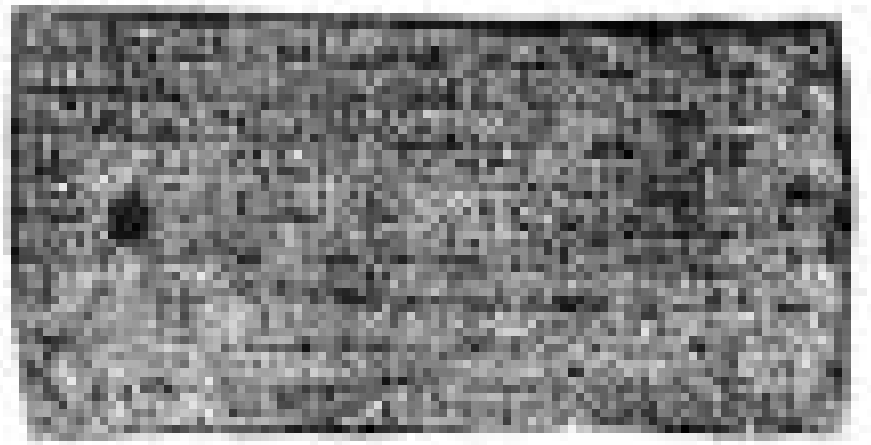


Plate III (*Reversed*)

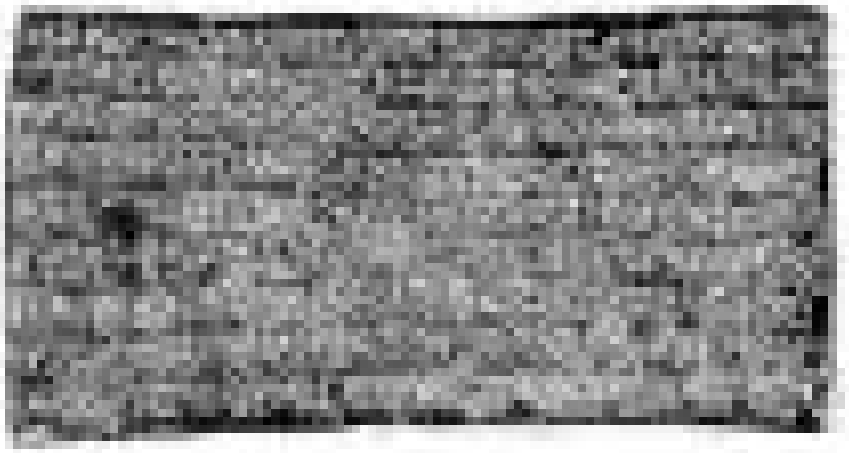


Plate 42 (Obverse)

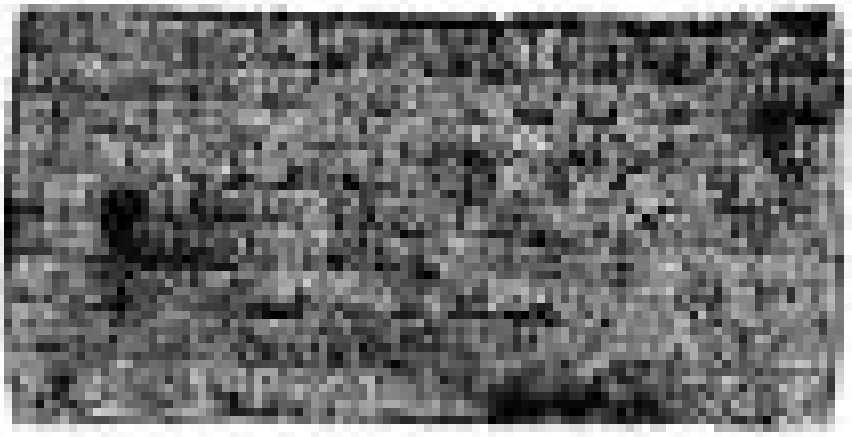
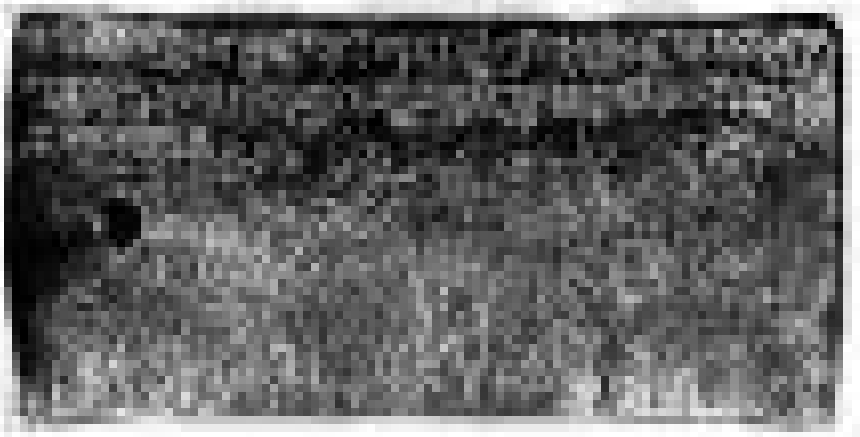


Plate 42 (Reverse)



J.E.B. Sydenham, 1936.

Plate III (Obverse)

L. 1: [illegible]
L. 2: [illegible]
L. 3: [illegible]
L. 4: [illegible]
L. 5: [illegible]
L. 6: [illegible]
L. 7: [illegible]
L. 8: [illegible]

Plate III (Reverse)

L. 1: [illegible]
L. 2: [illegible]
L. 3: [illegible]

Bhaskar Mishra

Bhartṛprapañca—the oldest commentator of Vākyapadīya

The *Vākyapadīya* belonging to the Śabdaprasiddhi is one of the most important and popular texts of its class. The importance and the popularity of the text may be easily gauged from the fact that a number of learned commentaries written by those who are acknowledged authorities on the subject has come down to us from ancient times. But, as the scholarship goes, not all the commentaries are subject to fair by the very study and investigation. Kaiṭabhya is believed to be the most authoritative of all the commentaries and his commentary upon the text of Vākyapadīya are rightly taken to be the model of what concise and excellent commentary should be. Kaiṭabhya is the most popular among the writers of commentaries upon the text and is specially reverenced as an admirable and reliable guide in leading us through the deeply profound depths of the thematic wonder by the interpretation of his highly educated Pandita. The commentaries of Jayadeva, Gaṇḍaka, Vāmanīya and Bhartṛprapañca have also come to light of late in the excellent edition published in the Majority Press of Bombay and the Vidyādhara Press of Benares. But unfortunately it is not generally known that Bhartṛprapañca, an ancient commentator of great reputation, has also composed a learned commentary upon the text of Vākyapadīya. From a review of quotations and references made in the commentaries of Vṛṣabhadeva and Bhartṛhari we can firmly assert that Bhartṛprapañca wrote a commentary and that for a very learned commentary upon Vākyapadīya's Kāṇḍa text. Only a small portion of Bhartṛprapañca's commentary has been published in the Chowkhamba research series and hence we have found does not seem that the so its reference to the views of Bhartṛprapañca but the commentary of Gaṇḍaka, though it is to be only up to the second Kāṇḍa of the text, presents more than 30 references to the peculiar

1. **[illegible]** (Chowkhamba Ed.) pp. 32, 34, 35, 37.
2. **[illegible]** 975 **[illegible]** (Ed. Poona Ed.) pp. 4, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65,

commentaries of this author. There is a division (viz. Bhaṭṭyajīkṣita's commentary *Śiṣṭa*) under at that time since it has been utilized to work on extract by those commentators. If there still be any lurking doubt about the existence of a commentary by Bhaṭṭyajīkṣita, it will be easily removed by the notice of Bhaṭṭyajīkṣita's incomplete Ms. called *Kārakaṭīkāpariṣṭaṭīkā* in the recent catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Para

Our author seems to have been a very ardent commentator. His fate can be correctly ascertained by a number of references made in his views and comments by the later commentators of the Āhnika and Śaṣṭi works. Thus Tribhuvanacandra in his *Āgamaviruddhaviruddha* (which while discussing various views about the merits of a hypothetical privileged to commentator the manifold Śāstra, relate to the opinion of Bhaṭṭyajīkṣita that any Mīmāṃsaka who has undertaken to memory the text of the Veda has a genuine privilege for the interpretation of the Śruti Śāstra, even though he happens to be ignorant of the meaning of the text. This verse where general name is followed by the Bhāṭṭakarikā Śruti-śāstra in the beginning of the 18th century.[1] Hence our author must be earlier than that. But another reference by a still ancient writer takes this date to two centuries earlier. Mallināthī on Śāstra., VIII. 2 makes a reference[2] to the different explanations proposed by Bhaṭṭyajīkṣita and advises his readers to consult his works and take them as the most authoritative explanations offered. This reference simply proves that even in the middle of the 8th century to which this premier commentator of Śāstra belongs,[3] Bhaṭṭyajīkṣita's authority on

1 Vol. II, no. 1004.

2 [illegible]
[illegible] I. 4.1. (A. I. Edn.) p. 31.

3 Kane: History of Dharmaśāstra, pp. [illegible]

4 [illegible]

5 Kane: History of Dharmaśāstra, p. 1074.

religious motives was superior and that [illegible] was enjoined up with the greatest emotions due to one who commended particular respect from later writers on account of his age and authoritative position. Thus it is natural to assume that he is not later than the first quarter of 9th century and he possibly flourished in the 8th century, if not earlier.

His contact problem

The reference to be found in Gadādhara's commentary upon the Vākyapadīya easily proves that Bhartṛhari was looked upon, even in ancient times, by the commentators, as an authority of great eminence and authority whose statements, therefore, were of highest importance and consideration. In many places in making reference to his views Gadādhara uses the phrase 'another with the name of this dialogue which is a very indefinable of his high position." Hence it is but natural to believe that his opinions and views held by Bhartṛhari are worthy of consideration for an impartial and critical study of these deservedly popular Vākya views.

His textual contribution

The aim of this paper being confined to the plain text of the important commentary of this writer itself, then to show their fundamental worth for a proper and comprehensive study of these Vākya Views, Bhartṛhari's comments are proved not only by the interpretation of the views but also by reading the purity of the text as we have get it now. We shall quote below only three of such instances as the valuable for the textual criticism of the work. Thus the text of the first aphor, II. 18,20 as commented upon by Puṇyarāja and Helārāja has the reading 'dvāvetenaiva' but in Bhartṛhari's opinion the correct reading is 'dvāvetau'[1] and this better reading has also

[1] [illegible] (Gujarat Printing Press edn.) p. 176.

[2] [illegible] p. 181.

been adopted by Karka.[9] Rathakāra's Bhāṣya[10] supposes a new sūtra[11] after II. 1.37 describing of the divine instrumentality of the sticky seed by the Brahmadāna of the three cities but to Gaṅgādhara appears this is an interpolation as his lemma is not found commented upon by Bhaṭṭapāda and following him by Karka.[12] From this statement we can legitimately conclude that Gaṅgādhara considers Bhaṭṭapāda to be a greater authority even for the readings of the Nyāya-Sūtra Manuscripts and hence he is thoroughly justified in his remarks that the commentaries of the Brahmadāna[13] which have not been commented by the Jaiṣṭya Pariṣṭaka (?) should be adopted from the texts of the other Vedic schools.[14] In another part of his commentary Gaṅgādhara frankly tells us that Bhaṭṭapāda has given the correct reading of the Sūtra which has become a bit altered at the hands of a later commentator. The text[15] of the Sūtra I. 1.20 has been interpreted upon by Bhaṭṭapāda (?) the final solution which avoids an unnecessary textual difficulty connected only after the supposed reference to the world (śarīra-vyāpī) according to the Sūtra, I. 1.35. This can better and chronologically the other reading is Śārīra as given by Bhaṭṭapāda and followed by Karka.[16] These few references are sufficient to prove that the Śārīra-readings adopted by Bhaṭṭapāda are valuable not only as contained at their age but also for a better understanding and understanding of Vātsyāyana's text.

(2) Bhāṣya-interpretations

The meanings of technical words occurring in the Sūtras as proposed by Bhaṭṭapāda are as follows. Generally these are

9 Nyāyakośa, p. 65. 10 Ibid., p. 199

11 The full text of the sūtra is—[illegible]: [illegible], [illegible] Iyaṃ ;

12 [illegible] [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ;

[illegible] and [illegible] and in some cases seems to be based upon tradition. We shall refrain from mentioning all such cases and confine ourselves mainly to a few of general interest.

(1) The Vākya, I. 1.1 [illegible] contains the word '[illegible]' which is differently explained by the commentators. Bhartṛhari tells us that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. According to Puṇyarāja it is made of [illegible] [illegible] but Bhartṛyajña's statement is quite different from these. He says[1]—[illegible] ;

(2) The word '[illegible]' occurring in the above stanza has given a different interpretation meaning 'water meant for washing the feet.' [illegible][2] ;

(3) The stanza I. 1.14 has given [illegible] which is explained differently. Bhartṛyajña takes it in [illegible][3] [illegible] ;

(4) [illegible] found in the stanza, I. [illegible] is explained by Puṇyarāja as any wrong view but Bhartṛyajña takes it in the sense of one who has first created over his senses [illegible][4] [illegible] this latter meaning is adopted by Vṛṣabhadeva with a slight modification.

(5) Bhartṛyajña has made quite interesting and novel remarks[5] about the word [illegible] in stanza I. 1.3, [illegible] which though based on the authority of some [illegible] appears to be unusual readings and hence have called forth a lengthy criticism at the hands of Kaiṭaṭeya. This will be considered later on in some details.

(6) Bhartṛyajña in the stanza, I. 1.4 has been explained in a peculiar manner.[6]

(7) The stanza, I. 1.4 [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] presents two lines of interpretation at the hands of commentators. According to Bhartṛyajña[7], [illegible] should form an integral part of the name of a Brāhmaṇa, [illegible] that of a Kṣatriya and [illegible] that of a

[illegible] These remarks are quoted in [illegible] p. 48 and by [illegible] in [illegible] p. [illegible].

[1] [illegible] p. [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] p. 50.

[3] [illegible] p. [illegible] and [illegible] p. [illegible].

[5] [illegible] p. [illegible]. [illegible] p. [illegible].

Tantra—an explanation which is amply supported by Śābara[26] and other Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā writers. But Kumārila's commentary represents a different line of approach altogether.[27]

(3) The sūtra, II. 2.8 [illegible] is not been made to yield a meaning which is at least peculiar and interesting.[28]

(4) Bhaṭṭapāda differs in many places even in points of trivial details. Such a point is provided by the sūtra, II. 2.1, as regards the place of [illegible] of the Vāja of the [illegible].[29] Other such interesting cases are to be found under the sūtra, II. 2.5 where Bhaṭṭa's opinions have found favour with most of the later commentators.[30]

(5) While commenting upon the sūtras, II. 3.5-8, which signify that the [illegible] of a Kṣatriya should be in the [illegible] metre and that of a Vaiśya in the [illegible] metre, Bhaṭṭapāda fortunately supplies with the respective mantras from the [illegible] *Anuvākānukramaṇī*[31] the [illegible] in the mantra [illegible] in 17.71, while the [illegible] is [illegible], 16.14. This is, indeed, a piece of very valuable information, there we find nothing to take other views in the [illegible] of Āchārya Kumārila.

These five [illegible], selected at random, from the commentary of Kumārila fully demonstrate the originality and importance of the views held (not) by our writer. Original as these commentaries are, they lay claim upon our attention as well by their belonging to an old age than by their following an old tradition. This will be amply proved by the examination of some of the materials which are present the determining the relative chronology of our writer in comparison with the well-established known commentator, the celebrated Āchārya Kumārila.

Bhaṭṭapāda and Kumārila—their Relative Chronology

It is an established fact that Kumārila belongs to an age anterior to the beginning of the 12th century since his views have been quoted

[26] [illegible]

[27] Tantra [illegible] p. 1-19.

[28] Tantra, p. 108.

[29] Tantra, p. 108.

[30] Tantra, p. 108.

[31] Tantra, pp. 108, 109 of [illegible] (pt. 1).

with approval by Vācaspatimiśra in his *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Bhartṛprapañca as criticised by Kavirāja

(a) In the very beginning of the text, the verse I. 1.2 [illegible] [illegible] presents a difficult problem for the commentator to solve: does the word [illegible] and other [illegible] words meant for Brahman or for the production of the general? Kavirāja adopts the first view and criticises—and that too in a great length—an opinion apparently favoured and well accepted in his time as the 'lengthy interpretation' naturally would lead one to believe. He tells us—[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]. Now, the point is who is the commentator offending such a peculiar view? Haddātta[illegible] and Kāśikāvṛtti[illegible] are of one in saying that [illegible] referred such a view in [illegible] this view to his commentary [illegible]. It is but hazardous to conclude that [illegible] not also have the opinion of [illegible], which had gained currency in his time.

(c) The tenth section of the second chapter contains a detailed description of [illegible], 'the beginning of the Vedic studies.' The second aphorism runs as [illegible] 'or, (after the right time for such an important ceremony.' Kaiṭa opines that this sūtra gives us option for the selection of the right time between the 15th and the 8th day of the bright half of the month of Śrāvaṇa. But some commentators explain this sūtra as [illegible] different [illegible] in such an action.[illegible] In the majority of Haddātta we [illegible] to this effect was made by Bhaṭṭojī in his [illegible]. The other representative known to us is certainly [illegible] a view. As a consequence effect of all such arguments we are led to believe that Bhaṭṭojī might have been criticised and rebutted by Kaiṭa though without mentioning his name and hence he must have undoubtedly been [illegible] in this line.

The theory propounded [illegible] is simply overthrown from the following evidence.

(i) Every Anuvākya we learn that our sūtra was also a commentator of the Anuvākyas of Kātyāyana.[illegible] While justifying his own

[illegible] [illegible] ॥ [illegible] ॥ [illegible] ॥

position as a sure commentator of an old text and demonstrating the peculiarities of his commentary, this writer has made, in the beginning of his commentary upon the said sūtras, certain remarks about the earlier commentaries of the text which are specially important in this connection. The comments upon the sūtrāṇiṣṭa to be found in the commentaries of Bhartṛprapañca, Vṛṣṭi[illegible] and Karka.[7] This order which he observes in mentioning these earlier writers is, the present writer firmly believes, not without importance in settling their relative chronology. Thus the fact that Bhartṛprapañca's Bhāṣya has come in for criticism before that of Karka who is taken to supplement Bhartṛprapañca and Vṛṣṭi[illegible] suggests without any doubt the priority of the former to the latter.

(3) Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, in his discussion about gerunds, quotes the comments of Bhartṛ and Karka upon the sūtra-pratīkaṃ [illegible] (IV. 1.1) in the only order in which Aryan numbers them. Further he shows his general regard for the Bhāṣya with the honorific title of bhāṣya which is denied to the latter (although only in the singular number[8]) and after a lengthy and learned discussion proves the correctness of Bhartṛ's views on the question. Hence it is but obvious that in accordance with the views of this eminent writer Bhartṛ was earlier to Karka.

These evidences, as given above, undoubtedly lead us to the conclusion that Bhartṛprapañca flourished prior to Kaiṭabhaya and hence he should be considered the oldest commentator so far known of these important Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari.

Kalyanpur Thakur.

[illegible]

[illegible] ..... [illegible]

[illegible] ..... [illegible]

Śrī Rama, the King-Poet

(The Authorship of Śrī Rama)

The Purāṇic or the (ii) Śaiva-disposed Rama's authorship of the three Śataka and Śrī Rāma Stava was the (sic) author. Doubts first came from Bhoja's commentator on the famous passage of Bhavabhūti,— [illegible] (1). While Bhavabhūti simply refers to Rama's gift of gold to Bhoja, as an example of poetry leading to affluence, the modern commentator took it to mean that Bhoja derived an honorarium from his Bhoja's works, which was passed off in the name of his liberal patron, viz.Rama. But there is the statement of Bhoja himself to the contrary, that the King's high favour to him influenced only the production of his character, among which there were spiritual poetry, [illegible]. After that, he says, "He cares actually to deal with the king his wealth and even his understanding". But this argument of Bhoja is not acceptable to the historians as it gives against Bhoja's Chapadas. Bhoja clearly refers to the intermediaries of the affairs of Bhojadevas by Rama, and Dhanamanjarī who [illegible] Vikramādityas of Ujjayinī (A.D. 775-815) mentions a performance of Rāmāyaṇa introduced to the King. This establishes the fact beyond doubt that, so early as in the seventh or eighth century, actually disposed Bhoja's authorship of Śrī Rama's Śataka, it may be pointed out (iii) verse Śrī Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa have been referred to in the later works of Rājaśekhara and others, under the name of the reputed Kāṇṭhābharaṇa, and confusion arises the person of the real author (Vidyādhara and others) who passed off these works under the name of Bhoja, as Bhoja was supposed to have died. In fact, it is recorded that these early writers referred either to the

1. There is another reading, which has the name of Chandra in the place of Bhoja. It is however not acceptable, on the ground (i) that it is not supported by any MSS. coming from Bombay, the locality in which Bhavabhūti lived, and (ii) the tradition about Bhoja's attachment to Bhoja is supported by Bhoja himself and also by Rājaśekhara, a contemporary of Bhavabhūti (Śrīmatī Bhoja ca). (2) and the latter mentions the name of no other poet in the connection.

[illegible] of his drama or to the dramatic performance, the authorship was not finally [illegible].

It may mind, however, the comment of Nāgojī referred to above is proved to be baseless by the statement of Bhāsacandra's own contemporary, Rājaśekhara, concerning the story told there about Bhoja's gift to Dhanapāla. It is clear and elaborate enough not to give rise to any misunderstanding. The condition controlling to include [illegible]—Bhoja was the king, who will's carried among his treasured were in the original was really a lover of learning through his own implied "a lover of [illegible]." That is why, says Rājaśekhara, the king honoured Bhoja by presenting him with five hundred crores of gold. The [illegible] suggesting that the money was paid as price for the authorship of any of the works of Bhoja, that writer of the 11th century (who could [illegible] as matter like the king's [illegible] paid a very high tribute to the king as both a "Friend of Poetry" and a "Friend of Users."

The object of the present paper is to make a further contribution to the discussion about the King's birthday with special reference to the following points: (I) Where Bhoja is [illegible] in the earlier [illegible]; (II) Dhanika's [illegible] as referred to in the three [illegible], and (III) the [illegible] argument by the Jayaratha in his [illegible].

(I) The Earlier Date

The earlier Bhoja [illegible] Dhanika, which means "Jewel Wealth," and Sohilā which, I think, is the King's happy memory of the Sohilā episode in his Dinda Tīrth, described in Bilhaṇa's Karṇasundarī—Act VIII. This Dhanika, which the name "a wealth," is said to have been presented to him by Bhoja, the Buddhist Sohilā, whom he met in the depth of the Vindhya forest. It served as a protection against any kind of poisoning to which the king's life was always exposed. The [illegible] proceeded to give the history connected with the garland and said that "the Bhoja [illegible] whose shoulder is decorated with 'Dhanika,' the Lord of the four oceans."

1 [illegible]
[illegible]

This [illegible] is described by Bhoja as a rocky jewel and is carried on one among the many lineages of Dhara's life. It is said that "some flowed to him from the successive rulers of earth; it was taken by Bhoja to be the Power which represented the marriage of the Imperial Kusmet" to him. The acquisition of Bhimak, he thought, meant the achievement of temporal fortune. The fact is that it showed him up as a happy man in his Bonds Vision, which was really concerned with success and made him the emperor of Northern India. The happy establishment of his Country, carried on a background by the Bhimak—the first attempt of the young Samantha which upset with the checking power of the King's all-seized victory. Thus a superficial acquaintance with the story of the Gonna will show the striking similarity between the two, the Bhimak and Bhoyanath, not only in name but also in magical power. For victory and the imperial power would come to the possessor of both—Rajanath the Pilgrim and Bhimak the jewel. Hence is why the head of the Dhyana is Wright, for the King in Vaiyaprabhakarana and the latter carefully worked the plot to that end.

Moreover, in the story of the drama, we have actually an imperial crown, which was also called Bhimak and was presented to the heroine by her father Bhimakarnak. This also may reasonably be said to give the play its name, serving as it did the same dramatic purpose as the ruby ring in the Abhijnanashakuntala. In either case, it is the happy acquirement of the Bhimak, the imperial crown, which is underlying the whole plot of the play.

The martial Bhoja wrote himself in the description of the wars in his drama. The scene of the battle was laid in the very countries which from his own inscriptions and that of his great rival the Chalukyaking, appears to have been the scene of these days, and which were, therefore, always uppermost in his thoughts. The explicit why the details of the battles have been introduced, though they are without any bearing whatsoever on the development of the plot, and may therefore be omitted without leaving any gap in the story.

Both the earlier dramas Dhara and Priya open with a hearty reference to the King's war. In the Bhimak, the first drama, it reads like a review of Rama's war of the first period, which was forced on him by his enemies and which resulted in his complete victory and

consolidation of his power in Northern India. The kingdom he founded completely vanquished (sarvataḥ sakṣiptavān), says King Udayana, the hero of Ratnavalī, alone, bore wielding the reins in the high spirit of a victor. Again in the history of the second period of his life, the king-poet appears to have been old King aggressive; and in Priyadarśikā, the second drama, the story is interlaced with a compliment offered to complete success in an aggressive expedition of a most daring nature, in which, the hero says, he was actuated solely by his "passion for military adventure, which has been revived in the climax" (vīrapūjā-samutkaṇṭhayopanīta).

His Nāgānanda alone, again, with an account of the battle of Kalinga and his Priyadarśikā, with that of Kalinga. There are conflicts over the circumstances. As regards the king-poet's battle in Kalinga we have definite proof of it in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang. "His last recorded campaign," says Pimpal Pathak, "was directed against Dantpur (that is the country of Kalinga) on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in A.D. 641."[1] Further, in the Aihole Inscription of the royal king, Kalinga is mentioned together with Kośala as the country conquered by him. In regard to the King-poet's war in Kośala we have no direct evidence from the same Aihole inscription, but it is admitted to have some little conflict with the tribes of that region also. This inference of the Kośalan invasion is supported by the very fact that Kośala is chosen by the King-poet as the scene of war in the first drama, just as Kalinga, the scene of "his last recorded campaign" has been made the scene of war in his second.

The fine description of battles in both the dramas is quite worthy of the master poet, as it shows both strategic complicities combined with dashing generosity and have nothing to do with the mythical weapons, the accounts of which fill the descriptions of war by other poets including even Kālidāsa. In these accounts of war, the facts, specially noteworthy, are as follows:—

(1) Vindhyaketu (in Priy.) is shown as one of the most heroic characters, who is a chief of the Vindhya forest and with whom the princess in her distress takes shelter. This account of

1 See S. B. Dasgupta, History of Orissa, Vol. of., p. 108.

[illegible] reminds us of that of Vyghinkova in Rimsky-[illegible] (Act. viii) who is also a chief of the Vladimir Boyar. It is he who helps the King in wrestling with his last foeman in the Vladimir Ville and he, it is most probable, has been transferred in the record-theme to one of the heroic characters, who "by his deeds gave his victor to choose."[1]

(4) The second point worthy of note is the name that comes from the Saga (Rimsa) that "suddenly in the thick of the battle the general challenged the King of Rorik and slew him single handed"—a name which is received with wild demonstrations of joy in the King's court. This recalls a passage in Rimsa-rima, which notes, among outstanding incidents in Rimsa's military career, the following:—

Rimsa-passages xii. 1 (6).

> "By supreme Lord his opponent by laying low his
> [illegible] single handed, at one stroke." "In him a Rimsa
> has [illegible] Rimsa" and the single having cut
> down the [illegible] with his own hands."

What particular [illegible] is meant here we have no [illegible] to conjecture. This is but a [illegible] allusion in the passage in question, but remains yet to be explained. The striking similarity between the two records is probably due to a [illegible] in words. I am tempted to identify the enemy of Rimsa, slayer by "laid low single handed" with the King of Rorik whom the general "slew single handed." The facts are [illegible] to warrant my conclusion.

Whatever be the historical value attached to these, the students of Roman Literature cannot really doubt the hero-cycle above which may be stated, by these: (1) the same scenarios are mentioned as the scene of struggle of both Horse himself and the hero of his cycle against the Gothlings, and (2) some of the episodes or incidents of Horse's biography as given by Rimsa Sharpa are selected closely and consistently in his drama.

1. Dr. R. Wimmer appears to hold the same view in his Horse p. 38. But the incident is doubtful and is doubtful, as he says, but by [illegible]. Further, there can be only "remotest" between Vyghinkova, the hero-chief and the Gothian Rimsa, on account the doubtful [illegible] and the doubtful who actually gave his name.

2) *Ravi's Universalism Religious*

Besides, all the above dramas, here, as there, the energy of the peculiar religious convictions of Ravi. He avoid his religious ardour to invite to loyalty. His great ancestor Pugalēnthi has been deified by Ravi as a "Shiva by inclination." His father and grandfather were worshippers of the Sun God, and his brother, a devotee of Buddha. The inscription of Ilamp Kāndi attributes the epithet of Tirukkōvilur-Nāthan to the name of Ravi's father and grandfather and that of Tirumāvalavan to the name of his brother. Ravi describes very elaborately in the 4th book of *Ilampacarlam*, how Ravi's father used to worship the Sun-Deity "at dawn, at mid-day, and at eve." Thus in Ilampa's family Siva, Shiva and Buddha were worshipped. Ravi's own religion embraced them all. Ravi describes the conception, attitude of his papers in his own peculiar way. "The king displays", says Ravi, "all the gods evived in himself, having Buddha in his majestic mind, Siva on his radiant lips, Arhatha in his lovely locks, and the Brothers in his brawny arms." This conception attitude of the king is further adhered in the fact that the great assembly held by this at Pugalur was "attended by both the distinguished Sramanas and the pious Brāhmans alike" and that in this assembly the images of all the three gods "Siva, Buddha and Mahāvīra" were installed and worshipped. "On the first day," says Hiuen Tsang, "they installed the image of Buddha; on the second day, that of Siva; and on the third day, that of Mahāvīra." This outlook of the king, equally honouring these gods representing three different cults, is reflected again in his three dramas, especially in *Vijaimanda*, where the Buddhists and the Brāhmanic deities are mixed up. The way is adopted in all the three dramas. In the first two dramas (*Rasiyatti* and *Pulipanthiri*), from one Siva and Devi is invoked in the Vāzhi benedictory verse. There is no mention of Buddha in them. In the *Vijaimanda*, which is generally a Buddhistic drama and opens with an invocation to Buddha, the Brāhmanic goddess Devi plays an important part, and the five-god is glorified more than once, as the one object of adoration, (*ஐங்கரன் அருள் பெறுக*.) We evidence the love to the great scholar revering him.

III. "[illegible]"

The most notable events of Rosa's reign consisted, without doubt, in the King's unpublished sacrifices for his subject in the [illegible] scandalous he used to hold, which, it is said, emptied the royal treasury [illegible]. It appears, from Rosa's own words, that the King came to feel the gross injustice, involved in the accumulation of wealth in the royal treasury [illegible], to which he owed the distinguishing powers of his royal [illegible]. He called it a "calamity" and felt it to be the King's sacred duty to release the wealth, dirty as it is, to [illegible], for the common good. All this has been put in the mouth of Pheri-[illegible] of Hyperoxia. Rosa "to support the wants of the world and to fulfil the hopes of all" appears to have been the one thought and ambition of the great King-poet, which he unveiled to his [illegible].

This sentiment of Rosa has been referred to as [illegible] [illegible] in the *Rosa-[illegible]* (No. 11): "King Rosa," says Hiuen Yang, "used to hold an assembly among the [illegible] given away to all [illegible] of his possessions, not excluding his daily garments." The same sentiment has [illegible] [illegible] of his [illegible] verses, where the hero begins by [illegible] his subjects, [illegible] and ends by giving his life [illegible] for [illegible].

Taken [illegible] [illegible] to have existed, then, we conclude that Plenga was the one poet who could have written the dramas, because, to put the whole argument in a nutshell, they show clear traces of (1) what was uppermost in his thoughts in his early life, (2) what was in the depth of his being in his mature days and (3) what formed the distinctive feature of his as a king.

I cannot close this topic without referring to the symmetrical [illegible] of the Drama in which the dramatist appears in prison. Such a work, based on opinions, in all limited views and falls far short of the standard of poetic conception, which is characterised by [illegible], [illegible], as very old order describes it.

From what has been said above, it is also manifest that of the three works (*Romanda*, *Pragalbrit* and *Pigmonda*), the first two [illegible] the stamp of the critical and military in the young author, while the third work written in his mature age, shows his ordered or life totally changed.

Tamaki Kawaoka

MISCELLANY

Geographical Data in Pliny[1]

By Pliny (as given in a detailed and accurate geographical account) of ancient India, but a minute study of the *Periplus* and Pliny reveals the fact how detailed and accurate the information of our ancestors was regarding parts of the Indian continent.

Alexander's men have mentioned some places of Afghanistan and the Punjab. By a study of Pliny's epitome we find that some are only average forms of those ancient names mentioned by Pliny. The number of names of towns, villages, rivers and mountains, occurring in the description of Pliny, is indeed very large. It would be difficult or even impossible to identify them all, but the positions and modern names of a good number of them can be determined, and in fact some thing has been done by S. N. Mazumdar in his Notes appended to Cunningham's Geography.[2]

The north-western kingdom of Afghanistan, in ancient times, was known to some of the Greek and Roman geographers by the name of Ariana, and the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang calls it, Kiapisi. Pliny mentions Kapi in his other *epitome* viz. (IV. 5, 26) from which he derives *epithet* the name of a grape and *epitome* the name of a wine, mentioned from grapes and produced in the district. The country about Kabul is still remarkable for its fine grapes. It is to quite clear that Kapisene of Greek writers is no other but Kapisi of Pliny.[3]

Another portion of Afghanistan is called Paisaca by Hiuen Tsang, and identified with the modern Yusufi or Waziri by some, and with Swat by Cunningham. The Sanskrit word corresponding to this is not known. Pliny, however, mentions a country around Vetas in

1. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India with notes, and notes by S. N. Mazumdar, Calcutta, 1924; hereafter abbreviated as MGI.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

several places,[1] which is very likely the same as Rowan Tang's *Ta-lo-so* (*SYU.*, p. 499).

The river Sarayū which is mentioned in Patañj.'s verse [illegible] *Sarayū* (4. 3. 77) is the modern river, a branch of the Kosal river (*JGR.*, p. 478).

The position of the Gilt-foot of heaven, to the regions of which, 'the warlike son of Pāṇḍu' displayed his martial vigour and military valour and which have been invariably identified by Arjuna, is still a matter of uncertainty. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is quite unknown. 'Different Wheat' comes to be the word *Jīvanta*, 'reviving', which, in thinking, forms the latter part of many names of cities. The Lie often Land Chronologists derived it from the name of a king, whom he calls Rājā-Tana but from identifications given to be without any foundation. There is a Deity of Tapati [illegible] (6. 2. 50) which means that the city is the [illegible] of Tapati in other words, Dr. Bhandarkar rightly thinks Tapati of Patañj. is the original word corresponding in orthography to the correct form of Ptolemy of the Greeks.

Aratrisha which has probably alluded to the pile of modern Hoshiarpur is mentioned as a [illegible] by Greek writers. A great controversy exists among scholars as regards the original name. Dr. Bhandarkar opines that Ārṭṭa was a particular tribal Kṣatra in this province and its inhabitants were known as Ārṭṭaka. It, therefore, on the strength of the following reference [illegible] (6. 3. 81) of Patañj. maintains that Ārṭṭaka is the original word of Arshoi of the Greeks. Seeing the phonetic resemblance of these two words, we can accept Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion.

Greek writers have described the Malloi and the Oxydrakai as two tribes of warriors. The Malloi tribe was living on the confluence of Sind and Jhelum and the Oxydrakai in the midland of Ravi and Pyāsi. A scholar of note traces the origin of the word Oxydrakai from the word Kṣudraka. On the other hand, Dr. Bhandarkar is of opinion that these

[1] [illegible] (6. 3. 101) [illegible] (6. 3. 99). [illegible] gold every tinkle can of which is [illegible].

[2] See Mikan's [illegible] designs.

two words are derived from the words Kāśeya and Kauśeya respectively. Patañjali while commenting on the Sūtra [illegible] (4. 1. 138) mentions Kāśeya and Kauśeya as two settlements.[1]

Now, we try to give an account of those cities and towns which have been identified by scholars with modern towns and villages and whose remains are still to be found on the site of their ancient sites.

Pāṇini mentions Kauśeya as the name of a country in one of his Sūtras ([illegible] 4. 1. 171). Scholars are of opinion that Kauśeya was the ancient name of Afghanistan, at least of the northern part. According to Dr. Watt the ancient part of Afghanistan was Kauśeya. Its capital was Peśawar which should not be confused with Kauśeya's Peśawar in Gujarat. The Sāṅkāśya tribe which now resides on the Kashmirian mountains is said to have descended from the Kauśeyas.

In the Sūtra [illegible] 4. 1. 138), Pāṇini refers to Gandhāra as the name of a country in which a Kṣatriya tribe called Gandhāra was living. The country of Gandhāra lay along the Kabul river between the Hindukush (Kaucī range) and the Indus covering the modern districts of Peśāwar and Rawalpindi. Its capitals were in different ages Puṣkalāvatī (modern Pukhawar) and Taksaśilā (modern Taxila). Pliny states the Indus as the western boundary of Gandhāra (Gandhāra). Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī was the most ancient capital, which the Mahābhārata places in the Gandhāra-deśa. The modern town of Kawāhar in Afghanistan still believes that part of the country to which the ancient province of Gandhāra must have belonged.

Pāṇini gives us further information about the important cities of the Gandhāra province. They are Ārāma and Taksaśilā. The name of Ārāma occurs in the Sūtra [illegible] (4. 2. 84). This ancient city was the birth-place of Pāṇini himself;

1. The merits of supporting these identifications for the first time goes to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. Vide Ind. Ant. vol. 1 (1872) pp. 70 ff. and his Collected Works, vol. 3, p. 28 ff.

Jayanta the celebrated Sanskrit poet-scholar is mentioned by Sāṅkhyāyana as Hāṭakeśvara (see Lassen in *Kāvyamālā*). This city existed even as late as the seventh century A.D., when it was visited with great reverence by Hiuen Tsang when he was crossing the frontier on his way to India from China. An upside for identification of Kāṭāvara (Hāṭa), it has been identified by Cunningham with the village of Lahore in the North-West of Hissar in the Punjab. On the other hand Pāṭāra identifies it with Sialkot.

Dhaṭa mentions the name of Takṣaśilā with that of Hāṭakeśvara in the Verse (*Jyotirvidābharaṇa* ch. 3, 19). The remains of Taxila are still to be found in the District of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Cunningham places the site of the city near Shahdheri, one mile northeast of Sirkap-ki-Pind between Attock and Rawalpindi where he found the ruins of a fortified city. Taxila was well-known as a city in ancient times by its [illegible] antiquity. It is said that Dhaṭa received his education at this great centre of learning.

Passing from Kāṭāvara we come to the province of the Punjab, the Madrakas of ancient times. The country of Madra is referred to by Pāṇini in his Sūtra (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* ch. 7, 3, 20). This country was situated between the rivers Iravatī (Ravi) and Candrabhāgā (Chenab). Madra was the kingdom of Śālva of the Mahābhārata and also of the Lion Jātaka, father of the celebrated Mādrī, the wife of Pāṇḍu. Some suppose that Madra was also called Vāhika, which, however, appears to be only a part of Madra-deśa. Dharmacārin in his *Nāṭa Pariśiṣṭa* calls it Takkadeśa where the Takki language was most famous. Mādra which has been mentioned in the Sūtra *dhanañjaya* (4, 3, 75) was the capital of Madradeśa. Cunningham identifies Mādra with Sangalawala Tila in the District of Jhang in the Punjab. But this identification seems erroneous. Dr. Pāṭī rightly identifies it with Sialkot in the Lahore Division in the Punjab. It is interesting to know that this was the birth place of [illegible]. The town was important not only in the time of Pāṇini but continued to enjoy an unchecked prosperity and extraordinary glory even in later centuries of Christian era. It was the capital of the Greek conqueror Menander (2nd century B.C.) and of the Hūna kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula (6th century A.D.).

From Bahlīka we now go to the Kāśyapa country which is mentioned by Pāṇini in the form **[illegible]** (IV. 3. 5). It was a country situated between the Ravi and the Sutlej. It was the kingdom of the father of Kaikeyī. Girivrajapura or Kīkaṭa was the capital of Kāśyapa, on the north of Ravi, in the Punjab which has been identified by Cunningham with Jellālpur, the ancient name of which was Girīpak. Pāṇini does not much mentioning the celebrated cities of Kāśyapa. Vipāśā, the modern Beas and the Upanāśā of the Greeks, is referred to by him in the Sūtra **[illegible]** (V. 3. 75).

Passing eastward we come to Gandhāra which has been mentioned by Pāṇini in the Sūtra **[illegible]** (II. 3. 130). The ancient capital of this country was Gandhāpura. Kuvalaya mentions as detailed descriptive because it was a famous country in ancient times.

Bāhva (V. 3. 73) was also a country near Gandhāra known in ancient times by the name of Bāhvanna. It was the kingdom of the father of Satyaka, the warlord of celebrated Bhārata. It comprised portions of the modern territories of Jaipur, Kotāyā and others.

Moving still eastward we reach the country of Pakṣa which is referred to by Pāṇini in the form **[illegible]** (4. 1. 171). It was originally the country situated westward of Bahvī from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Gandakī. But it was afterwards divided into north and south Pakṣas and was organised by the Sūryas. The capital of the former was Kāmpilya and of the latter Kāmpilya. Hence Pakṣa was the kingdom of Bhīṣṭ Devapala whose daughter was Draupadī.

Leaving the countries of Kāśī and Pakṣa, we now come to the famous country of Kosala which has contributed a great deal to the annals of ancient India. The ancient Kosala was North of modern Oudh. It was divided into north Kosala and south Kosala. The capital of the latter was Kuśāvatī founded by Kuśa and the capital of the former was Śrāvastī. At the time of Buddha it was a powerful kingdom but in 500 B.C. it was divided into the kingdom of Magadha, Kāśīnāra dividing Kosala into north and south Kosala. The latter included the eastern part of the Central Provinces.

Magadha which is mentioned in the Sūtra **[illegible]**

(6. 1. 128) is well known. It was one of the most famous and powerful kingdoms of ancient India.

The names of Aṅga and Vaṅga occur in the Sūtra: **a gramādy-ādīnāṃ** (6. 1. 12). The country about Bhāgalpur including Monghyr was known by the name of Aṅga in ancient times. It was one of the famous political divisions of India at the time of the Buddha. In famous political divisions of India at the time of the Buddha. Its capital was Vaṅga or Champāpurī. The eastern limit of its northern boundary, at one time, was the confluence of the Gangā and the Karṇa. It was the kingdom of Lomapāda of the Bhārgavas and Karṇa of the Mahābhārata.

Kaliṅga is mentioned in one of his Sūtras: **[illegible]** (6. 1. 203). Kaliṅga (modern northern Orissa) was lying to the north of Utkala and south of Daṇḍaka on the border of the sea. According to Cunningham it was situated between the Godāvarī river on the south-west and the Gangā branch of the Sabarmatī on the north-west. According to Rhys it was between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī. Its chief cities were Dantapura and Bijayā. In the time of the Buddhists Kaliṅga (Uṭkala) was included in Kaliṅga, but in the time of Kālidāsa these were two different provinces. In modern times especially in his Raghuvaṃśa — **[illegible]** (Canto 4. 38). The country of Uṭkala was known, in the north of Kaliṅga. The very word Uṭkala means north of Kaliṅga (**[illegible]**). It comprised the modern province of Orissa. Cuttack, situated on the opposite side of Cuttack across the river was the ancient capital of Utkal under the Bhauma kings.

Pāṇini mentions the name of Madra as a country, in the Sūtra **[illegible]** (6. 2. 38) which corresponds to the modern province of Sialk. According to Pokorny the Zikrus dwelt in the northern portion of Sialk and the Meghas settled in the northern portion. After the death of Mināndra who subjugated over the Punjab, Kabul and Sialk from 165-135 B.C., Maues, the Scythian king conquered Sialk and expelled the Greeks.

The Anupada of Rāmāyaṇa is mentioned in the Sūtra: **[illegible]** (4. 3. 78). It has been identified by Cunningham with Eran, a district in the province of Saugar. It was called Bahat by the

[illegible], and was situated on the bank of the gulf of Cambay. Another was the Raghu or Ujjain of the Bilin and Songa of Ptolemy, where it is described as a seaport. Dr. Bhau Daji places Kanchi in his map to the south of Rajahmundry and along the Gulf of Orissa.

The name of Jāvali and Bāvali refer to the Pāṇḍya **mahāsāmanta** (A. I. 178). Jāvali was a well-known kingdom in ancient India, famous for its enormous wealth and cultured people. Ujjayinī was the capital of this great kingdom and was famous for the [illegible] temple of Mahākāla.

Kīrti was also called Kīrtivarmā. It was an ancient town of Bilāsa, where Kīrti, the mother of Vaikhānasa and his brothers, was brought up by her adoptive father Kīrtivarmā, the king of Bhoja. It was situated on the bank of a small river called Aśvanadī or Ajvanadī.

The name of Vidarbha already is included in the term **varṣa** in the sense of **varṣaviṣayāntar** (A. I. 187), which comprised the modern province of Berar. It was the kingdom of Bhīmaka whose daughter Damayantī was married to Nala. Its principal towns were Tālakapura and Bhīmaka **nagara** or Vidarbhanagara (its capital) was evidently Beder. The ancient country of Vidarbha included the Gāgāra of Abupal and Pilibhīt (its capital Sri Pantha). Kundinapura which has been incorrectly identified by Sirkar in his Nītisāra (II. 16-20), was the birthplace of celebrated Rukmiṇī, wife of king Kṛṣṇa.[1]

Ramesh Chandra

Supplementary Note on the Dhārmaśāstra

I am sure that Professor Debaprasāda Sarma (in the Journal of Indian History, vol. XIII, Dec. 1934, pp. 409 ff.) has already solved the identification of the Nāgarīs of the Dhārmaśāstra with Devanāgarī Nāgarī. He has also shown that the evidence of manuscripts is entirely in favour of the reading parasvāmīnaḥ in verse 2 of the Dhārmaśāstra.

R. Shamasastry

1. The latter is more familiar to Mr. Pandey but he is the grandson of mis. [illegible]. His Encyclopedia Dictionary has been of invaluable help.

Fresh Documents Once relative to the History of the Alam-king, Bijaiwardhan of Aseer

In my thesis on the ancient country of Aseer, one word yet longer [illegible] the capital of one of the old political entities, Pajjaiyan, [illegible] as Sarabajiyan varied apparently from time to time. The passage, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] probably indicates the name only of the capital during a particular period. Perhaps of Ukiya formed part of the kingdom for some time? Secondly, the Sirajiyan list a passage [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the 'Map of the Tartars' was born 'in his land' (his) gave which was known in its day most wonderful in myth,' the 'mighty sovereign of the Khorlas' whose 'power' was 'unlimited.'[1] Dell says in his *History of Asia*[2] that 'Bazak' and 'Hogolia' were real and exceptionally powerful kings, and probably included in their territories the greater part of western Asia and Bengal (part of the Between. During the early Islamic period, the Emperor plates of 'Bazaglia' say: 'Khorlabbyaro vidhiyaro vidhiyaro [illegible] rajaro.'[3]

The period of Bazaglia in Khorlaja ordered in a new one. The Mongols finally defeated the 'Wal' who originally[4] inhabited 'central and southern China, north of the Yangtse-river,'[5] by the middle of the thirteenth century. 'A flood of emigration southwards' was the result. In any case, just after the first quarter of the thirteenth century,[6] the Khans, a branch of the Hilas, established, Bazaglia in Asia and invented politically dominant for several centuries and gave the modern name to the country.[7]

The Khan period was influenced in political thought and practice by the teachings and thoughts of Kublai Khan's policy. In the reign of Chaiji, the conception of 'the [illegible] dominant from 'Gangha' or 'Ganga', of the rules formed adopted by Chai of origin from the Tartarian and Lata, and that of 'one plot' was thus resolved into the rule of one nation.[8]

In the movement 'Bhil, Jaina' [illegible] that with Bazaglia [illegible] and Bhoramdeo who was founded by the Bhoramdeo in 1700, called himself Bhagalatavichhara on his return of Bala 1711.[9]

1 The Bazaglia, Khan's Lamaism—Bazaglia F., pp. 40, 100 (it has some old); pp. 70, 90, 100; Bazaglia F. (1898), p. 7; Bazaglia F., pp. 70-72; Chaiji F., pp. 120, 180 etc., quotes of the nations of this quotation.

2 1898 ed., p. 14.

3 = Bazaglia.

4 J.A.S.B., 1891, Part I, p. 110, 1, 11, 16.

5 It is a mistake. 11 in May, The Chinese of Nara, p. 9.

6 Kuh. Wal. a Lata (vol. II), p. 100 (also 200 is to be the date).

7 Khan, 1884, p. 184; J. Dwarika Bhoma, Bra., 1910, pp. 1, 16.

8 I have dealt on the development of the theory of Divine Right in a paper read in the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress of this year.

9 Pan. Chan., 1908, p. 186, 10. 1.11, 8; Jain, p. 100. 'Ha original has 'Jaina' ills.

Mr. T. W. Hockley of Wapanka, Derbyshire, has a collection of [illegible] coins and various other articles of great historical interest. His father, Mr. Ross Hockley, with the help of a two-pinnace in Assam, collected 'quantities of gold coins' in packed sent.[1] When a sufficient number had been obtained, "they were made into a bracelet" for Mrs. Ross Hockley. The coins were "dug up from the ground at different times."[2]

A few years ago, Mr. T. W. Hockley presented the bracelet to Her Majesty of Victoria.

The coins are very in number and arranged according to size, the larger coins being placed in the middle between three larger coins at one side, and two larger coins on the other. According to size these coins may be divided into two groups. As it is not possible to separate them exactly from the bracelet, I am unable to determine the exact weight of each of them. They are all made of gold, and are cast by King Rajeswarasingha. The first which first Pitch, the coins of the king and the [illegible] and so to identify the [illegible] with the [illegible] of the coins. Rajeswarasingha is also called 'Swargadeo' and 'Pratapadeo' in some other [illegible].

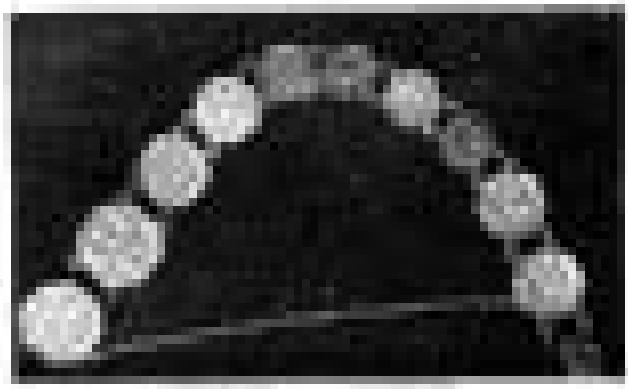
He came to the throne in 1751, and reigned for eighteen years. He was succeeded by 'Lakshmi Singha' (Lakshmi), the chief of which conflict in his succeeding of Tipamukha in the throne of Rajeswara. Provided of the numerous plundering of his subjects and [illegible] of 'Burmese' [illegible] a considerable sum. He gave [illegible] to the worship of deity [illegible] and his wife 'Sri Sarupa' of 'Bhai Gandha.' It is marked in by the epithet, "[illegible]" on these coins.

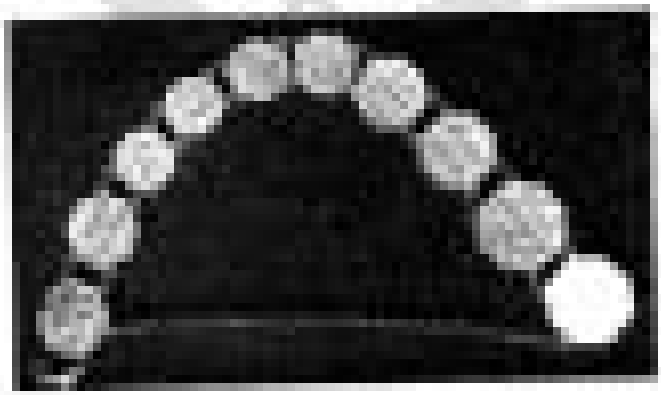
Beginning from the bottom we [illegible] away from the [illegible] and moving to the golden circle that may be said to [illegible] the [illegible] in the photograph, the readings may be given thus.

No. I, Pl. I	No. II, Pl. I	No. III, Pl. I
(Line 1) [illegible]	same as in No. I	same as in No. I
(Line 2) [illegible]		But the [illegible] is [illegible]
(Line 3) [illegible]		
No. IV, Pl. I	No. V, Pl. I	No. VI, Pl. I
same as in No. I	[illegible] (Line 1) [illegible] (Line 2)	same as in No. V.

[1] Letter of Mr. T. W. Hockley to the Keeper of the Oriental Museum.
[2] Ibid., R.A., p. 106.
[3] v.g. Proc. Chron., 1892, Pl. XXIX, no. 1.
[4] Proc. Chron., 1893, Pl. XXIX, no. 2.

Cases of Old Alveolar Bone Regulation Written
Plate I.





No. VII, Pl. I	No. VIII, Pl. I	No. IX, Pl. I
[illegible] (Line 2)	same as in No. VII.	same as in No. III
[illegible] (Line 3)		
No. X, Pl. I		
same as in No. III		

Beginning from the coin marked the clump which lies on the pad of the base opposite the plate one, the legends may be read in the following manner.

No. I, Pl. II	No. II, Pl. II	No. III, Pl. II
(Line 1) [illegible]	same as in No. I	[illegible] (Line 1)
(Line 2) [illegible]		[illegible] (Line 2)
No. IV, Pl. II	No. V, Pl. II	No. VI, Pl. II
same as No. III	same as in No. III	same as in No. III
No. VII, Pl. II	No. VIII, Pl. II	No. IX, Pl. II
[illegible] (Line 1)	[illegible] (Line 1)	[illegible] (Line 1)
[illegible] (Line 2)	[illegible] (Line 2)	[illegible] (Line 2)

Plate I gives the Obverse and Plate II the Reverse readings. The inscription on the [illegible] of Pl. I, No. 1 consists [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the clump.

According to [illegible], it is possible to identify the name of the [illegible] (Line 1) as [illegible]. "In the [illegible], following from [illegible] the Ahom, in the second, [illegible] [illegible] and in the third from [illegible] the Pawnia [illegible] or Rom. The [illegible] belong to the second [illegible]. The language of their legends is Sanskrit, and the script is Tibetan. Rudrasingha seems to be the first Ahom king to use Bengali [illegible] in the Bengali script. A 'mint' of the third class calls Bhimeswarsingha 'Rudra' and [illegible]."[29]

All coin types are octagonal in shape. Commenting on the octagonal coins of Bhadrasingha, Brown says, "the strange octagonal shape of coins is said to owe its origin to a statement in the Tripitaka Pawnia which [illegible] the Ahom country as octagonal."[30]

A. G. Ids

[29] Ibid, cf. Coins in Ind. Mus., vol. I, pp. 300, 301 and Pinkey Ross, Chetia, 1905, pp. 101-108 and Pl. XXXI and XXIV; Brown, The Coins of India, p. 108.

[30] The Coins of India, p. 108.

Vanga and Vangāla

It was Dr. R. D. Banerji who first expressed the opinion that Vanga and Vangāla are two separate territories and suggested that Vangāla was probably identical with Tamralipta.[1] We differed from Dr. Bandyopadhyay because the only evidence which goes to support his view is the ability to identify of VĀJAS and because the particular invasion of Bengal by Jivita Gupta II by-the Kalachuryas. Bhoja has no historical basis at all.[2] The poet might have sought to exploit the news incident by referring to the conquest of Vanga and by alluding to the killing of the king of Vangāla. Vanga and Vangāla cannot be regarded as two separate countries on the strength of this evidence alone. We therefore observed that Vangāla seems to be an orthographical variation of Vanga, probably made by the modifiers and foreigners. In a short note Dr. N. N. Chowdhury says that Vangāla is derived from the Tibetan word [illegible] and means actually sand-stone. "The second part of Vangāla, the Dravidian 'ālam' is a verbal adjective from the root 'al,' meaning to 'pass.'" Bhaṭṭāra Vangālam means country and ordeal region.

In view of further study of epigraphical evidence we find Bengāla (=Vangāla) has been mentioned in many written India inscriptions.[3] In one record of 1208 A.D., as in the Gōkar inscription, Vanga and Vangāla have been mentioned, clearly showing that they were probably two separate countries. Again, in the Kavyādarśa Mahābhāṣya of Nayachandra (who composed before 1200 A.D.), Gauḍa and Bengāla have been mentioned side by side.[4] It must be noted that regards to Vanga and Vangāla in these three records seem to be regular geographical and poetic exaggerations. But the fact that in these separate

1. Bānglar Itihāsa (Bengali), 1914 B.B., pp. 100 ff.
2. EHD., EI, p. 77, fn. 6.
3. Modern Review, September, 1961.
4. Dhanapāla, Daśarūpa, V. Index: 1vs. 1b, 1b, 7b, 7b, 8vs. 2b; VII. Index 4b. 8b. 14b, 16b. Rm. 8b.
5. Ibid., V. 1b, 7b, Eng. Trans. p. 102.
6. Ind. Ant., 1874, p. 81.

search Vanga and Tamralipta are to be found side by side by side gives us strengthens Dr. Beyderwellert's opinion.

Mr. R. C. Bonerjee suggests to locate the Tamralipta country in the east of the Brahmaputra river.[1] Authority may be drawn to Marco Polo's account of the Bengala country. The king of Bien (Burma) is also called the king of Bengala (=Tamralipta?).[2] As regards its geographical position, Polo remarks:[3] "Bianco consists of Bengala, not in India, but as being the Mon, a province on the confines of India, as being in the south of that kingdom, and as being at the (north) eastern extremity of a great western line which runs (north east into Kwai-chiu and Kwai-lin). All these territories pay allegiance to one loyalty; that, however, is not Bengal but Pagu ..... And possibly the name of Pagu may have contributed to his error, as will be the probable fact that the kings of Burma did at their time claim to be kings of Bengal, which they actually were kings of Pagu."[4] This does not preclude the possibility of joining Tamralipta as a separate country to the east of the Brahmaputra. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the kings of Pagan had important political and social relations with this part of Bengal. Anawratha (1044-77 A.D.), one of the most powerful kings in Burmese history, extended his conquests as far as Bengal.[5] A prince of Bengal's pedigree is prepared in Pagan and married the daughter of the Burmese king, Kyanzittha (1084-1113 A.D.). The next king Alaungsithu (1113-67 A.D.) married a princess of Pedjiluti. The Bakamati plate of Ramacharitam[6] bears testimony to the Burmese influence in that region. This perhaps explains in a way why the kings of Burma and Pagan were also called kings of Bengala by Marco. Again, it is doubtful whether Marco visited these regions and his account was most probably based on hearsays.

1. Indian Antiquary, II, pp. 76ff.
2. The account of Marco Polo mentioned by Yule. Yule notes Bengala in refer to the eastern province of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 99, note 88, 101, for the extent of the Bengala country, see pp. 111 f.
3. Ibid., p. 120.
4. Phayre, History of Burma, p. 40.
5. Ibid., 100, p. 38.

[illegible], social reformers cannot be placed on his moment in the [illegible]. The other suggestions of Mr. N. C. Banerjee, regarding the connection of the Vaishnavas with the Kids dancer in the Punjab, their religious and sacramental nature is accepted, relying on the testimony of some [illegible] Ulema, as [illegible] Urdu, if there would have been any, are not known.

Pandit Jai Dev.

Pictorial Showman : Mahila

In his article on the subject of Pictorial Showman in the *JRAS.*, vol. V, pp. 120-127, Dr. Grierson has gathered a number of [illegible] to show that one kind of Pictorial Showman is ancient India from [illegible] and Pali literature. He quotes one kind of Pictorial Showman called **Rasaliya** (p. 124 as per MS.) in Ali's Prakrit texts and he refers to the *Bhagavati-vitta*, the *Aupapatika-vitta* and the *Upasaka-dasa*.

Briefly, these texts [illegible] which do not mention the Mahila, the bagger of mankind who goes about showing pictures [illegible]. I wish to add the following two references from the Sanskrit glosses on Ali's Prakrit texts which indicate or that the Mahila was known also by two other names, Gvaripatraka and Pattaka.

The gloss on the *Kalpasutra* named *Sandehavisauhadhi* by Unapadhyaya (Dated in A.D. 1697) says:

[illegible]: [illegible] (in short) :

Kalpa-vitta, vol. II. *Jacobi*, pp. 300 f.n.

The Tika known *Kiranavali* also gives the above passage. Note the gloss in the *Kalpa-vitta* and with it is a passage from the gloss on the *Paryantapada* which says that the Mahila had a third name, Kalkuda.

[illegible] or **[illegible]** (Sanskrit) :

V. Raghavan

The Horse of Siksaṇḍha

In order to recommend the world Dhāraṇīpiṭaka, the prince of Explanations came out from the palace of Lord Śākyamuni by a horse. The name of that horse as found in Buddhist works is Kaṇṭaka or Kaṇṭhaka. In Pali we have the horse. What are the meanings of the words and which of them is original? The former may mean an ornament for the neck, and as such may be applied for the name of the horse that was very excellent. But what is the name of the horse? The word Kaṇṭaka like Pali has from which we have Tibetan is included in the group of words (gana) beginning with Singa in Pāṇini (IV. 1. 123). It is a name of a horse. But it does not help us in ascertaining the meaning.

The Tibetan name used for the name of the horse Siksaṇḍha (ngaṅ-ṅgi) which literally means in Sanskrit *gandhapāṭhaka* or *gandhapāṭhin* is *pratiṣṭhā-ma*, excellent. The Chinese Sutra used for name for the horse as *chi-tan* (犍陀) which means the same thing as in the Tibetan sense i. e. 'pratiṣṭhā, excellent.'

This leads us to think of the derivation of the two words used in Sanskrit texts, *kaṇṭhaka* and *kaṇṭaka*, they are connected with as *kaṇṭhā* (कण्ठा) 'a girth' 'a grade, a horse.'

From this root is derived *kaṇṭhika* and *kaṇṭaka* in spontaneous coincidence in Sanskrit literature. It appears that another being unable to understand the true meaning of 'the horse' might have changed it to *kaṇṭaka*. It is only in this manner of misread or misheard *kaṇṭhika* to *kaṇṭaka*, we are very much driven and accept 'a wall' even in the Pali Dictionary.

It may also be observed that between these two words, *kaṇṭhika* and *kaṇṭaka* the former was the first and then the latter came into being, for only thus we may account for the variation. One unable to understand the meaning of *kaṇṭhika* may have changed it to *kaṇṭaka* thus making the meaning clear. We have examples of dentals becoming cerebrals and vice versa.

Vidyādhara Dīkṣitācārya.

1. Originally it may be *ciran*, a herb.

2. *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, v.1.4. Kāśī Saṃskṛta-ca-hala. The use of such words as *kaṇṭhaka*, *kaṇṭhaka* 'grazing', 'treading' and of the root with the grade of *ka* will clearly.

The Psychiatrists and Rogier Palering

The Kalo-Dionysiaki series of drawings of the Rogier Island in collaboration with Gerhard Hellum (q.v.), [illegible] is well generally known that they originated among [illegible] the Psychiatrists of Hellum. My own [illegible] information is Dr. A. R. Gonzaremony, who is a [illegible] amateur and English translator of the Psychiatrists [illegible] that the artist closely follows Hellum's text and verse, [illegible] with the exercise [illegible]. Dr. Gonzaremony has kindly sent to his [illegible] a copy of his magnificent Catalogue of Rogier paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Berlin,[1] containing about fifty reproductions of the Kaogre Kalo-Dionysiaki series, and we take this opportunity of pointing out the relation of some of these pictures to Hellum's poem. Dr. Gonzaremony says in the Introduction to his Catalogue (p. 47) that the paintings probably follow some [illegible] order [illegible] of the Kalo-story, [illegible] because they cannot be explained with reference to the story of Kalo as told in the Kalo-Dionysiaki but as we have said, he [illegible] that the pictures are based on the Psychiatrists, which deals with the earlier part of Kalo's career and ends with his marriage with Dionysiaki.

Of the reproductions given in Dr. Gonzaremony's Catalogue of Rogier paintings, [illegible] represents a typical scene from the Psychiatrists, in which the Kalo-Dionysiaki [illegible] Kalo with a jug in his hand is seen making to some girl attendants who [illegible] away. Dionysiaki is seated behind him. In another part of the picture a well-dressed elderly person follows a maiden. This drawing depicts the young [illegible] described in Psychiatrists [illegible], where Kalo pours forth a shower of water over the maids by way of punishing them for [illegible] about himself and his bride. In the poem he [illegible] this by virtue of a mysterious power received from Tarsus. The artist seems to add, the jug to give a realistic touch to the picture. The elderly person following the maidens is meant to illustrate a subsidiary scene in which the chaperones chase the young girls out of

1. Published at the Leipzig Gallery in the Museum of Fine Arts, Berlin, from N. Rogier Palering by Ernesto M. Gonzaremony (Morning Victorian Press, 1898).

the inner apartments. The poet says: "With torrents of water vainly assembles to kiss by virtue of Tarjan's horn, he dissolved their bosoms with water as he infused their hearts with wonder" (28, 19).

Further scenes from Canto XX (see the subject of some of the drawings). Lines CXV (Plate XLI) shows on the right Kala on his throne in the inner apartments followed by girl attendants; on the left is seen Damayanti seated, with her face veiled, and bashfully hiding it with her hands, while Nala speaks something to a smiling maidservant and other girls look on. Lines CXI (Plate XLIII) is a continuation of the same subject. The bashful Damayanti is now seated (represented between the arms of Nala and a vista of the inner apartments. There is a small fountain playing in the foreground with birds going about in the courtyard. Some the three may be explained with reference to the following stanzas: "Desiring to a delicate friend of his beloved, Nala dip quickly his lying lot at before him and spoke to her, making her a witness of an oath" (28.20). "When Nala became silent, having spoken to knowingly to Kali, she said to him with a smile pleasant from Damayanti's face" (28.47). "When he was thus addressed by Kali with extraordinary pleasant words, he asked his beloved, smiling her face, 'Is this pleasant?' (28, 48). "Being in the company of his beloved, the king smilingly spoke to Kali, his friend, desiring to 'Kali the pleasure of jarring again" (28, 53). It is not difficult to distinguish the figure of the beautiful maid with Kali in the drawings.

Lines CXXVI (Plate LI) is a handsome example showing Damayanti and Nala seated together in a pavilion; on one side are some girl musicians playing on the lyre, and on the other, musicians with caged birds, corresponding to Stanzas 18.43 ff., though in the poem one of the birds is described as perching on a crystal rod. The poet says: "Damayanti's companions, desirous of the king of the Gandharvas, and desirous of Lord in the presence of the sun, who were adept in playing with sounds on the lyre, went over to the king, seated on his throne, to sing to the lyre before him" (31.19). The poet continues: "The lyre then oriented forth songs of indigo arising like honey in the ears of their people, with the sequence of their letters perfectly distinct, in such wise that the inner power of

Dasaratha, the lord of the Earth, repeated all the songs long, discussing delight." (II., 102). It will be seen how the whole poem together forms three different scenes.

Item CCVII (Plate XLV.) shows Dasaratha on his upper balcony of his palace giving a pearl string to a maid, while below in a square we see another maid handing a second pearl string to the leader of a group of holy and elaborately dressed persons. This corresponds to Valmiki (II. 32), where we are told that inside of the inner apartments Kaikeyi's ornaments from Dasaratha's present among the hands who had come to awaken the royal couple in the morning in a manner for their wonderful stories. Item CIX (Plate XLIII) is an interesting representation of the wedding banquet, showing some of guests being served by waitresses, of whom the poet gives a gay and numerous picture in Canto XVI.

Item CCCXII (Plate L) depicts a wedding ceremony, the form of the military abhisheka of Rama, who is seated with Dasaratha; children and maids in the background. The poet says: "Sri (i.e. women's hair, arising over the head, has consecrated the wedding to Rama. 'Victory to thee, O King!' This said, said with Sri hand of the sun, Indra to drink the water in which they bathe myself" (II. 15). There are several pictures depicting the coronation scene as described in the poem, for example, Indra drinks paying homage to Rama (Nirnaksha, 6), 1), Rama in the gymnasium (II. 9), and Rama on the field, attended by maids and pennis (II. 7-8).

Books scenes from Canto XVII. have the subject of several charming pictures, while item CCCXVIII (Plate LII) and Plate LIII depict the beautiful narrative scenes. It will be remembered that in Canto XXII of the Nalpakhyanam, Nala in the company of his bride beholds the beauty of the swan from the top floor of his palace and describes it to Damayanti who makes a suitable reply. Nala follows with another scheme in the poem's gives, which forms the grand finale of this elaborate paragraph.

Enough has been said to show that the Rangna Nala-Damayanti drawings are based on the *Nalopakhyana* of *Mahabharata*. As Dr. Gonnenwein says in the Introduction to his Catalogue, they are "excellent examples of the Rangna palm at its best," and admirably

illustrate intimate scenes from mediæval court life in India. Unfortunately the examples preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and reproduced in Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Catalogue*, do not complete the series, though there are further examples in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and other museums in America and elsewhere; a good many examples have been published, but not all, and Dr. Coomaraswamy tells us that it would be worth while to publish together all known examples with extracts from the corresponding texts.

From a literary point of view, the drawback about the popularity of the poem is spite of the difficult style in which a good deal of it is written. The poet with all his scholarship and philosophical learning shows to create and maintain a romantic atmosphere, which must have strongly appealed to the imagination of the Rājput artists, who were besides attracted by the lesson in the pure enjoyment of the court life they lived in well. What is more interesting is that while it was usual for Indian painters to take mythological and other subjects from works like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and the *Purāṇas*, it is very rare to find some interlude in the classical **Kāvya** passing into the repertory of Indian artists. In Orissa, apart from Gītagovinda paintings, the Nāyaka-Nāyikā followed contemporary conceptions as early as the ninth century A.D., and the artists frequently depicted themes treated by the poet or borrowed details invented by him.[1] Among Hindū parts of the classical period, Bāṇa had the rare distinction of finding pictorial representation for his poem more than six centuries after its composition. It is to be hoped that Dr. Coomaraswamy and his colleagues will succeed in giving to the world these exquisite specimens of Indian art in an enduring form as at distant date.[2]

R. K. Hazra.

1 Gandy, *History of the Orissan painters*, Plate II, p. 20; Rolle, *Orissische Sagen*, p. 20; and Rolle, *Orissische Sagen*, pp. 30 ff., which contains the latest treatment of the subject.

2 It may be mentioned that the *Gītagovinda* contains important pictorial data which we hope to deal with in relation to similar references in other texts in a forthcoming work on Hindu Iconography.

Note on Tosunkiya

Mr. R. P. Tapawala, to whom we are indebted for so many ingenious suggestions, has also given us[1] a new explanation of the name *Rosaq*, which occurs in the Persian as the designation of an ancient Indian dynasty, with variants such as *Rasaka*, *Rusa*, *Ursa*, *Ursa*, *Ursa*. He takes *Ursa* to be the original form, and identifies them with the Ersipus. This conclusion is based on the Bore inscription of Tosunkiya,[2] where Mr. Tapawala corrects Mills's reading *sarbrahe-Ursaspa-putra* parsaki 'of the great king Tosunkiya, also Jatrin', reading *jarsaki* instead of *parsaki*. The nominative form was *Jatrin*, or *Jarsaka* from *jarsa*, from which *Jarsaki*, *Jatrin*[3], *Jatrinki*, *Tatrinki*, etc., would also in India, and the Persian very likely intended the form *parsaki* which they do give and which I proposed (ac. *JROPS*) to correct to *Jarsaki*.[1] He finds a support for his reading *Jarsaqi* in the Bilsa coin (*Cunningham*, in Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 28, pl. IV, fig. 13, where he reads *jilsi Jarsaqi* instead of *jilsi Tosilki*), stating that 'here the lettering is clear and the full form of *qi*, with both vertical arms, is drawn.'

The "Tokharian Rosaqin Name (*Tokrsi*)" of the Persian may be compared with Sanskrit *Tukhāra-Rosaqin*.[2] The *Mahābhārata* ..... stands for the Tukhāra and his daughter *Rosaqin* for their *Rosaqin* and *Tukhāra*.[3] Above the 'tribe' passes we have that it occurs in the Taxila copper-plate inscription where the official is subordinate to the Rasaqa. It seems that under the Tukhāra or the Kushan the title was current and that the Tasaqa were actual rulers.[4]

I am afraid that I am partly responsible for this explanation, because I read *jarsaka* in my edition of the Taxila copper-plate inscription in the *Corpus*, and explained *jarsa* as a variant of the well-known title *parsaka*, *parsa*, etc. Prof. Sharma[5] has however, shown that my reading and explanation were wrong, and that we must read

1 *JROPS*, XVIII, 1938, pp. 111 ff., cf. *Ind.*, XVI, 1926, pp. 187 ff.
2 Ep. Ind., I, pp. 389 ff.
3 *Mahābhārata* (Bombay Edition), VII, v. 5.

[illegible] Pitrika-rajo [illegible]? Bahiyaviriyaṃ 'the great gilded Pedika together with the epidikyka Bahiyaviriya.' Even if my reading had been right, it would, however, hardly be possible to accept Mr. Jayawal's conclusion.

It is inconceivable how the adjunct 'jamra' could be treated as a relative, and if jamra were another spelling of gamra, it would be an adjunct.

It is further difficult to assume that the second a in gamra, i.e. rajo could be written as y in the Persian, though it occurs as y, j and jā in Khotanese inscriptions.

And, finally, the vowel y in jamra can hardly be explained. I know that some people are of opinion that everything is allowed in Prakrit, but Mr. Jayawal does not share this view.

Even if we were to admit all these difficulties however, Mr. Jayawal's opinion cannot be accepted, because the readings resulted in the Kura inscription provided on that seal are absolutely certain. The signs below a in the initial jam are read by Mr. Jayawal 'both hooked ends.' The right-hand sign is a straight upright, as is he, and not curved as in ga.

On the other hand, I agree with Mr. Jayawal in regarding jamra, jamra as a Pāli, and not as a Prakrit, form. I have little doubt that the Tumrāja of the Kura and the Bahiya inscriptions is one and the same person. Moreover, it is true, also, that "it was not idle to assert that the Tumrāja of our inscription is identical rather with the Tumrāja of the Bahiya inscription or with the Tumrāja of Rabatak, who is mentioned by Zoilīsa and who has left behind so many coins inscribed with Greek characters. The fact that this Tumrāja bears the title Shāh or Shāhi and receives the epithet Jaitrā which may be a tribal name or a Biruda, is, it seems to me, sufficient to prevent the identification with the other Tumrājas, who are not characterised in this manner."

This argument is, however, far from being convincing. The Bahiya inscription is undate, and does would not be more for more than that the imperial mutra-satrapa-ship, such, however, to belong to the King's first year. The Kalsi coin legend gives a fabulous genealogy of Tumrāja dress, in indication of Hagin coins, and no indication can

he drawn from this state of things. The date of the Kyle inscription cannot be made out, only the final one of the cultual giving the year being preserved. It is perhaps possible to read presumptuous 'eighty-fourth', in which case the inscription would be about thirty years later than the Tyrannian coins, which are said to be dated in the year 42 of an unknown era. But it would be unwise to base any conclusions on such a doubtful reading. And Bikkel's objection would be of little weight if coin parallels could be shown to be false concerning chronology in the dynasty to which Tyrannian belongs. And such is, I believe, actually the case.

His Imperial contends on of the fact that Alkestis gives Kindas, i.e. Kandas, in the Apanky of the (Ki) of Kilisi, the last ruler of which is given the name Lagi Tyrnan. He draws the inference that they were all Kindyan. It is true that they bound their dynasty to Kandas, but they were family of Kindyan stock, but only took over the traditions of their predecessors.

Among the 'Kindya-Sanskrit coins' discussed by Prof. Bachhil[1] we find such as are marked as different Kapilidjin kings and bear the legend cato cakri, i.e. cato cakri. And Prof. Pavier[2] discusses some other Kapilidjin coins with legends exhibiting the world cato and cakrin. Dr. Bancroft has pointed out to me that cakrin must be a title, and it seems evident that here we have the exact counterpart to the cakra jatakin of the Kyle inscription. And it seems necessary to infer the inference that we have in the cakri, title commonly used by the Kapilidjin. (cato is of course the old title used by the Kindyan, which had been adopted by the Kapilidjin. It is possible and perhaps probable that jatakin, cannot was also borrowed from Kapilidjin. But the collocation of these two titles in Kapilidjin legends and in the Kyle inscription shows that our Tyrannian was, in all probability a Kapi, or less usually been associated, and not a Kindyan. And there is no urgent reason for assuming that he was another person than the Tyrannian of the Kyle inscription.

1 Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 36, pp. 10 f.
2 JRAS F., 1905, pp. 502 f.

I cannot consequently accept Mr. Jayaswal's explanation of the word *Bhima* or *Tivana*, but I am doubtful as to how the directing our attention to the Rum inscription in this connection. If it has any bearing on the reading of the word in the Pochpa, it might lead us to accept the variant *Bhipa*. But I do not believe in any such difference.

Sten Konow

PAKISTAN

Himadri

The Himadri Parvata (lit. golden pendent mountain) is referred to in many of the ancient writings, some of which furnish us with fragmentary information regarding its location.

All the Purāṇas agree in mentioning the Himadri mountain as running to the south of the Himavat mountain, with the Nīlaśila Parvata to its north. These three mountains, i.e. Himavat, Himadri and Nīlaśila, are mentioned as running from east to west, their ends stretching up to the eastern and western ocean.[1] The Himadri was also known as the Himaparvata or the Haimavata.[2] It is one of the 'Varṣaparvatas of Jambūdvīpa.'[3]

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (V. 19, 8) the Himadri is mentioned as forming the boundary line of the Bhārata Varṣa, and the Nīlaśila is said to have bordered Ramyaka (i.e. the Pāmīrs). The Himavat is said to have included the western part of Tibet (F. Day's Geographical Dict., pp. 75, 2[illegible]). The southern boundary of Bharatvarṣa (western Tibet) is the Kailāsa mountain which is described as covered with perpetual snow.[4] In this description, we have to bear in mind that the geographical western mountain in the Purāṇas is given to surround Indra (lit. earth), and therefore the Himadri mountain must be identified with the range of Kailāsa running to the south of the Himavat mountain. From this it evidently follows that Himadri was the general name of the range of Kailāsa stretching in the northern part of Kailāsa and extending towards the east.

The statement of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, that the Himadri formed the boundary line of the Bhārata Varṣa, suggests another point for

1. Bhīṣmaparva Purāṇa, ch. 20; Vāyu Purāṇa, 36, 5.
2. N. L. Day's Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Med. India, second edition, p. 76.
3. The Varṣaparvatas were so called from their formal boundary lines between the different Varṣas or Dvīpas of a Dvīpa. They were also known as Mandalāgiri (see *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, V. 16, 9) for the same reason. The Varṣaparvatas of Jambūdvīpa are: Himavat, Himadri, Nīlaśila, Meru, Hiraṇmaya and Śṛṅgavat (see Garuḍa Purāṇa, 1, 53, 8-10).
4. Day's Geographical Dic. of Anc. and Med. India, second edition, p. 81.

conclusion. The Kinyreyas (Kinnaras) are found, as everything is explained (see which has been rightly described) by M. L. Dey, with the Kinnaras of India or the 'wandering Brahmin' according to Herodotus. They were so called because of their living in the land Uranoris. Their original home is said to be the Caucasus, or the western side of the Caspian sea. This they abandoned, since they were, more or less, in a perpetual state of warfare with their neighbours. After this they descended down to the northern side of the Jaxartes and began to say Nyse.[1] All these facts seem to point out that these people, on account of their living in a nomadic camp, might have further wandered to move in the same direction, i.e. towards the south-east. If they reached the land bordering the southern side of the Himalaya. That these people had come down so far as the Himalaya is corroborated by the statement of Bhattikāvya who records, in his Kāvyaśāstra, that Kinnarīkāvya was a part of Kinnara-mandalaṃ (see adjacent MS.)[2] From this they could not move down, since they with aspect of hills, covered with perpetual hospitality every by so far inaccessible forests in their native uncultivated lands. It is also probable, in view of the foregoing statement, that the Kinnaras or Kinyreyas might have established themselves here, i.e., on the southern side of the Himalaya. This is the reason why we have a mention of the Himalaya in the Persian, in the Avesta, Yasna of the Eastern Yasna.

The Herodotus is contrasted in the Kathāsaritsāgara in connection with the Hiranyaka or silver-eared company of the ants by Kālidāsa. Even the passage gives the 'to a serious doubt in regard to the proposed identification of this narrative with the Kālā running in Kashmir. The reading presented is as follows: **"Hemaśrīrāṭ Jagrāṭ Sarvad Sarvaśaṃ"** (Peterson's edition, p. 128). Here it is said that Hemaprapta was the daughter of the Kālika whose permanent residence was in the Himalaya and who used to move in the neighbourhood of Kālika. From this statement two inferences may be drawn. In the first place, we are told that the Kinnarīkā was the abode of the

1. For the detailed account of these Kinnaras see Dutta's by M. L. Dey, pp. 37 f.

2. Pāṭhakāvya, Nirṇaya's edition, p. 120.

Rattan. This supports the view of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* regarding the Rattanāka as the boundary line of the Kāṭyāyana Varṣa. The Kāṭyāyana are the Kāṭyāyana as it has been told. The Kāṭika of Sarvanāga gotra might be taken to have constituted some city wise. The other schemes from the text quoted above is, that the Kāṭika was different from the Dhanāṭika. But this view is opposed to a doubt, since some of the references in ancient writings was applied the existence of the Kāṭyāyana and gave the identity of these countries. "D. L. Roy, on the strength of a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣma P., Ch. 9) identifies these two mountains, and remarks:" "D. (Dhanāṭika) is another name for the Kāṭika mountain." This discrepancy may be reconciled from the statement that the Kāṭika formed a portion of the Dhanāṭika. A justification of this view may be sought from the fact that the Dhanāṭika was a Varṣaparvata and hence it was probably bounded on some portions within itself the adjacent ranges, the Kāṭika being one of them; whereas in some parts it was considered separate with a view to distinguish it from the adjacent hills. It has already been said that after a lapse of some time the dwellers of the Kāṭika was forgotten and it is on account of this that these names were taken for land promiscuously for one another; still this might be for the reason that the two mountains in question were taken to be identical in the course of time. Later on, when the identification of the Kāṭika with the Dhanāṭika had been established, both these words, originally indicating different ranges, came to be considered as mere synonyms as we find in many of the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*.[1]

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 36) mentions three rivers originating from the Hemakūṭa mountain: the Ganga, the Narmadā and the Ākāśagaṅgā. This account is also supported by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 41). All these rivers have spring forth from the Bindusarovara range of the Himalayas, the distance between their sources being very small. The rivers flowing from the Kāṭika mountain are four in number: The Indra, the Sukeśa (Sydey), the Kurucī and the Sukarṇapatī (*JASB*, 1908, p. 168). These rivers are quite different from

1 Roy's Dictionary, see under Kāṭika.
2 *Ibid.*, Bhīṣma Parva, ch. 9.

those that are said to have originated from the Hesiodic. This again inevitably leads us to the same conclusion that the Hesiodica were formerly different from the Kalika mountain.

In the Fifth *Pythian* (v. 40), we have an interesting account of the course of the river Akheloos with its hill and five or fifteen mountains. There we read that the river passed by the Hesiodica (verse 51), and then by the Naiadikia mountain (it must read the Kalika (verse 55). The separate mention of the Kalika from the Hesiodica here suggests the abnormal conclusion that both these mountains were different in ancient days.

The Rhiza (Ch. 121, 1.1), the Lilaia (M., 39) and the Fifth Pythian (V, 1) agree in mentioning the Kalika mountain as the abode of the Telines, whereas the Hesiodica was the swelling place of the Smithaeroi (Fifth *Pythian*, 46, 50). The Hesiodica, therefore, seems to have been formerly different from the Kalika. From its mention in the circle of the Gigantomachia it may be suggested that the Hesiodica stretched as far as the vicinity of the Smithaeroi, i.e. Smithaeropoios of the modern Kyrtiko. (1) It follows, from this, that the Hesiodica mountains the modern region of the Khelidoni.

Leaving other (Mt. Ba Sotirtis/Porta) possible lairs sprung from the western side of the Kalika,[1] I spy at the Sergit range, situated about 10 miles to the north of Khamaiteron (Ch., pp. 50 f.). If we take the Kalika circle(s) as let on Kaloyeros to mean it identical with the Hesiodica mountain, the statement that the Sydaj flowed down from the western (sic) Sergian (sic) [illegible]. In that case it would have been mentioned as flowing down from the southern and not the western side of it. The upshot of all these arguments is that the migration of the Kalika towards the west was taken to be only as far as the mouth of the river Sydaj and not beyond it. But the Hesiodica is said to be used to the east, even beyond that limit, i.e., up to the eastern coast.[2] The western name have probably refers to the delphic Mediterranean Sea, which practically extend in the Byzantine age.[3]

9. JHS., 1910, p. 180.
10. *Melampodia Poetica*, ch. 10.
11. J. S. Davis *Hesiodic Lexica*, ch. 1.

The original name, I believe, was Hindukush,[illegible] and it was so called because of its being covered with heaps of snow and with a view to distinguish it from the same ranges of the Hindukush extending in the immediate north of India. Later on, the real significance of the name seems to have been quite forgotten, and the name Hindukush was changed into Hindukuja probably because of the [illegible] 'snowy' attributed to it as a logical sequence of the identification with the Kailas mountain.

We shall now proceed to examine the position of the Hindukush mountain from the northern side and see whether it coincides with the position of the same as surveyed from the south. The Hindukush was believed to lie to the south of the Nagalia mountain and to run parallel to it as we have already seen. To mention its location, therefore, from the opposite side, we shall first have to locate the Nagalia mountain. Mr. F. E. Pay accurately identifies the Nagalia mountain with the Hindukush range,[illegible] and it probably included the range stretching in the northern part of Afghanistan towards the east or far as it from the northern boundary of Persia since it could so have reached up to the eastern [illegible].

The view mentioned above may be substantiated by some other corroborative evidence. The Mahabharata makes the Nagalas contiguous the abode of the Pilpas, the Sulpas and the Gandharvas (Udyoga P., Ch. 9). The Gandharvapura (the abode of the Gandharvas) or Gandhara, according to the earliest authorities, comprised the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi.[illegible] According to Hiuen-tsiang the Gandharvas held Kabul and the neighbouring tract on both the sides of the river Kabul as far as the upper reaches of the Indus.[illegible] The Nagalia mountain, therefore, must have included the range of the Hindukush, which stretch to the north of Afghanistan, pass by the city of Kabul and extend as far as Persia.

(1) That the change of River to Hindu was not impossible is from that they may be proved by the analogy of the word, Hindustan given as a synonym of the Himalaya in the Chapi Prakash (ch. 3).

(2) See Nagalia by F. E. Pay, p. 3.

(3) Kapila Gong, Dir, of Jhu and Nai Lake, see under Gandhara.

(4) Beal-ii, pp. 98, 99.

The Sayan and the Nagas separated two of the earliest remembrances and they received this appellation on account of their ancient (Homeric) habits as to indicated by their origin. The Dravidic tribes claim rights in the region watered by the Kāvēri. If our conjecture are true, the continent of the Hesperides, which makes the Nagas and the Nāgas meets on the Nīgalīri mountains, habit a free general and that the Nīgalīri mountains are to an other face the Wīdhyāns. This again leads us to the same conclusion that the Himādrīs, which is stated to have situated on the south of the Nīgalīri, was used as a generic term denoting the whole range of hills running approximately from the Himāsa lake on the east to the far western part of Rādhasīra and probably beyond it.

This identification of the Himādrīs with the northern ranges of the Himālayas is confirmed by many other works. In the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa*, it is said that Gaṇeśapūjā, which is the majority of the world as Vīrvāpā, denotes his venom appearance, p. 173. The sagacious Bhāsvaprāṇī[17] whose he courage and resolve to pass a few days in order to render his indigent uncle happy one. In pursuit of a pair of Kinnaras, one day, while hunting, he unexpectedly reaches a long distance and finds himself lost, in a dense forest accompanied by a woman being (pp. 270-72).[18] Struggling he gives on in the Rādhā mountains. In quest of water, unexpectedly, he finds his search to the north-western direction along the foot of the Rādhā and wandering there he arrives at the Jyotiṣā Sarovara (p. 276), in the northern bank of which he sees a mother, Mahāśvetā, performing penance (p. 281). Pursuing his return by the west of the lake, he reached the Indrāyudha, built by the Gandharva emperor.

The compound received recorded in the *Kādambarī*, though greatly colored up with fiction, is of great interest, from it preserves, in its

(a) The analysis of this Sarovaṇṭaṇa is not known. But the name followed by the person helps us to ascertain it. Mīn, meaning, is not the Himālayan identified with Harmata (Rāvīnī), p. 30, the capital of the Sādhus and the Sādhus (Mīn), (Village 8), ch. 10 and Sādhus Pūrṇa, ch. 8; for the simple reason that it is a lake all in the north.

(b) If the geographical account of the *Kādambarī* is correct, the use of the epithet 'Vīrvāpā' was applied first to Bhāsvaprāṇī Sādhus (Sādhus) and Lādhā was also.

legendary gods, some geographical details regarding the Rasātala mentioned. As regards the lake Anāvila, it is in Kashmīr, for modern scholars being Anchavatu.[9] About six miles to the north east of Srīnagar, the ancient capital of Kashmīr, on the Jhelum, there is a town known as Pāmpur or Mamra, evidently a corruption of Bhūtanāth and has been identified with Bhavan or Bhavana.[10] From this place, at a distance of about six miles is situated the lake Anāvila of the Nīlamāta.[11] There it is said that the prince reached this lake after a short wandering in his exit from the Kalāpa. This is noteworthy, since it suggests that some of these lilas were also included in the Kalāpa i.e. in the Rasātāla. Rāgatarangiṇī seems to have been acquainted with the statement of the Purāṇas that the Rasātāla formed the boundary line of the Kāmarupa Tīrtha. That the Rasātāla, on which stood Indrabhūti's palace, did not extend a few leagues north from the Anāvila lake is also known to him.[12] All the foregoing arguments lead us to the conclusion that probably the west side Rasātāla was supposed to stretch up to the flat western part of Kashmīr.

B. N. Tarafdar

(8) Bogi's Geographical Dictionary, see under Anāvila.
(9) Ibid., p. 22. (10) Ibid., p. 1.
(11) The author says that "Indrabhūti reached Bhūtanāth's station on the Rasātāla and returned to the Nīlāmbupura the next day." (R. Pandey's edition, pp. 19 ff.) and Rāmānāth's words: Anāvila prakāmaṇāyaṃ, p. 180.

REVIEWS

ŚYEṬĀMBARAMAHĀKAVYA, [illegible] Texte et [illegible] par Sylvain Lévi (Collection Étude Sanscrit Paris 1883, [illegible], pp. LXXX + 107 [illegible] French).

For the [illegible] [illegible] Śyeṭāmbara has been one of the most favourite works among Indian Pandits. Hence it is indeed gratifying to see it included in the series of books issued after the great French Indologist Sylvain Lévi. This work was already available in various editions in the English and French translations. But they did not serve the purpose of the scholar under review. About the aim in preparing the present edition of the Śyeṭāmbara (Śyeṭā), which according to Lévi's edition is not a critical one the editor says, "……some principle [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

been recited by Ajita's (his) disciples. Rendels in this compound means 'regular', or rather the 'transcending regular' as in Vaiśeṣikas, Kaṭhāvallī (p. 14) means the 'regular transcending the world' or 'Brahman'.

(c) On the authority of Weber (p. 12, not 14 as printed) the editor has considered *vṛṣṭa* (p. 13) as an orthodoxy Bhāṭṭakārī form, and on the authority of Finden also has taken *pūrvāṇa* (p. 9) [illegible] as a form belonging only to H. and [illegible]. On this point the reviewer would like to draw attention of readers to his paper 'Middle-Indic, a late phase of Sanskrit' (see *Journal of the Bihar, & Orissa, Calcutta University*, Vol. XXII, 1935). The editor's remark that, 'a (*pronom*) *padin pur* in *Iniciaro a ondide*' is likely to create a misunderstanding. For two different varieties of S. the non and western forms have recognized by any grammarian.

(d) *Ṭhāna* a form *ṭhāṇa*? Any a *pṛṣṭi* of *upacāra* (*ṭha*) is the form of *ṭ* or *ṭhāṇa*. The *ṭhāṇa* has correctly considered *ṭhāṇa* as 'one hundred thousand' (p. 17). This Bh. word is given one to the Pāli *ṭhāṇa*.

(e) In *ṭhāṇa* Kal. Ins. 257 (p. 18) *ṭhāṇa* *ṭhāṇa* *ṭhāṇa* has been printed in *ṭhāṇa* *ṭhāṇa*.

(f) In p. 18 *Ṭhāṇa* *ṭhāṇa*, should be read as *ṭhāṇa* *ṭhāṇa*. Pramādī (line 13) has to *ṭhāṇa* in *ṭhāṇa*. This is evidently due to a mistake. *Ṭhāṇa* should be corrected to *ṭhāṇa*. But a better reading seems to be *ṭhāṇa* (*ṭhāṇa*).

(g) In p. 19 *ṭhāṇa* (*ṭhāṇa*, *ṭhāṇa*) seems to be a wrong reading. The (*ṭhāṇa*) word is *ṭhāṇa*, not *ṭhāṇa*. Given the Pāli, word would *ṭhāṇa* or *ṭhāṇa*. The forms like *ṭhāṇa* and *ṭhāṇa* are between *ṭhāṇa*s and there prepare the evidence of a form like *ṭhāṇa*. But even this does not give solution.

(h) *Ṭhāṇa* (e.g. 19) is a wrong reading for *ṭhāṇa*. The Bhāṭṭacārya ed. of the *Ṭh.* with Pāṭhaghāra's commentary seems to be the source of this mistake. Pāṭhaghāra's commentary is apparently responsible for the translation of *ṭhāṇa*s as 'wonderful pupils'. Where is this connection we come only 'hand and *ṭhāṇa*', and *ṭhāṇa*-*ṭhāṇa*, means 'of those who have grey hand and moustache' and not 'to *ṭhāṇa* any wonderful pupils'.

(4) The further information about the meaning of *ulam* (p. 187) and the original *ulam* text of Khanna's *Pāṇḍitya-ratna* (see the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* edited by the reviewer *Śrīkṛṣṇa* pp. xxxvii ff.).

(5) *Bhāṇḍapīṭha* in p. 192 is not 'Mantel' (= *yavika*) but 'stalls'. The editor has (*ibid.*) entertained a doubt about the meaning of the Gandharva Śālāyā on this point. The commentator Śivadāsa seems to give a clue to the right interpretation of the term. *Bhāṇḍapīṭha* appears to be a compound of the words *bhāṇḍa* and *pīṭha* (*ibid.*) and should mean 'the back of kind of silk fabric'. The term *Pāṭṭavastra* in Bengali means 'silken cloth'. The glossy and yellowish surface of the back kind of silk has been compared to the glossy surface of the body of Lava and Cūḍāmaṇi, who were supposed to have a yellowish or dark complexion according to Indian standard.

(6) *Ādarśī* (in p. 193) bears different. For the definition see the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* pp. 2-36.

In the introduction (p. 21 f.) the editor states that Tāṇḍava was the patron of Bharatamuni and in fact in the emperor of China known the latter introduced a way of connecting play the kingdom of the earth-war India. This is highly unjustified. Tāṇḍava Śiva known Gods that the madness will not probably to invoke the protection of the emperor Śālāṅka Tāṇḍavamuni's creation (The Oxford History of India, London 1919, p. 189).

These are the points on which one may differ from the editor or suggest corrections. Apart from these the present edition of the *Ut.* has been very excellent. The editor can be sincerely congratulated on his work.

Raghavan Ganesan

EKNATHACHARITA OR JÑANESVARA GITA by Agashivad Nilakanta and Bhaswatilal Bahana. Shri Adhyatma Jnana Granthamala, No. 71. Published by Shankaraloka Sahitya Nilaya, Gokarna. Pp. 32+[illegible]+8 Illustrations.

About sixteen years back Rao Vijayajayaji published his very valued biography of Sri Bhaviraja Tirtha and showed to the world for almost the first time the great influence exercised by Sri's teachings on the religious and religious practice of Akbar, the great Mughal emperor. Sri Bhaviraja Tirtha was an disciple of the Vijayagarhs. His biography, however, naturally contains full details about the influence of his gurukula. The book under review is the life-story of another great Jaina teacher, Sri Jñanesvara Yati who exercised almost as great an influence on the religious ideals of Akbar. He was an disciple of the Bhattarakapatta, and received from Akbar the title of 'Vijayaja-Gitaka' or the chief teaching of the period, according to an Urdu-Persian document published by the Scholars, he prevailed the Emperor to prohibit the slaughter of animals from the 8th day of Ramazan (8th of April) to the 12th day of that very month. He is said to have been instrumental also in the abolition of the Sri on the pilgrimage to the Sri-Vijaya tribes, and the prohibition of slaughter throughout the Mughal empire. Sri Vijaya's enemy Brahmans turned against the Jaina, and persecuted them badly for that they were frequent and indeed also to counsel his orders against the community. These were really great services to the cause of humanity in general and Jainism in particular, and we must be grateful to the author of the book for having brought them to our notice by going through a large mass of unpublished materials accessible to the Jaina only.

The value of the book is further increased by the short biographies of the followers of the Sri's, published herein for the first time. Of these some examples are very good problems. Ramanandin Brahmana was, for instance, the prime minister of Dhanar for many years. His life has been, on the whole, judiciously treated. But I wish the author had not relied on such a mere-fiction story as the 'Jaina Epitome of Rajaprasad' in stating that Ramanandin helped the Singhji of Dhanar in repelling the invasion of Mirzaja Aziz-Koka of Jaipur. History does not know of any such Mahavira in Ramanandin

reader's, then. A similar mistake has been committed in dealing with the life of the Rajaraja Deva. The author's statement that the Siva was installed in Delhi in 1037 A.D. by the Emperor who was evidently eager to see him in vain as historical but foreign based on a Bilsa copper-plate in 1040 A.D. We know from the *Prabandhacintamani*, that in 1037 A.D., the Emperor was displeased with the Sinhl for certain reasons which need not be specified here, and wished to punish him severely. Fortunately the Sinhl died on the way to Delhi.

Bit these are rather minor blemishes in an otherwise meritorious production, the value of which has been recognised by eminent scholars like Dr. Gustav Oppert, Dr. Hultzsch, Mr. H. D. Desai, the latter of whom contributes a learned introduction of 32 pages.

Sudhakar Dikshit.

ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF SANSKRIT LANGUAGE

by E. Wint. Heidelberg 1906.

The first fascicle of the long-awaited Etymological Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language, on which Prof. Wilhelm Wint of Munich has been engaged all his life, has at last appeared. After Wackernagel's Altindische Grammatik, the third volume of which appeared in 1896, this is undoubtedly the most important publication in the field of Vedic and Sanskrit Philology. Without the least danger of exaggeration it may be said that the future development of Sanskrit Philology in all its branches will be largely, if not wholly, based on Wackernagel's Altindische Grammatik on the one hand, and Wint's Etymological Dictionary on the other. These two, in fact, make up two separate whole, for a Linguistic grammar, of the type of Wackernagel's presupposes a large body of etymologies. It would have been more logical therefore if Wackernagel's Grammar had been preceded by Wint's Dictionary and not followed by it—after such a long interval—say, twenty or at least thirty years in the case of Philology, which is naturally more immediately affected by the new etymological dictionary. Medically, also Sanskrit, everything and everyone, but it

[illegible] of [illegible], which is rightly becoming more and more an integral part of all historical linguistic [illegible]. It is certainly no disparagement of Wackernagel's splendid achievement to say that his volume on Phonology will now perhaps have to be tested in the light of the [illegible], proved, [illegible] and established in Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar. Prof. Whitney himself [illegible] bringing out as a sequel to his dictionary a volume exclusively dealing with Sanskrit phonology. It is to be hoped that he will not give up this idea. For it will leave Prof. Wackernagel free to go ahead with his Grammar, from more volumes of which we still to appear.

The first 184 pages consist of a Vademecum which may be safely recommended as the best available hand-book on Sanskrit methodology. The section about here lays the science of etymology has slowly but surely grown up,—its first fairly complete in the field, followed immediately by an [illegible] and [illegible] analysis, which in its present maturity has gradually evolved in the dialogue of activity and [illegible],—only the foundation's [illegible] (Pottier, Schmitz, Pedersen) pointing impressions to the dawn of this new light. The contribution of [illegible] Sanskrit [illegible] has been derived, appraised and criticized where necessary. Being the most indispensable fact and particularly remarks, [illegible] Sanskrit [illegible], have been recorded here, if the remarks were to the point. It is easy to predict that many will consider this to be too stereotypic. But Prof. Wackernagel all such future critics by quoting Prudentia the Gnomic: "Mieux dans les détails, le vrai est plus vaste gloire; c'est là le premier pas, qui mène à la vérité." But the best valuable part of this first fascicle is the exhaustive classified bibliography extending over 30 pages.

We extend a hearty welcome to this most important publication and hope that the Indian public will give it the hearty support that it deserves.

Bhagavan, Gonda

THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE by P. M. Somasundaram pp. vii + 38 + 41 illustrations.

The Rājarājeśvara, colloquially the Bṛhadīśvara, temple at Tanjore, is admittedly the chef-d'œuvre of Cola (Ś. ind. of South India) architecture and the greatest monument of the Cola Rājarāja I. But, strangely enough, it has yet remained without a guide-book for the needs of ordinary visitors. It is precisely to fill this want that the author has written this interesting and useful monographic treatise.

The general text consists, apart from a short Foreword and Preface, of a general account of the temple and its adjuncts, which is followed by eight appendices, a concise bibliography and an index. In the general account the author begins properly by mentioning the geographical situation of Tanjore, its traditional origin and its history down to British times. Then follow descriptions of the main deities with the five (actually six) Śivalingas. The standard hypothesis that the main deity is of the Pāṇḍya period, the picture of Nāgaṉaṉcēṉ probably of the late Pāṇḍya date and many other insights. We are then introduced to a closely descriptive account of Cola and other sculptures of the group and a fairly good treatment of the epigraphic Cola Tamil colouring the corridor of the Adhikaranandi of the main shrine. Finally, we have a searching and comprehensive account of the magnificent endowments known to have been made to the main shrine by the royals and the relatives, of the images of Śaiva saints set up by Rājarāja and his successors, of the principal Rāṣṭrakūṭa connected with the main temple and of the principal festivals including chariots.

The above summary is sufficient to show the usefulness of the work under review. It must, however, be admitted that it suffers somewhat from redundancy and want of proportion. Appendix A (on the Tanjore Palace Establishment), Appendix B (on Rājā-Sevā) (?) and Appendix H (on genealogical tables) should have been largely condensed or even omitted altogether. The lengthy quotations from inscriptions, Sanskrit papers etc. and, above all, the Tamil extracts (including the whole of Appendix F) are regrettably out of place in a guide-book. On the other hand the portions relating to the architecture and sculpture inside a Śaiva Sanctuary. Thus a short account of the Early Cola style of architecture which the Bṛhadīśvara temple is one of the most important speci-

[illegible] and in leading features such as the decorative pilasters between the niches and the massive gilded [illegible] would have been very welcome.

The work is enriched with 24 illustrations, including a general plan and views of the main shrine and minor sculptures. But some of the illustrations, e.g. Nos. 14, 15 and 16, seem to be superfluous, while in other cases, e.g. Nos. 18 and 21, the selection leaves much to be desired. We cannot conclude this review without wishing for similar guide-books in respect of the other great shrines with which Southern India abounds.

T. N. [illegible].

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT for the year 1921. Bangalore, 1921.

This publishing Indologists the high level of scholarship and technical excellence that we have been accustomed to associate with Dr. R. Narasimha, the present Director of Archæological researches in Mysore.

The work consists of five main heading viz. Office—Administrative, Study of ancient Monuments, Numismatics, Manuscripts and Inscriptions.

In the First Part, the author laments the restriction of collection of inscriptions and the stopping of excavations at Conjeeveram and Brahmagiri for lack of funds, and his hopes will be fully shared by all those who are interested in the subject. It is, however, a relief to learn the coming appearance of the author's monograph on minor works of the Chalukyan style in the Mysore State.

Part II is devoted to a detailed study of a number of select monuments. Of these special mention may be made of the Kōdandarāma temple at Talakāḍ built by Pañcavaḍḍaraṇa Hoysala (1111 A.D.), the Jaina Kalasa temple at Somanāthapura (1268) by a Hoysala Governor of Narasimha III, Hoysala, c. 1250 A.D., the Aghoreśvara Temple at [illegible] (built about 1000 A.D. by the Hoysalas who were vassals of Nōjamangala and said to be "the largest and finest concepts of the Dravidian school of architecture") and the group of monuments at the Front Hill.

Part III contains a valuable study (vol.3, illustrative plates) of the coins of the Sunganas. Sparsely of Vāsudevapālita from Bhitari I to Bhūtimitra, arranged in fifty-two types and subtypes.

Part IV is devoted to a critical analysis of an important manuscript MS, called Vāsudevapālitacharita, which, in a series of detached narratives, omitted in the form of panegyrics, gives the history of the Vāsudevapālitas (approximately down to the commencement of the reign of Kālidāsapālita, c. 1 (1000-1032 A.D.).

Part V is devoted to the translation of about sixty inscriptions which are arranged according to dynasties and there is a separate list. The other inscription is a copperplate grant of the Sunga King Kāsyaprāsāna, which the author takes as the arranged List of inscriptions as c. 463 A.D., (but in Part I the inscriptions published are said to range from the 6th to the 18th century A.D.) The inscriptions are elucidated with proper notes, in the spelling of the text with Sanskrit and numerous Devanāgarī transliterations, photos and maps. It may, however, be doubted whether any useful purpose is served by the publication of inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

We have noticed a few slips (e.g. 'ra' 3, 28, 29 (1, 3) and 1019 (1, 1) are apparently adjacent to 1020 A.D.

(S. R. Goyal)

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

[illegible], vol. [illegible], part. [illegible]

R. W. [illegible].—*An Itinerary in Khotanese Saka.* A short fragment in Khotanese Saka giving an account of travel from the north through Kuqa and Qiu'ci into Kucha in the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit in the 630s century A.D. Lost lost called with notes.

Rary [illegible].—*Linguistic Records on the Tark in Tibet.*

[illegible], vol. [illegible], part. [illegible]

B. [illegible].—*The Buddha's Relics and Ten Century Buddhaworship, [illegible] in [illegible].* The second half of Sangharakṣita's *Buddhavaṃśa* is not available in its original Sanskrit. An English translation of that part of the text is [illegible] presented by Dr. Fukuoka on the basis of the Tibetan and Chinese versions.

Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society

vol. [illegible], no. [illegible] (April 1888)

Rama Dhone Ram.—*Kshatriya Civil Caste of India.* Divisions of castes and names of castes as mentioned in the Puranas or similar literature are discussed.

Dr. [illegible] Shastri.—*The Post Bhoyshan.* Bhoyshan has been identified with the well-known author Dhanañjaya, especially on the ground that verses known to have been composed by the latter are assigned in some anthologies to the former. The poet came from Vikrāla and lived in the courts Tankhan and Vākpati Rāja (Munjaka Lord) in the beginning of the 10th century.

Ivan Panchenko.—*Some Observations on the Figures of Speech in the Rgveda.* This paper dealing with some figures of speech in the *Rgveda* has been translated from Russian into English by S. Pechenkalskiy.

H. S. Kamma.—*A Note on Rja and Ṛta.* Variants of Ṛta and Jha scripts in Devanāgarī characters are discussed.

Asiatic Quarterly, vol. VII, no. 15.

II. Westerners.—*India and Wisdom.* A popular lecture dealing with India's relations with the West from the Roman-time civilisation to the present day, a large portion of which is devoted to the 'discovery' of Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture in the west.

III. Religion.—*A note on the Old Persian version of the Parsparshka.* After pointing out an Old Hindus story which truly bears a remarkable resemblance to the Parsparshka, the author suggests that both are derived from a very old legend which was the ultimate source of these and similar stories both in Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages.

V. Letters.—*Sir Pooja nach dem Werke des Philosophen für die Lehre des Buddha.* In this article, the author relates the view expressed by various scholars in recent years that Mahayana sutras have been revised in the Pali Canon. The Pali texts have been regarded as the authentic source of Buddhism mainly because, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, the Pali Canon had been dated in writing shortly in the days of Vattagamani. But history has shown that the special passages in the Chronicles are probably interpolations.

VI. Paintings.—*Can we trace any trap-member of the Anjaria Pandiya caste among the Sinhalese of Ceylon?* The writer's answer is in the negative.

Extra Papers.—*Vallabha Vallabhopadhyay and the Nyaya.* The writer seeks to establish in this article that Vallabha has only collected the popular etymologies current in the other Vedic literature. All the [illegible] etymologies of Vallabha dealt with in this paper have been showed by the author to have been directly or indirectly suggested by significant passages in the other Vedic literature.

II. Texts.—*Arthashastra and Dhanikiya.* After a detailed and matter-of-fact comparison between the building chapters of Kautilya's Arthashastra with the extant Silpasastra literature, the writer suggests that, although the latter is later in date, it might have in no other form contributed to the shaping of Kautilya's building chapters. P.E.O.

BSL, vol. VII, no. 1.

11. Bonn—*Architecture and Religionism.* Discussion of the article in *Asiatic Quarterly*, vol. VII, no. 4.

Open Path, June 1924.

12. E. Marsden—*India's Priests in the Last Century.* The paper appraises the character of the religious movements started in India by Rammohun Roy, Dayananda Saraswati and Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

Sun University Studies, vol. I, no. 1 (April 1924).

13. Kashinath Tripathi—*Political condition of India during c. 320-350 A.D.* An account of the political condition of the different parts of India during the hundred years from the fall of the Andhras and the Kushans to the rise of the Imperial Guptas is compiled from the Puranas, inscriptions, coins and references in Indian and foreign writings.

14. K. Ro—*Ancient Politics as a Guide of Conduct.*

15. C. Mukherji—*The Revolt of Bhoyata against Mahipala II, and other Revolts in Bengal.* The tradition of the Pala rule in Bengal in the 11th century A.D. was due to various causes including the continuous invasions from outside. Bhoyata or Divya holding an important position in the time of Mahipala II took advantage of the situation and prompted by personal ambition was against the king's authority. There is no evidence to show that the king was partially ignorant or that any opposition set on his part was responsible for a rebellion.

16. H. Gaudam—*Origin of the Religious Science of the Jainas.*

17. C. Lotte—*The Tibetan Constructive in Ashokiyan.* This study of the negative constructive literature the field from the oldest period of the Indo-Aryan language up to the present day.

18. S. Bhattacharya—*The Pulse Science of Indian Philosophy.* The writer analyses the minds of the different philosophical systems of India and shows that God was not to Gaut Indagomedia

the spiritual problems. They have emphasized the necessity of a thorough knowledge of the self.

Eastern Buddhist, vol. VI, no. 1, May 1933.

Shunryu Lou YUKI.—The Origin Sohen of Buddhism (Buddhism, part V). The Kindaiku.

L. de Silva.—Buddhism vs. Pali and Buddha.

Calcutta India, vol. XXII, pt. 4.

H. H. Mookerji.—Indo Copper-plate of the Eighth Long Nagapallavas. The document assigned to the second half of the 10th century records the gift of a village within the Bajalikhali mandala of the Vardhamanabhukti by Nagapala belonging to a part line of kings.

A. S. Altekar.—Two Plus Stone Kishkinda Copper-plates.

Ibid., vol. XXIII, pt. 4.

Parameswar Nath Ram.—Real Place of Pawanandandapur. Vikramapura Dated 1047.

S. K. Bhattacharya.—Short Delhi Bilingual Inscription of Fagan.

S. L. Malaviya Nath.—A Hindu Inscription from Chittaurgarh.

S. D. Bhattacharya.—A List of Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brahmi and its derivative Scripts from about A.D. 300.

Ibid., July 1933.

D. R. Sahni.—A Jaina Inscription from Bihar.

D. D. Bhattacharya.—Ancient Place of the Bhojakkat (Sonar Bhandar), Delhi-Dated 956.

V. Venkatarama Aiyar.—Kadiri Inscription of Vijaya Vasudeva Pandya.

S. K. Kumar.—The Lost Plates of Siddhiga III. Valabhi Dated 207.

———The Bagara Inscription of Chandilla. V.E. 1052.

———The Gaya Inscription of Pratihaparsva.

L. P. Pandey.—The Kishkinda Historical Society's Plates of Bhim Shaya Dogaindrabhim.

H. P. Shastri Tera.—Chhikhari Inscription of Kalachuryas I.

[illegible] Journal, vol. [illegible], no. 1 (1[illegible])

[illegible] Kuhn.—*[illegible] Journal Resources in Algeria.*

[illegible] Grube.—*Notes on a Collection of Historical Postcards from Orkneys.*

[illegible] Shepherd.—*The Book Heritage of the Bolsheviks [illegible].*

[illegible] Kovacevic.—*India Diary.* A passage in Strabo (Formerly Strength) XV, 1) shows that there is "contemporary evidence of the presence in Alexandria early as the fourth century of Indian who have lived and actually discussed philosophy with Strabo." He learning from Kovacevic that the scope of his philosophy was so empirically into "Human Phenomena," we Indian is said to have found not boggling "how can a man empirical into human phenomena, when he is ignorant of Nature cause?"

[illegible] Review, vol. [illegible], no. 4 (July [illegible])

Ryan Kinzer.—*Psychoanalytic Poetics as Schizophrenia.* In opposition to Freud's notion, the writer contends that Lyn Hejinian's recent Schizophrenic poetry in *The Guardhouse* bears relevance to the Polish and Turkish in Rilke.

Katherine Chandler.—*Transcendental and Dialectical on the Antiquity of the Upanishads.* According to Winternitz, the epic Vedic literature from the Upanishads in the Rivers took much time to develop, and could not have assigned even its centuries only. Even the Sutra Vedic works do not indicate that the Indo-Aryan people have moved by from their north-western settlement. But by the 3rd century B.C., the Aryan settlers had already penetrated into South India. So such penetration could not have been effected rapidly, the early Vedic literature must be held to have been of high antiquity. Against these arguments, Bakhtin-Hirst is of opinion that the Aryanization of the country was an accomplished fact in the time of the early Vedic verse containing mention of the penetration of the Aryans into Behar, Ganges, India, and the Deccan. He is cannot be inferred that there was any long interval between the earliest and the latest Vedic work. The present paper suggests Winternitz to the view that the Aryans took a long time to spread over the whole of Hindustan, because

the alleged references to the Vedas in the Islamic places are not convincing.

[illegible] K. [illegible].—*Relics and Ornaments in Pali Buddhism.* The writer holds that in early Buddhism the doctrine of transmigration is taught, the propriety of arts and crafts is unreservedly maintained and the maintenance of the Buddha is preached.

[illegible] Pandit.—*Is Cat's Orthography.* That many of the words in the Rgveda have lost their original form and are now pronounced differently is shown. In most cases, the original form can be restored by a reference to the orthography of the Rgveda itself. The reference of the rhythmic law of the original Indo-European is provided in the Vedic language and it helps to ascertain whether a and r are to be (lengthened) or to and ra.

[illegible] Pandit.—*Some Disputed Points in the Chronology.* Finally, Mommsen that the date [illegible] A.C. as the starting point of the Gupta Era has been totally disregarded by some scholars who have proposed the years [illegible] A.C., [illegible] A.C. and [illegible] A.C. instead. The writer of this paper opposes the new theories.

P. K. [illegible].—*The Royal Tombs of Ancient Siam.* The types and origin of the royal tombs of Lohaj and Sukothai.

[illegible] Bhagwan.—*Photo and Notes.* The paper deals with the inscriptions of the dwelling houses found in Sanchi Stupa with special reference to their size, plans, building materials and decorations with trees.

[illegible] Sen.—*Distinguished Men and Women in Ancient.* Anecdotes are recorded concerning the lives of Kumar Dutta, Pratapchandra, Jnanendra, Nanda Sen, Gupta and Dharmadhara mentioned only for history of Jaidev.

Sukhan Hemanta.—*The Concept of Action in Vedantic Philosophy.*

[illegible] K. Rao.—*Gleaner of Tumuf (Sri Hub of Bhoja).*

Dhar Chandra Bhala and Sukhdev Sharma Sharma.—*Three Interesting Temple Inscriptions.* The three metrics discussed are found at the Bhuvaneshwar temple in Orissa. They belonged to three kings of the 10th century A. D.: the Raja Ling Nandajit I, king Yayatikesari and the king Ling Nanajit II.

B. C. Law.—*Kingdom the Poor.*
———*Kingdom the Pilkington.*

T. L. Vasu.—*A Few Sketch of Knowledge in India.* This is a summary and discussion of an article in Spanish by the Rev. H. Heras on Indian Chronicles dealing with the distinctive attributes of ancient India. In a digression Mr. Vasu treats a warning that the similarity between the cultural elements of the prehistoric Indus Valley and the culture of later India should not be taken as a proof of racial connexion.

Sarkar Pada.—*The Crime of Thugs and its Suppression under Lord W. C. Bentinck.*

Nagendra Nath Dey Gupta.—*The Vaishnava Literature of Bengal in the Early Medieval Period.*

E. L. Rapson.—*Mylore in Western India.*

Monika Pote.—*The Rights of Jewish girls, Tyrer Act 20.*

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), vol. i, 1935, no. 2.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.—*The Jainism.* (That is course in Jaina Indian History. **The Jainism, identified** with the Kalpa or Jainas, are referred to in the epigraphical records as having caused an interruption in the rule of the Pandyas in the Tamil country. But in the presence of the Pallavas in the vicinity of Tondai conjecture, they migrated to the Tamil land and established their authority with the region before the 6th century A.D. and continued to exclusively for two more hundred years. The spreading of the Sangha order in South India was due to the migration of the Jainas.

K. P. Chattopadhyaya.—*History of Indian Social Organization.*
———*The Gajah Festival in Bengal.*

N. K. Bhattasali.—*Genesis of the Land granted by the Vallabapur Grant of Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa (early 7th century A.D.).* The land is located in Pakshdhanda in the district of Sylhet, the budget of the grant.

Chittaranjan Chakravarti.—*The Cult of Bhattarakas (Lingayats).*

[illegible], vol. [illegible], no. [illegible].

[illegible] Elliot Smith.—*Notes on a Fossil Tree in the District of Sibsagar.* Some plants and images of antiquity in the Jamaica have been noticed.

[illegible] N. Dhandiyalji.—*Two Inscriptions from Bundar.* Two inscriptions found on the door of a Jaina temple at Bundar in the district of Bhadoun dated 1451 and 1541 A.C. record the erection and restoration of the temple.

[illegible] L. Dhar.—*The Daffy and their Gods.*

[illegible] Chandra Ghosh.—*Ekānangā and Ashtabhujā.* Ekānangā mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a daughter of Angiras is in the discussion the goddess Yogamāyā who took her birth as the daughter of Nandā to save Krishna by destroying Kamsa. The image, as laid down in the *Brihatsanhitā*, is constructed along with her brothers Kṛiṣṇa and Balārāma. This Ekānangā was later on turned into Durgā, as in the Gupta-period temple at Pawāyā, however the Durgā being a deity of Aryan origin was not agreeable to the Vaiṣṇava compilers.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. [illegible], part [illegible] (June 1921).

[illegible] P. Jayaswal.—*On Some Hindu Coins of Pre-Christian Centuries.*

——*Rare Coins of Nāgar-Dhānda Period.*

——*Bāgar (Banter Bank) Stone Image Inscription.* The writings inscribed in the characters of the 1st century A.C. contain names of Rā. Vīgrīta and Vīrag Bragāka.

——*An Unknown Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal.* It is gathered from an inscription found at Bragamāhāthāh in Nepal that the country was invaded by Shamsuddīn Ilyās of Bengal in the middle of the 14th century A.C. but could not be occupied for long.

[illegible] K. Roy.—*An Account of Pirzo Shāh Fighting.* This is an English translation of a portion of the *Bahār-i-Pīrzāshāhī*, a contemporary Persian record of the reign of Firoz Shāh, the third Tughlaq Sulṭān of Delhi.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
vol. XXI, no. 58 (1906).

T. T. Rao.—*Sulvasûtra.* In Vedic and Smṛti works certain practices are forbidden in the Kali age. This are discussed in the paper.

W. Ivanow.—*The Sect of Pseudo-Ali in Persia.*

H. Wilson.—*The Origin of the so-called Siva-Bodhini School of Sculpture of Gandhara.*

G. S. Vinayaka.—*Indian Kiss and Male Superiority.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. VV, part I (April 1906)

H. N. Dikshit.—*Vikramaja Vijaiyaditya and his Times.* The writer puts forward arguments in support of his position that Vikramaja Vijaiyaditya, a contemporary of Śiladitya, belonged to the period of Jayasimha Harṣadeva, grandson of Abhimanyu.

A. Venkatasubbiah.—*The Hoysala Queen Śāntala.*

S. N. Bhattacharya.—*The Kharoṣṭhas and the Kushanas.*

P. Banerjea.—*Radha Mayee, Pioneer of the Order of Bondsmen.*

W. E. Hoey.—*Memoirs of Alwar's army.*

Hanoor Sowmya Rama.—*The Jaidaev of Gold.* The author of the paper believes that "Hindu acquaintance" Indra and Sharpa's from Eastern Rome as a result of regular further more political majority and not by merchants means.

Dewan Kanji.—*The Educational diploma of Lord William Bentinck.*

Anubhi K. Chakravarti.—*Tulsi Dhandhara.*

Bhagwanlal Indraji.—*Kalidas and the Hyun.* The paper points out that Kālidāsa's mention of the Hūṇas in the Raghuvaṃśa does not prove that the poet could not have lived before the 5th century A.D. because the Hūṇas, as the Hūṇas were known in China, had occupied the banks of the Oxus in the first century B.C.

S. Krishnaswami Rao.—*Hindu Religious Movements in National Success.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1906.

Hermann Peters.—*On the Age of the Boghazkoi-inscriptions.* An interpretation is suggested for a rule in the Boghazkoi-inscrip-

stars referring to the rising of the Kritika, Rohiṇī, Ārdrā and Citrā to show that the position of the vernal equinox was in about 2200 B.C.

[illegible] Tripathi.—*The Bhāvanā of Nāgārjuna.* This translation of the papal version in English translation of Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī, a Buddhist work in Sanskrit in the form of a discourse to a king on diverse temporal and spiritual lore.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society (Patna)
vol. 16, part 1 (July 1930).

Kashinath N. Dikshitar.—*Birthout Dimensions.* The paper deals with the Dimensions Ignorance of Mohenjo Daṛāḍā according to the particle—Primitive, Pre-Mauryan, Late Pre-Mauryan, Mauryan, Indian, Parthian and Gupta.

Kamalapati Chowdhuri.—*The Mānasī Architecture of Cambodia.*

Nityananda Misra.—*A Note on the Jhāṅkā and Ghāṭa Rituals.* Jhāṅkā is a village containing relics of an ancient city largely populated with Pahāṛiyās. Ghāṭa is another village containing an old fortress associated with Bhūmiyās. It stands and falls in the cult of Rudrāṇī.

Rathindra Chatterji.—*Tagore (Bibliography) Comparing against the English.*

Pushpa K. Agarwala.—*A Sanskrit Inscription of the Bridge of Silandar (Dhak Lake).* The inscription records the construction of bridge by Bullana, a Muslim officer of a prominent noble at the time of Silandar (Dhak) in 1461 A.C.

S. K. Tripathi.—*Bahar and the Hindus.* The paper shows that Bihar maintained a cordial relation with the Hindus.

Dhanna Dhana Lal.—*Sacred Place of the Sutas.*

Indian Culture, July 1930.

Pusalker.—*Aryans and Iran.*

Man in India, vol. XVI, no. 1 (January-March 1936).

Anil Chandra.—*Preliminaries to the Study of the Rural Problem in India.*

Purnima Tripathi.—*A Jan Pada, Pathinda and Nagarmaa in Orissa.*

Berlin University Journal, vol. [illegible], no. 1, April [illegible].

Anton Blumenthal—*A Midnight on Allah's Throne*. Allah's breadth of vision and interest in education and literature have been shown by reference to the *Hadith* and other works.

Joseph Bonner Rhodes—*Some Unrecognized Factors in the History of Israel, from 131 A.D. to 1917 A.D.*

Bible Worker, April [illegible].

H. B. Hewitt—*The Fields of Hebraiches*. It is believed that the Hebrew Used in Mahayanism and the script found there was borrowed from their Jewish predecessors.

[illegible], June [illegible].

J. H. Frank—*The Canons of Worship*. This is an account of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of [illegible].

[illegible] Bibliography, Best Plays [illegible] for Bible Series in Sday. 1. Kan. [illegible].

H. S. Gaster—*A Study in Buddhist Iconography*.

[illegible] Quarterly, vol. [illegible], no. [illegible] April [illegible].

P. R. Dove—*The Contents of Hindu*.

S. T. Rex—*The Problem of Power in Religion*.

P. T. Shaw—*The Sermon Usually and on Relation to the Authenticity of Adventh*.

Society Review of the Bible Society, vol. [illegible], no. [illegible] (January-April [illegible]).

F. E. Stone—*Zwiedbeder's Anthology of Hydrophobia and Lunacy for his Date*. The purpose of the note is to establish Zwiedbeder's authenticity of both the Hydrophobiments and the Hydrophobia and to assign him a date between [illegible] and [illegible] *A.D.*

E. S. Penzance—*Bibliography*. This [illegible] of the English translation of Hitler's *Bibliography* contains the concluding part [illegible] 17 and 9.

L. T. Rosenthal [illegible]—*Everyday Spanish*.

A. [illegible].—*Foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire and Vidyaranya's Part therein.*

G. [illegible] Rao.—*Anthropological Research in India.*

S. T. [illegible].—*The Origin of Tulsidhi and their Religious Origin.*

Review of Philosophy and Religion, vol. VI, no. 1 (March 1936).

W. A. Vernon Rao.—*Pythian Karma and its Social Application.*

Modern The Indian Journal of Psychology, vol. II, part 4 (Oct. 1936).

P. C. Mahalanobis.—*A New Theory of Ancient Indian Chronology.* This is a summary of the leading arguments put forward by Mahalanobis. Rao in his Bengali work *Purbapurusha* for establishing his theory that the Puranas represent an authentic historical chronicle. The writer of the paper appreciates the statistical calculations made in Rao's work and points out the importance of the work [illegible].

Rabindra Nath Chatterjee.—*A Note on Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis's Paper on "A New Theory of Ancient Indian Chronology."* Doubts are expressed regarding the soundness of the theory propounded in the *Purbapurusha*.

Mahabodhi Quarterly, vol. II, part 1 (Nov-Feb 1936).

R. Winternitz.—*Problems of Buddhism.* The question whether the Buddhist scriptures represent the original Buddhism or Gotama Buddha's views regarding the worldly life, the four noble truths, the eightfold path and the problems of karma, Nirvana, abortion, etc. is discussed in the paper. Admitting that changes have taken place, the writer sees no possibility of all the original doctrines being totally different from those preached in the Buddhist literature, and points out that even the beginning Buddhism has been a religion of love.

Mysore University Lectures on Hindu Religion,
Road site, Nov. 13, 1935.

T. P. Meenakshisundaram.—*Siva and Devaloka, Yama and Brahmaloka in Siva Purana.*

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Evolution of Malayalam Morphology by L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar. Madras [illegible].

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Aryan Names in Early Jaina Records

I

In view of the interesting effort made by V. G. Sivaev[1] to determine with some precision the origin, Indian, or Iranian character of the Indo-European names found, or believed to be found, in records of Asian offices in the second millennium B.C., it seems worth while once more to consider in some detail the available evidence. There has been much flux of opinion, and changes of view among scholars, too in certainly likely only to be natural.

The Kassite period (1760-1170 B.C.) certainly yields Indra. There is Surya, which the Kassite-Babylonian interpretation equates with the Babylonian Šamaš, and which has long been regarded as equivalent to Surya in Sanskrit. Bellinck and Hinting do not accept this explanation. The matter is far from certain. The same remark applies to Marutaš with the variant Marutuk, which is equated with the Babylonian Marutu, the Wind-god. It is certainly possible to compare Marut with the Vedic form of the name, but the identification is certain. In Surya we can imagine the intervocalic hiatus over from the original; in Marutaš the form would be nominative plural, which would be in accord with the regular use of the plural in Sanskrit, but contrary to the equation with Babylonian Marutu. In this case there is more for very much doubt than in the case of Surya.

1. Acta Orientalia, XI, 1933. The form given can always open to dispute.

Erech is much stronger (1) the case of Šamašu, the goddess of [illegible], found in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I (c. 1100 B.C.), with a variant Šamši. Hommel's connection of the word with Arabic *šams*, Sanskrit *kṣam*, and 'Himalaya' ignores the fact that the last word is late, and offers no parallel for Šamši. Bloomer's suggestion is to find a parallel in *cymbi*, [illegible], *cymbal*, in an epithet, 'having a beautiful mouth, garland,' but that is very tenuous; there is no obvious reason why an adjective or epithet should become the style of the romantic goddess. Even less convincing is the idea that Šagamuna, against which Babylonian Dagal, the plague god, and Ugmal in an inscription as Šagamuna, is Vedic *śacamāna* of *śacamāna*, the participle of *śac*, 'allow,' 'have.' The Kassite weather lord actually gives Ša-gash as equivalent to Ragal, which fully justifies Fischer's explicating Šagamuna as *ṣapi gha* *ṣacamāna*, denoting the goddess of the particular form, which, in any case is open to grave question. Whether *g* (or *ṣ*) is lost, doubtful in Ulugmana from *ulamaśa*, and *ṣacamāna* is quite as Vedic. Yet more convincing is the suggestion that the name of the first king of the first Kassite dynasty, Ulamaš, is to be regarded as a possible Sanskrit *ulamaśa*, comparable with Vedic *ulamaśa*, 'idiot.'[1] It is argued in favour of this view that it was this dynasty which introduced the horse into Babylonia, but this is clearly an error. There seems no doubt that the animal was known there under the sun of Hammurabi long before the advent of the Kassites.[2] It must also be remembered, as 'Wolf' has pointed out, that the horse is mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets of the second half of the third millennium B.C.

Bloomer's further suggestion that the Babylonian and Assyrian word for 'horse,' *sisu*, is derived from Sanskrit *śiśu*, 'child,' through specialization to mean 'foal, colt,' and then generalization, is rendered very improbable more also by the absence of any evidence of early use of *sisu* in this way.

There are some further suggestions which are as less convincing. The term Ragal is said to compounds to mean 'god,' whether generally

1. *ZDMG.*, 1917, p. 198.
2. Nash, *Hundert Babylonische Urkunden*, p. 38.
3. *ZDMG.*, 1916, p. 56.

or no most specific deity is uncertain. Naturally we are asked to compare the Vedic Bhaga, Old Persian baga, Gaul. *bogo*, 'god,' but the word is wrong, the Russian Bogom does begin, 'capture,' and the comparison is most unconvincing. A fragment of the king Pirikhegal is given as Kalgal, which Scheftelowitz compares with a hypothetical Sanskrit *ayipa*, 'violation'. Everything about this is confusion; the king is not used in Sanskrit, and the compound is quite wrong. His companion of Eres, bread in several senses of image but without a Babylonian interpretation, with Old Persian *ima*, 'many,' lacks any probability, so does his father explanation of the word, name Kandarlak as forefather, 'lord of the law.' Kamesh-pelser compares with Gaul. *Sosso*, the north wind, while the element *pel-* can be compared with the Russian *pole*, 'wind,' which Del Gaul finds also in Egyptian. The last part may be compared with Russian *kosa*, which appears in the word *pelser* Rhythmical explained to Sabrinaka as 'provided by the land of the Indus'. Rhythmically comes this name 'land of the velocity' comparing Lithuanian *kasas*, *sarsas*, but the suggestion seems quite unsatisfactory.

The language of the Gandhi is otherwise free from elements of European character, being rather of Aryan affinities and having much in common with Dravidic. The words alleged to be Aryan are found, compounded with Russian words, in Sagaraldhakrata. Naimanarak, and it is very difficult to find any assurance that there lay any Aryan element in the name generally. There is, of course, no fundamental reason to object to the presence of such elements, but the facts are suggestive that, if there were Aryan elements in the ruling family, they were early colonized.

III

There is more novelty in the suggestion of Kinnear regarding Aryan elements in the records of the Hyksos kings in Egypt which is assigned to 1675-1615 B.C., though other authorities give 1500-1300 and the question is altogether of greater beyond certainty. There are of course reasons which favour the greatness among the Hyksos, in the early dynasties, of Hittite and Aryan elements; thus Dr. Hogarth[1]

1 *Ancient East*, pp. 100, 101.

[illegible] class, as ruled by the same chieftain as were later dominant in Palestine and Syria, Rawlinson or Aryan. This view obviates the necessity of cultural pedantry, the installation of the horse and chariot, treated as specifically Indo-European and Aryan, but this view has not gone without criticism; does 'Wiri' element the Semitic character of the Hyksos, and, admitting a foreign admixture, will not admit that it was Aryan or even, as Kitto holds, Mitanian. The evidence of language would then be negative: it is more at all clear. Unhappily this is far from being the case. Three Mitanian names in Rawlinson's (political) Sanskrit appellations, 'appalling,' 'harrowing,' but as usual there is no evidence of the use of such a name in Indo-Aryan (Aryan-speaking or civilization), whereas Indo-Aryan, or a very different thing. Dare is compared with a hypothetical Sanskrit *vasana*, 'conquering,' Avestan *vanaina*, 'conqueror,' 'victor.' It is no more plausible than [illegible] compared with Sanskrit *vasta*, 'one who dominates,' and Kadar with Lycian, 'holding down,' where the *a* is the Greek *contracting*, and *v* is equal to *w*; in Rawlinson it is quite equivalent to *u*.

The Egyptianized names give even more scope for guess work. Thus Apophis is Pawlina in Aryan, and is equated by Rawlinson with *apatiti*, 'one who repels (his enemy)'. The *t* is dropped at by the theory that in the dialect whence the word was borrowed it might have dropped out, as in Old Persian, or there might have been an Aryan epithet, *t* dropped before *p*. But *apap*, *ahana*, is also conceivable, and there is the Greek *Ahaiwa* to support the use as a proper name. There is the more that is attractive in the comparison of the name of his Hyksos capital *Avaris* with Sanskrit *ávara*, meaning 'shelter'. Unlucky for his guess we have the name as a Hyksos centre in Ebers and on another monument giving the list of names of Seneb: it appears as Ha-a'ri-ti, and it is really impossible to accept the *Avaris* comparison in face of these forms, which are plainly more primitive than the Greek.

Even more hopeless are the Hyksos names which are preserved in Egyptian, which as a collection present most remarkably unchanged

1 [illegible], 1866, pp. 47 f.

The chief Scorpio is evidenced by the possible conceptions which, in certainly [illegible], Spiegelberg's *Rosetta* in her more plausible. Qar is related to the Rocket's cord by; or (Old Persian form, already [illegible] to Ivi Elmelu [illegible]) and, more implicitly of all, the alleged name of a [illegible] Twin in Sanskrit Vasuki, 'powerful'. Vasuki, the name of the Kyber' god, becomes Vrtrā, [illegible] of evil), a possible form, with the [illegible]. There are [illegible] suggestions of the Aryan character of words found in Egyptian, but and [illegible] in the Kyber texts. The first is [illegible], 'home,' supposed to be [illegible] the second word, 'battle-chariot,' supposed to be [illegible] the last [illegible], more [illegible] word in an [illegible], which is [illegible] to the Sanskrit [illegible] 'Sun-chariot,' 'solstitium,' and more specially to [illegible] which [illegible] to explain the word [illegible] word' is [illegible] to be a Persian [illegible] of [illegible], so that we would have in the 14th century B.C., the probable date of the Papyrus Ebers, evidence of the existence of Persian [illegible]. Unfortunately the whole suggestion seems [illegible].

[illegible] Sanskrit [illegible]. There is nothing in the Kyber material which, but may [illegible] or [illegible]. There may have been [illegible], all that language shows is that these [illegible] were not revealed by the [illegible] of [illegible].

III

We are on much firmer ground when we come to the name in the Amarna letters (c. 1400-1300 B.C.). Astonishing [illegible] suggestive possible Iranian [illegible] and Sanskrit [illegible], and we have the Persian name in Greek form as [illegible], or [illegible]. [illegible] is but clearly Sanskrit [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] are possible [illegible], but Hayes [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 'battle', while Kikkia has also been [illegible]. Moreover, some of an Egyptian [illegible], in [illegible] Sanskrit [illegible], 'one who [illegible] the place of [illegible]', Iranian being [illegible] as it has not the [illegible] of [illegible]. Biridiba is explained as [illegible], or [illegible], or [illegible], with Sanskrit [illegible], and Iranian [illegible] or [illegible] but it is also claimed as [illegible] or

1 Gardiner, [illegible]

[illegible]. Iranian affinity is clear in [illegible], for we have [illegible], younger son of [illegible], whatever his name may be the *d* points to Old Persian affinities. Much less plausible is the derivation of [illegible], a name in [illegible], from Avestan *pahlavi*, 'he whose body is polished,' which seems not a proper name. [illegible], a [illegible] chief, recent research [illegible] from Sanskrit *ṛṣiṇa*, 'nonsensicking', still [illegible] as [illegible] [illegible] the power of [illegible], 'sun', [illegible] to mean 'Mithra'. Nor is [illegible], ruler of [illegible], satisfactorily derived from Sanskrit [illegible], 'quickly going,' a purely [illegible] compound. [illegible], chief of [illegible], is [illegible] not by [illegible] to be [illegible], a name found in the [illegible] and later. It must be noted, however, that the original form was [illegible] in [illegible]. We have also the [illegible] name [illegible], which has been held by [illegible] to include [illegible] with a [illegible] gentile ending *ma*.

[illegible]'s [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible] as a hypothetical Old Persian [illegible], 'who also pays a gold-fine', but this is [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] Avestaspā [illegible] [illegible] of Old Iranian, Tocharian [illegible]. The chief [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] by the same [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] with Greek [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to be [illegible], 'one who uses a [illegible]', but [illegible] in this name is not [illegible] in [illegible] as [illegible] [illegible], 'Bacchi', certainly does not make [illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] 'to be [illegible]' is [illegible]. [illegible] may be the [illegible] [illegible], 'burning light'. [illegible] may be [illegible] 'wind', though that is not [illegible] as a proper name. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] as [illegible]. [illegible] may rather be [illegible] from [illegible]. [illegible] may be [illegible], 'helping well', rather than the [illegible], [illegible] with [illegible]. [illegible], on the other hand, has [illegible] [illegible], [illegible], and neither [illegible]'s [illegible], 'to whom a star has been [illegible]', nor [illegible]'s [illegible], 'son of a [illegible]', is [illegible].

We are on firmer ground in the case of [illegible], which can [illegible] be equated with [illegible], 'given by the sun'. On the other hand [illegible] is clearly Egyptian, and the [illegible] Old Persian [illegible], 'one who [illegible] among [illegible]'. [illegible] is not likely to

in Aramaic, 'given by heaven,' with characteristic pious variation, and appearing for either Mithridates. Rodoguna is nominative, meaning 'of strong arms,' would be an Iranian word, the base of a being compared with Rodogaysa, Avestic Aetheocles; if aspirated, as Tarmita, may indicate an Indic Dharmata. It would be Indian, but neither derivation is cogent. That Wiliya, other of Antiochus, is Sanskrit vaiya, 'to be known' seems very strange and most unlikely. Tadiaka is more promising, but problematic, 'given by the glory,' as taken by Schmidt-Kerp,[1] (another for base of it, as well as an unsupported use of gaida); a Saxon is German possible, 'given by the sacrifice' is conceivable, while Laghdaya for patronymic, Avestic for power, is unlikely. MEDIA Phraates has, of course, prestige, and the possibility of her ancient house is supported by the analogy of the forms Rhodogo and Eubrata. Israel in Hamaspiya in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., provided of course that these are really for Vindaspa and Vibanaya, and are not to be explained as Semitic. Dai' Sal' seems to be largely closed up. Nor a Dotamyaldi, which, a Gangha to be Iranian (Gangrasp), 'may who above the heart', but as also Avestic (Gyldi, Bjarr) feeling prefer to it. Dyada, similar of Rhodogo, may be outside. Having a good doctor, if so, we have between all Iranian and Indian name forms impossibly. We could add Lyde Mylyadi Rhodes, as possible, or Hystaspes as Iranian (Hyspaldi), 'may this one multiplicity-empty,' or Bonadyk as one of Jonica, Avestic evaspa, 'Bon Lord gold'.

If place names (not one official), Ecnomia in Palestine is much not to be constant, 'the phoenix (city)', Akkyn, ruled by Sakarbi, original, 'the indestructible', neither has any plausibility.

The net result is to the Greek gnostic the alleged Indo-European words to be found in the Assyrian tablets, but to leave a considerable residuum of the existence of early dynasties.

IV

The Idanthyrsus evidence from MIDIAN B.C. is interesting. Ahitharnes, the King, suggests the Avest prototype of a possible Sanskrit pseudonym, 'wonderful of right'. In two cases for a in graphic

1 KE., xxxvii, 87.

rather than Pṛthivīṃ, that is, the original did not include it, but in Bilaspur it was pronounced or at least written. *Ṛtāvāna* may be the Aryan equivalent of Vedic *ṛtāvāna*, 'one who abides in righteousness'; Bilaspur has *ṛtā* in its own words, and Gandhari can easily confuse *ṛtāvāna* and *ṛtā*. Sāmaśramī's explanation on the *aryā-śāna* of *ṛtā* Scandam in the verse, while Rapson's adduction of the Bidrapāṭha *ṛtā* here, 'charity,' is unconvincing. The derivation of Bilaspur from the hypothetical *dhṛtā*, 'money of Indra-dhara,' the long final being due to the *dhṛtā* of the accent, seems far-fetched and unlikely. *Ārāṭhāna*'s grandson Rudrāda may have an *Ārāṭa* name, but it is not easy to explain with certainty. It is difficult to suppose *Indrādāna*, 'one who owns a bad chariot,' is correct; *Indrādāna*, 'Lord is overcome,' is suggested by Sāmaśramī, and *Indrāchā*, 'difficult to Indra,' by Bilaspur, making the most helpful Indian. Mentioned is far from clear, Rapson takes it as Bilaspur's nominative, 'testing on prime,' comparing *ṛṇāchā*; Bilaspur *ṛṇāchā* nominative could mean 'possessing a power (indicating the victory),' which is impossible.[1] An Aryan etymology is by no means impossible. *Rāchāna*, king of Ḥsen, is held by Rapson to be a Gandhārī Prākrit form of Sanskrit *Gandhāra*, 'inventor of Gandhāra'; but, while so in Indian, the latter part of the compound is rather Iranian in form. On the other hand, *Ārāṭana* is uncertain, *ṛṇāchana*, 'very strong,' is impossible, though the locale is so unknown with Bilaspur, it that is really *Dhāmāchā*, but that is dubious.

The Bilaspur gods Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhanya, though they present many difficulties are undoubtedly Indian, if not Aryan. Mitra and Varuṇa, it is said, must be understood not as individuals but as groups. This is very curious, for the obvious explanation that Mitra stands for Mitra and Varuṇa is rendered difficult, when Varuṇa occurs, presumably for Varuṇa and Mitra. *Dhanya* again appears with the Ḥsen plural ending, though in Vedic there are two *Dhanyas*, *nomen*, *vocative*, is usually compared with Vedic *vanya*, though a Bilaspur and an Aryan-Aryan etymology have been put forward.

1. The Vedic *vanya* was not a mere *vanya* as the *vanyana* name is uncertain.

2. Bailey, 'Nine-sought a power' is a variant.

All this is of no value. Bilingual lexica is of necessity teaching an dual acquaintance with its own basic vocabulary. Therefore it must change, so that its compiler provides, 'surrounding,' he necessitating, conclusions, part of a world, he only vaguely like Vedic values, and some value, to the first. Hardly to be the conclusion of early nomenclature. The model of the Mughlan Wörterbuch only vaguely resembles, from the text one.

It will be seen how hypothetical such of all this is, partly because of the extreme relation of spelling by the scribes who may have been specially employed by foreign words. It is does very difficult to pre-assume whether the forms are Aryan, Dravidian or Indian. The question is complicated by the fact that the Persian may be proto-Iranian without being Aryan, and certainly is really impossible. This is of special importance in the case of words with r in place of Iranian l. But early Iranian preserves r.[9] Bloomfield[10] (Language Dry Mother Lit) and Jerome[11] a different reading in Jamnar's list of Indian words. Kuzar[12] cited Badgeli as an Iranian Gulcer preserving r, but that may be due to Indian influence. Wörterbuch of Dyrtlin (1700 Brod and Brod) as ordinary version of a Bigalin wife.

There are certain names which are evidently Aryan in character in Iranian or Indian, while they were indifferent (pace of Aryan). These include, for instance, Astrayan, Bakrayan, Tarbaya and Yabiya, for Khazar, Avaranian, Avarian and Kiva. Definitely Indian forms are hard to find. Khazar was Indian nomenclature as opposed to Aryan and Iranian. Aryan Indian nomenclature in Wilya and Ilanlia, believed to be Valya and Ilanadia,[13] but there is no certainty in these interpretations. But the night from not for an Iranian between Indian jackals and Iranian scholarly, or Indian explorer and Iranian spiritual, we find all that can be said that Ilanadia means more Indian than Aryan, as is to be in drawing and 3 in Old Persian. But this means hardly impossibility, no reason is given for supposing that nomenclature would be a good Aryan form. Khazar was Indian nomenclature in Ilanadia as recently,

11 American Journal of Philology, XXVI, 1 ff.
12 JRAS, 1913, pp. 1 ff.
13 There is some evidence here, Jerome really thinks [illegible]

with a few Aryan as, and in actual fact certainly, but neither strongly nor very regularly. So far as the proof goes, we have nothing certainly Indian as opposed to Aryan, though we may interpret certain forms as Indian if we find other evidence of Indian speech proper.

Of other Iranian forms Hinnow names Hirtiya, on the coast of the *d* corresponding to an original *gh*, distinctive of Iranian. It must be noted that he assigns the origin of his brother's name Bersin, to Indian variation and his son Ḗsaima to Indian relations, which makes a curious mixture of names in one family and seems improbable. He finds the non-Iranian dialect in Brahmapadda, but that is a very dubious mark, and certainly proof is lacking. Mopsuhesta may be Iranian, but that is uncertain, and Dhrupsa is quite unlikely, as are the Iranian forms alleged in Tripayati and Tripanti. Certainly we cannot be sure even of Hirtiya Iranian forms, and the differentiation into dialects is clearly not proved.

V

From the Hittite period (1400-1200 B.C.) Hinnow can adduce but a few names, most quite dubious. Bodurna, a court dignitary of king Dhurtail, may possibly have Bōdh in that dialect, but Gira is the form proved. Tapalsa, a general, is quite not inside or topsa, 'jackal'; Ḗwasa, a servitude, cannot be ever, 'heaven', nor Kilmachali ekimanda, 'aggression', even if he was a king of the Amorite. Bonadi-kani on the name of a prince reminds us of Ḗsaima above, it may be Dravidian, but it is to be noted that the princes regularly have non-Aryan names, and some other explanation may be due.

Much more important is the evidence from the Baghdadi texts, for we learn: "We have the monarch who, here in Assurnimma or Assur, gives, bits and rows, principally in concurrent by hagiology or clerical name. Hinnow conjectures ahwadilid and originally denoting two, but this may be pried out. In monarchs or monarchs in one or original indicative stylism are with compromises, most figurehead, and the comparison of gives, 'Nurse Sellin,' with gatja 'a plant with bitter berries,' will not by one in sense, another Bidder, likely to be ruler, a gate bath. Ḗsaima, 'Aden,' is not likely to be sullenness, for child names 'Nepal,' not represented by some from expression, legendary

[illegible] certainly seemed to be Aryan, despite the curious form, Pahlavi [illegible],[1] but a question will have consequences, which is probably graphic for [illegible], and to Arjuna or Indra, though there is an corresponding word in [illegible] in Sanskrit. Furthermore, "[illegible]" suggests the root [illegible]. Zoroastrian. If that be correct, it is a curious form. Whatever suggestion is [illegible] as probable, but that [illegible] nothing, we can [illegible] if we are to suppose that it was really very common [illegible].

It is very difficult to draw any [illegible] conclusions from [illegible] data. We may say that they strengthen the view that Indian speech proper may have existed in the Lands in question, but it is very difficult to [illegible] this point, with certainty is other than [illegible] the Pahlavi and Pahlavi allies have [illegible] in a [illegible]. Some [illegible] in Pali, [illegible] appearance cannot be seriously pressed. Still [illegible] any effective argument in favour of the view[illegible] that the [illegible] of Indo-Aryan civilization into [illegible] took place after the [illegible] of the Aryans were [illegible], or that the [illegible] of the collection would have to be considerably [illegible] than the Mitanni [illegible], where the names of the gods are found. We are [illegible] unable to prove that the gods were Indian gods and not those of an outlying branch of the Aryan family. We have recognized that that division of the Indo-European race [illegible] long [illegible] over a wide area, and that only in certain cases [illegible] the [illegible] of Early speech. The process of differentiation must have been working [illegible], and it is probably [illegible] to recognize the limits of our knowledge as based on our evidence. We assume that Indian and Iranian were clearly distinguished and that we find Indian and Iranian [illegible][illegible] as in Mitanni's treaty of the name Rig-Veda, Iranian and Indian is decidedly confusing and rather improbable. We hold that in an area of speech, which definitely can be marked out as Aryan compared to other branches of Indo-European speech, there were dialectical variations, of which we preserve to us the Indian and the Iranian, to which simplest.[17] That

[1] Although is an American version of Bhagavata, but the Indo-Iranian [illegible] is very questionable.

[16] Benfey, The Aryan Path of the Mitanni People, p. 30.

[17] H. Hirzel, op. cit., [illegible], p. 30.

[17] H. Reich, Sir. Ram Memorial Volume, pp. [illegible]

consideration, of the arguments on this issue must be reserved for another occasion. All that need be said is that it is quite illegitimate to ignore the possibility of the existence of dialects within Aryan, some of which may easily have shown traits common to the Iranian Indian and Iranian respectively. If no question arose in connexion with the areas in which, on the one hand, Indian and, on the other, Iranian varieties of Aryan were being utilized.

A. Bonfante, *Rivista*

The Administrative System of Sher Shah

Sher Shah left behind few many traditions of his administration. Even in the days of Akbar, the Mughal historians writing primarily for the imperial eye were willing to praise him and talk of his reign as a golden age. When we remember that he had founded his dynasty by expelling Akbar's father from India, we (as) have to admit that these praises of his government cannot but be based on truth. It is unfortunate therefore that no thorough attempt has been made (Sharma) to describe his administrative machinery in detail. It is the purpose of this article to make such an attempt.

When Sher Shah came to the throne, he inherited the Pathan system of administration as modified by Bahlul and Firuz. The historians have told us much about his own modifications of this system but we can get a true picture of Sher Shah's work only by remember that Sher Shah was successor to a system already shaped and moulded by centuries of development. The pivot of this system was the peasant himself. But even a Sher Shah could not do all the work of the peasant himself. He was served well by a band of ministers who were prominent heads of different departments. There were three divisions mentioned. The Wakil was the chief secretary who seems to have been in the general charge of the constituent establishment and probably dealt with such problems as were not definitely assigned to any other department. The Wazir was the financial secretary. He was in charge of the revenue department and looked after accounts and audit as well. The third department was mainly concerned with the correct drafting of imperial orders and may have looked after the records of the government. A military secretary helped the emperor in carrying out his military policy particularly the question of employment for soldiers. These four secretaries completed the central side of the state activities. We find them functioning under the policy days of the Tughlaqs and we find them working under Bhaniya as well. There is no reason to believe that, despite the fact that his historians credit him with almost superhuman activities in supervising the work of his state, Sher Shah dis-

ground with the services of Lone officials where he found quietly carrying on the work of the government.[1]

The Moghals had brought with them artillery as an effective weapon of warfare. Under Sultan and Khusrau, the artillery was under a Mir-i-Atish. Shah Shah frequently made use of the artillery, and must have sanctioned this Moghal addition to the military establishment.

On the substantial side, Shah Shah sanctioned enhanced the high position of the Mufti in Darbighana in the state. The highest church dignitary was the Mufti who, besides disposing royal charity, acted as the highest judicial officer under the emperor. The Mufti enjoyed great power as the spiritual guide of the monarch. As the recognized expounder of the Muslim Law and tradition, he was the repository of the faith's conscience for the king, as for his subjects. He was the only institution that could hardly challenge the acts of the king. Shah Shah paid great respect to his Mufti and was even prepared to perform menial personal services for him in public. Prior (1804) to the prominent Muslim state in India was, the position of the Mufti cannot be exaggerated.

The Chief Qazi constituted the highest criminal court in the realm. From the emperor could not provide his interpretation of the law, though he could question and even upset his findings on facts in any case. The Quranic law and the Muslim traditions formed the criminal public law of the land and as the Qazi was its chief interpreter, his authority could only be challenged by finding another expounder of the law who would publicly question the chief Qazi's interpretation. Such a contingency arrived doubtful from other with it. Thus so long as a Qazi was in office his authority was unchallenged.

The chief Mir-Adl was the religious censor in the one hand and a superior of markets on the other. As a censor he reported the transgressions against the Muslim Law to the appropriate authorities and secured the observance of restrictions and rendered and upon

1. High Officials, VIII, and Wazir are referred to by Mirza as serving under Shah Shah. Public Library MS., p. 149; cf. Elphinstone's explanation of government in Khawaid Ibn ul Hind V, pp. 25, 26.

the officers of other religions. He must have supervised the collection of the Urga on the new Kuriltai.[1]

These eight officers formed the central government under the general supervision and control of the king. Shun Shih kept all the strings of government in his own hands. He had no ministers but kept secretaries. He had no governors or ends and kept tight control over all that happened even in the most distant parts of his empire. He was early, hardworking and well his program. Early in the morning he started his day by giving audiences to his secretaries and other great officials. Then he received the reports of his spies and agent-provs. This enabled him to know his orders of the day before it was time again to pay his priests a second time. Then after breakfast would begin the ceremonies business of the day. The great nobles and famous army leaders would be first admitted to royal audiences after which the king would hold his court. Thus Shun Shih kept Supreme justice without fear or favour. All were equally confident of receiving justice at his hands. He criminal Kublai's high could neither himself behind his rank and office. The later generations have handed down numerous stories of his impartiality and impartiality.[2] It would be too much to believe in all of them but the general impression about he remained that Shun Shih had earned not a name for himself for even-handed justice. This would be followed by his lightly a review of troops. His chronicler would have us believed that he branded every horse himself.[3] We think this would have been too much even for a Shun Shih. He may have personal supervised the branding operations and then secured the observance of his orders. This done, country would claim his attention. The roads in Land in different Khanates and the many remained characters would be repaired and ornamental upon. Then the accounts of the officers of land revenue of crown lands would be looked into. The appointments to central high posts would then be examined and posted

1 Rockhill and Wittfogel (on quotes) of an order of the officers serving under Shun Shih, Pelliot, 101. Hsieh, 102, refers to Gods under Shun Shih.

2 Kinahan and Fitzerald, p. 100.

3 Hsieh, 101; Giles, 103, and Rockhill (in R. A. S., vol. V, p. 101) mention frequency of branding.

to their various jobs. After thus working for most of the time, Sher Shah would call it a day and retire to rest to face another equally arduous day.[7]

This routine was interrupted by the frequent marches in which Sher Shah passed his life. Humayun was defeated in the battle of Bilgram in May, 1540. Sher Shah died on 30 May, 1545. In these five years he packed the conquests of a life time. He captured Delhi in 1540, conquered the Punjab, defeated the Rajputs, planted to overthrow Malwa, Raisin in Rajputana, and hurried back to Bengal to put down rebellion in 1541. He conquered Malwa, and threatened Jodhpur in 1542. In 1543 he conquered Raisin and built New Delhi. The year 1544, saw the conquest of Jodhpur, Chitor, and Ajmer. The whole of the year 1545 in his death was spent in the siege of Kalinjar. All these expeditions claimed his personal attention and it is difficult to imagine how he was able to devote so much attention to the details of administration as his daily timetable shows. What seems to have happened is that Sher Shah succeeded in achieving his aim in the earlier work of the administration which was carried on in spite of the work's multiplied movements effected at the battlegrounds.

There was one task however, which the emperor alone could perform. There were no means of publicity, there was no system of recruitment for public services. Practically all appointments in the imperial service were made by the emperor. He fixed the salary of every candidate for office.[8] We are told that officers were transferred every third year with a view to give every one of them equal opportunities for making money.[9] But as his reign did not extend beyond five years and as the longer part of the century was occupied during the last three years it is difficult to be sure that this rule had much chance of being applied in practice.

As we know already man, Sher Shah, did not favour devolution of authority. Thus the empire was not divided into provinces except in Bengal to begin with. Fifty provinces were made the seat of

7 Abbas, 100, 93, 95; Ferishta, 88, 100-02.
8 Elliot, 300. 9 Abbas, 140.

military commanders who kept the surrounding country in awe by their show of military force.[1] For local purposes the country was divided into Faujdarships and through the Faujdarship were grouped together into larger units, three terms known and made of circulation. They constituted the military officers under the commanders in nearly acting as an official channel of communication—and that not always—between the local authorities in the Faujdarship and the imperial authorities.[2] Mir Qasim tried for some time to keep Bengal as an independent administrative unit. But he soon discovered that this led from disruptive tendencies resulting the local officials of the same independent kingdom of Bengal. If was established Subahdar and Diwan, an official was given the charge of the province as a whole, care was taken by appointing a Deputy, Naib Nazim, to the end to see that such disruptive tendencies did not occur again.[3] The most feature of his centralised government was Mirza Riza Ali, was posted in the North West Frontier in Bihar.

The absence of any effective communication between the king and his officers in the Faujdarship involved a development of the postal system necessary. He did not hesitate to be convinced, he imposed upon the administration necessary. Many Raiyas, many leaders of the expedition, and many officers of field forces were required to keep the emperor daily posted about important administrative and military problems. The postal runners and all manner of messengers and mounted circular have been told of their endurance and long and swift journeys.[4] What whatever happened and whenever it happened was of course reported to the emperor. The commander would present the emperor with an unmodified fact and never like with an opinion for it is before his official's land. The leader of the expedition would leave the emperor in the dark about his difficulties and then leave his work un-

1. Akbar Nama, I, p. 371; Dowdi, 101, Abdul, 140. The following persons were appointed.

Subahs, Faujdars: Orissa, Shah, Sadik, Sandal, Ram, Orcha; Bihar, Dorbanga, Chiran, Randa, Kamal, Phoran, Chandhara; Jahanabad, Agra, Pagra, Lodhari, Kaip and Bajaria.

2. Dowdi, 102.

3. Sadiq, 10.40. 4. Abdul, 100.40.

[illegible] and Shah army. Besides these irregularities sent by his own officials, Sher Shah seems to have employed his own secret agents as well who kept him informed of what was happening in and around his dominions. The ridiculous doubts of his governor of Bengal were at once reported to him in such felicitous way that he felt in the end. Himayun's negotiations with Mahdi at once found an echo in Sher Shah's court and he was able to match the planned combination of the Barlaris and the Bhojpuris at once. When Shujat Khan in Malwa disappointed the Imperial contact for his activities to his own ruin, Sher Shah learnt of it without much delay. Thus the postal arrangements and the spy system enabled Sher Shah to face his difficulties before they were ripe for mischief.

The spy system and postal arrangements depended for their success on efficient means of communication. Sher Shah paid full heed to this aspect of the problem. As he the Mughals organise all roads led to Rome, similarly under Sher Shah all roads converged at Agra. The Grand Trunk Road led from Agra to Bihar in the east and the northern of Bengal on the other, thus traversing some 1200 miles. Another road led from Agra to Burhanpur passing west, Gwalior, Ujjain and Agra were connected through Agra by the river. The road between Agra and Delhi was made safe and more convenient. The only road which the Agra system was the one connecting Lahore and Multan. Milk pillars indicated the distance travelled. Fruit trees were planted on both the sides of the roads and regularly pacchas seems to have been set up at least in the vicinity of post houses. He had intended to depopulate both the sides of the road between Lahore and the frontier and set up villages of Afghans in order to safeguard against future Mughal invasions. He had, however, no time for putting this into practice.[1]

Post houses or sraiys stops formed another interesting feature of the system. Raw tea forms were always kept ready to be placed at the disposal of any postal messenger carrying royal post. There were sometimes trained female spread all over the Sur dominions. There a

1. Abbas, 109-10, Elliot, 267 ff. (n).

[illegible] where the whole establishment which included a separate royal tent house, a mosque with a caller to prayers and a copy of the Koran for the religiously minded, separate resting places for the Hindu and Muslim travellers, two kitchens for the Hindu and the Muslim poor, and Hindu and Muslim tombs at the service of those who required to avail themselves thereof. A porter locked after the many travellers who they slept.[14] He closed the doors of the fort at nine official hours every evening. When the morning came, he opened them and requested them to look after their belongings and when every one had been satisfied that every thing was safe, he opened the doors. It is doubtful if the Hindus availed themselves of the free royal kitchens that were a part of the system. For it is possible to conceive how the services of the Hindu cooks were utilized. Their right caste system would have made any frequent use of these free kitchens very improbable. They seem to have been probably for the convenience of the partial nomadic people of whom most have been Hindus. The kitchens formed a part of the royal charities. Further for the lower and the poor of the travellers who also presumably were old a weary traveller would always look with pleasure anticipation to the end of his day's journey. The food provided at the nominally nominal rate was not equal for the maintenance of the Sahib.

It is customary to credit Sher Shah with the construction of all these roads. Government, with his civilized existence, would have been impossible without some sort of roads in medieval India. Babar had planned a road from Agra to Kabul with mile posts at every mile, towers every 8 miles, and post houses every eighteen miles. In Babar's scheme these were to be maintained by the state if situated in crown lands and by the Jagirdars if in the Fiefs's lands.[15] Babar must have carried out a part of his programme. Abul Fazl travelling earlier in Humayun's reign had complained of lack of towers and bridges on the roads.[16] The road to Bukhara could not have been all made by Sher Shah as part of it passed outside his dominions. It is

13. A. 194.
14. Tarikhi, 66.
15. Babar Nama, 456.

[illegible] doubtful whether all that Sher Shah recognized was really built up by him. Sometimes hundred [illegible] would have covered a distance of about 18,00 miles or 10,00 miles. This [illegible] that he set the state a large revenue. Sends two horse agent would have been an unbelievable luxury and on account of [illegible] these hours cut their estimate of such short distance.[illegible]

Making reservation for all kinds of exaggeration, we will have to admit that if Sher Shah [illegible] administration, he took adequate measures for the purpose of curbing some of his dangers. The postal system, the existence of secret agents, the efficient means of communication and the foundation of [illegible] known served the purpose of minimizing some of the dangers from of his centralization.

It is necessary to note the [illegible] against anticipating modern postal development in Sher Shah's reign. The postal agency was exclusively for the purpose of serving the ends of the state. It served no other economic [illegible] (for example). As we shall have occasion to notice the Mughals, even the officials could not use it for any but imperial purposes.

Sher Shah's time was [illegible] on his personal system. Yet when modern investigation of his [illegible] administration are taken into account, one gets into the feeling of being left in the air. Qanungo's [illegible] contemporary accounts of Abbas and Nizam-ud-Din in not [illegible] any very lucid description of the system (and so it prevailed when Sher Shah became the ruler of the country). It's here, however, a rather wordy description of the method which Sher Shah followed in co-opt of his father who was a jagirdar under the Lodhis. There are [illegible] references to his position in the [illegible] as well. Placing these together it is possible to form a just estimate of the results obtained though one [illegible] to understand his actual administrative position. Thus Sher Shah's [illegible] was as just as to bring as ideal towards which Akbar's efforts were striving in a striking

[illegible] "We are told by Nizam-ud-Din Sher Shah added 17 [illegible] more. In 1541 A.D. Akbar [illegible] [illegible] Ahmad, [illegible]

contrary to Sher Shah's handiwork.[17] Yet we have to remember that even William the Conqueror, claimed to rule with the help of the laws of Edward, the Confessor. The Afghan's praise of Sher Shah's achievement, therefore, can be no more an apology for new methods adopted by Akbar or even the successors of William's choice. It would be surprising otherwise to explain why Akbar needed so much experimentation before he could reach that method of assessment which has been called Todar Mal's assessment and for which other men praised Todar Mal as much. It is however possible to agree with the Abbas when it tells us that Sher Shah took a step in advance of the existing practice by introducing measurement in place of the system of sharing the crop.[18] Elsewhere we are told that the Mughals collected ½ of the produce (for the state) and left two thirds to the cultivator.[19] This is all that we have been specifically told in Sher Shah's historians about his revenue system.

But all this needs introduction. To begin with, just as our means tell of our system of present administration under the British administration today, similarly it is difficult to tell of our grandfathers all over the country under Sher Shah.[20] A Bandrid Vaad of the seventeenth century tells of six systems of land revenue assessment prevailing in Mughal India.[21] We know from the Ain that in Shah's day the system of sharing the crop prevailed even while the Ain was compiled and that no record of any survey and measurement operations therein is to be found in any contemporary records. The Roman division of the Mughal province of Bahar in figures of land revenue assessment are available in the Ain. When Walton was newly conquered Sher Shah made exceptional provision for assessment of land revenue therein. No complete measurement and survey of all land under cultivation has been found possible in Jodhpur and Udaipur even today and it is useless to expect complete survey of land in Orissa under Sher Shah. Thus the first thing that we have to search is the absence of a uniform system all over the empire.

17 Ain, I, 307.
18 Ain, I, 307; Abbas Khan, II, 117, 118, 119, 120, 127.
19 Abbas, 118. 20 Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, 41-46 to 50.

But just as we can speak of fields as the units upon which land revenue assessments under Jiahe, we can talk of a system of land measurement based on measurement in the units upon produce, or closed in, in Shen Shih's time. This involved the survey, measurement and record of the holdings of different cultivators. When these data were ready, it was possible at the time of the annual imposition of cultivation taxes, or later, to record the status of land under different crops in possession of one cultivator.[7] The unit of measurement was that of Shiwuhu Lvshi, 30 Jiqiu long. Sixty yards make a jiqiu and 5000 square yards a Jiqiu. Land was measured by a crop. This may have caused some difficulties in practice. A crop lasts and a year which is of six different measures. Field could get longer. Either land measuring or introduce a number with crop in both ways. The term of Shiwu Jiqiu was needed, at the time of the survey. Every farmer all that land usually to be cultivated measured, by noting the different fields under cultivation and the different crops they were producing. When this survey was possible, the Schedule of Demand given to the Jiu was applied in order to find out the demand of the state from the different cultivators. This schedule SHOW has demand in rounds per Jiqiu of different crops. Thus when the same fields cultivated and the crops cultivated such Fields, it was possible to enhance the demand of the state in cash. This was the system prevalent in many parts of society under Shen Shih.

But the Schedule of Demands raises some Fundamental questions. How was it arrived at? Whose was it introduced? Did the state consider it to be fair? or was any attempt made to convert it in cash, as well? Some information is available on some of these questions but it is bewilderingly inadequate. We are told that the schedule of demand represented 1/ of the average produce of these different kinds of lands. The whole process has been well described in the Jiu. Land, we are told, was divided into three classes, good, middling and bad. The price of a Jiqiu of each land under different crops was estimated and an average of the total produce was struck.[8] We have been left also

[7] Shiwu, 19 [8] Jiu, 3

[illegible] in the data so to the years selected for the purpose of striking the average of produce. Good, middling, and bad lands would certainly differ in their yields in different parts of the country. What may have been regarded as good land in Delhi, may have been only the middling in Agra or vice versa. Those who lived in any particular area would probably scarcely ever leave off the capital—was chosen for the purpose of fixing the average produce of such lights, a highly speculative operation was performed. But when was this done? No specific answer to this question is available but it must have been some time in the year 1541. Was the crop of the year 1541 need not have been a normal one in that particular area. Those when the average produce of a single year in a single selected area was made the basis of the estimate of the produce and with a view of the state demand in kind, two very speculative operations were involved in the attempt at fixing the land revenue. It seems that the schedule adopted was a permanent one. It must have been so published in such agreement had been composed by Sher in 1541 and by which it was to Shah adopted. Those who have some acquaintance with the work and also involved in the revenue administration of the Indian provinces in British India today, can well understand that it would have been impossible to have fixed the land revenue in 1541 [illegible] towards the end of the year 1541 and thereafter.

We know nothing at all about conversion to cash of the demand in kind. Of course the king could have very well received all the land revenue in kind, store it, and by moving from one place to another consumed it. But the needs of the state had to be met in cash as well and some method of converting part of this demand in cash must have been resorted. As there is no other information available on the question, it is reasonable to suppose that conversion, if any must have taking place at the current market rates. But markets then were few and far between. Barter was mostly for subsistence purposes and such conversion could have been conveniently possible only in the more commercially important towns.

To sum up then, the revenue system evolved by Sher Shah settled the land revenue with the cultivators direct. The state demanded one third of the enhanced produce. The demand was mostly in kind but

payment could have been made in cash as well in crops prevailing in the local markets. The cash demand varied with the crop under actual cultivation and the crops cultivated. The demand per bigha of different crops seems to have been settled early in his reign. The estimate of produce of each bigha under different crops was arrived at by taking the average of the actual produce of a bigha of Sher Shah's land of varying fertility in some specially selected areas probably near the capital. It must have been speculative and with it the demand varying therewith as well.

The system, however, did not prevail all over the first dominions. Jagirdars must have continued the system of sharing the actual produce and so must have Rajas whose land was not measured and overlooked of the produce was taken as the land revenue.[illegible] Outside parts of Bengal as well that resembled environment area in Akbar's days would have been hardly measurable in Sher Shah's time.

But what about jagirs? The jagirdars of Udaipur do not permit the state even today to measure their lands and the Afghans would not have been better. It is necessary to suppose that Sher Shah did away with the Rajas and chieftains with the jagirdars as well. But the two latter did not accomplish not but were they Sher as Rajas or jagirdars of different area claiming some rights over the cultivators. Even if we admit that Sher Shah extended the system that he had tried in his own jagir to the Delhi Sultan in his whole empire, the question of jagirdars is still left unsolved. Sher Shah himself was a jagirdar who found ability and association in the jagir offered to his father. Apart from this negative evidence we know positively that large parts of the first dominions had been given in jagir to the officials, civil and military. Khwaja Khan Lodi constituted of the whole land. Haji Khan, Sikandar Khan and other great commanders are known to have been holding extensive jagirs.[illegible] It seems the usual method of making payment to the Wakils of different governors, commanders was that of giving them lands as jagirs which their own commanders. Thus the jagirs continued under Sher Shah and

[illegible] Op. Ibidy., [illegible]. [illegible] Tabaqa, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible].

[illegible] assessment. The settlement of land revenue in the jagir lands must have followed one of the several practices prevailing in different parts of India. Sharing of the produce was the usual method of payment of land revenue before Sher Shah changed it and it is likely to continued unaffected in the jagir lands. It could not have been too impossible to the cultivators then the crops yielding commodities and could have been converted in cash. Between the jagirdars and upon keeping out the officials of the state and the cultivators came to adopting new methods of dealing payments, Khalsa lands and have continued in the jagirs. Thus the revenue system could have been introduced in the crown lands alone. The more in view of the needs granted to soldiers and Rajahs for their maintenance.

We have been dealing so far with the assessment of land revenue alone. The method of collection also provides a very important problem for the cultivators. Unfortunately all our authorities are silent about how exactly method of collecting was a rule. The information that Abbas gives about the method of collection followed by Sher Shah, when he was the agent of a jagirdar, has been usually used to fill in this problem. There is no reason to doubt that Sher Shah began his service collectors and Abbas we read will confirm that he introduced a part of Raja, of his earlier method of revenue collection in the jagirdar administration. This is seen set up certain stage collectors. The collector was given a revenue ship personally in the land concerned acting not the state's right. Sher Shah must have collectively referred to the treasury in land where the collector had previously agreed to pay in cash of an agreed upon rate of conversion. He paid not only the land revenue but certain additional cesses as well. Thus a measurement has had to be paid, the actual subject of the land revenue, the Muqaddam got his percentage and the land revenue officials visiting the village handed to the expense of the villagers. Of course these were old customary fees, Sher Shah claims to have fixed their amount only.[8] To these we may have the payments very today made by the landlords in addition to the land revenue. Therefore paid to the village headman representing the collection fees,

8. Abbas, II, 18.

the Rolls again selected by him represents the expense of building the current chikaly, and the assessment first long received as a contribution defraying the salary of the Patwari, though it has now disappeared. Some chiefs claim upon the village headmen the responsibility of collecting the land revenue and in one reported to execute a bond and furnish security for the due discharge of his duties.[1] Rarely again is a system resembling British revenue practice of today. The Bhagdari was to give a receipt to the cultivator. The revenue demand was to be rigorously enforced. If a cultivator failed to pay, probably the usual method of extorting the money from him was resorted. He could have been imprisoned, probably tortured as well. All he managed to have the requisite amount he kind or sold.

The cultivators were granted some compensation in case of some damage to crops. The only concession mentioned in the records relates to the compensation paid for the damaging of standing crops under the fact of soldiers or public of elsewhere.[2] They were the rules to accelerate the damage done but to have they are recorded compensation was paid by the law contained.

Unlike the present practice in British India, the revenue received by the state depended upon the state under administration and the crops cultivated. There are [illegible] of large grain (cereal) brought in a larger amount of revenue. He did the introduction of better crops. It was therefore self-interest which led the state to adopt better measures for the purpose of encouraging agriculture. Only one of these measures, the point of relevance to the cultivator, finds a mention in the contemporary records. These advances were no interest which was forbidden by the Koranic law. If we are to judge from later Mughal practice they were to be refunded within a year.

The rights of the cultivators in the land were well recognised. The land under cultivation was theirs. They could sell it, mortgage it and give it as a bequest. It was hereditable. The rights of the state were confined to the demand for land revenue alone. Uncultivated, unclaimed, or barren land belonged either to the village community or

the state. The cultivators had certain customary rights therein too, if a cultivator offered to break new land, the state had need to grant density to forestall land revenue, recited the government a powerful army upon his newly acquired right.[17] In the subsistence economy of the day, however, there were still many complaints for new land.

In certain parts of the country, however, there seems to have been a sizeable class of person enjoying—hereditary or otherwise—certain rights in the land. These zamindars were usually farmers of land revenue and could be easily distinguished on that that ground (a lot own jagir).[18] In some cases, however, they exhibited certain traditional rights which made them resemble the superior proprietors—Bhūmī-Ādhī—of today.

For carrying out the work of revenue assessment and collection, considerable State funds employed a large number of revenue officials. In villages—there were some 14,000 of them in all—the Shrqadhar collected the land revenue and the Patwārī supervised the work of assessment on behalf of the Village. He kept the records of assessment, collection, the crops cultivated, and the other factors cultivation. In the Pargana, the Qānūngo performed the duties of the Shrqadhar in generally supervising the work of collection and the Karoori was the Patwārī over large. The state employed Kārkūn working closely for the purpose of preparing write of demands to be supplied to the collectors every season. They also acted receipts to the cultivators as well. The Persian-writing clerks prepared the Persian set of papers to be transmitted to the superior. The treasury received the money collected and was responsible for transmitting it to the exchequer. At the head of the revenue establishment stood the Amin supervising everything and directing all operations.[19] The collection of land revenue was always a troublesome task and the Amin had to call upon the police and military colleagues for helping him occasionally in order to collect land revenue from some refractory village.

17. This is based on the contemporary literature of the Mughal period. The original authority of Mir Bhakri says zamindars only a trifling matter.

18. Ibidem, 11, 11. 19. Ibidem, III (f), 141.

The work of these revenue officials was not so simple as that of their modern successors. They had not only to collect the land revenue but to assess it as well as every individual every season. The principles of assessment had been settled, but the actual amount depended upon the crop sown and the crops cultivated, it had to be assessed every time. Of course the Indian cultivator was as conservative then as now. Usually the same fields would be brought under cultivation every season, almost the same crops sown. Still there were certain crops which took more than a season to mature e.g., cotton and sugarcane. The vagrants as well generated some similar problems. They the revenue officials had to record the season's crops and the area and then assess the land revenue.

There were several other sources of income besides the land revenue. The customs levied on the imports into the Kingdom must have provided a considerable amount of money. Sher Shah is said to have forbidden the wallowing of any kind of liquor or opium. But is a doubtful law for this prohibition was made effective. Sher Shah's government was rolling from every Jagir that it is doubtful whether the Jagirdars paid up the complete amount of revenue. We know in the palmier days of the Mughal empire Jaghirdari could not subsist the existence of several Jagirs which, for convenient collected. The trouble lay in the custom that when Jagirs were assigned all sorts of local taxes were also taken in account in estimating the income from the Jagir. Either the Jagirdars was compensated by by an additional grant, he felt himself justified in levying traditional taxes even if they were prohibited. The prohibitions, however, must have been enforced in the crownlands. Wine artisans were prohibited for sale, probably in the markets, a sale tax was realized after the article had been sold. The tax included even the smallest article of daily use. Sale of property also brought in some money to the state. Some money was also collected on the ground not from the traders in the markets for the stalls they occupied. An excise tax on the manufacture of sugar was uniformly regulated by the number of the iron boiling pots in which molasses were converted into sugar. A ferry tax was collected from those who used the boat for crossing rivers and is still collected in many parts of British India. A grazing tax, variously assessed,

seem to have been levied. A profession tax was collected from goldsmiths, butchers, engravers, weaver, water drawers, barbers, doll makers, fishers, sailors, masons, manufacturers of lime and of tamarisk, lepers, [illegible], bitters, and several other classes of artisans. A crude tax was also imposed. Blacksmiths of hemp and [illegible] were taxed. Petrol labour became another source of revenue. Pearls to the amount that played such an important part under the Rajahs do not seem to have been conceived as by Abu Dhabi, but it is likely that the chief was, then as now, the monopolist of all the property of persons who died without heirs. Winding up the affairs and the registration of certain monopolies must have brought in a pretty sum. Besides the Haps, the Kinkes paid a pilgrimage tax as well. Some commodities were also taxed, e.g. goatskins.[30]

This list forms an interesting document. Most of the taxes are paid by the women and the middle class. The Government officials seem to have been exempt from the payment of more except what they paid as presents, offerings, and in [illegible] money. The traders who formed the middle classes paid the various taxes, it is more than probable that they shifted a part of their burden to the consumers. On their part, however, they paid much more than was levied by the state for obtaining their monopolies and resources or what they paid as general rent if they happened to occupy a stall in the public markets. Of course the payment of the various, the discard of tenant rent, the realisation of the cash tax from them must have made it necessary for them to 'please' the officials many times over.

The question of corruption and illegal exactions has sometimes been raised and an attempt made to answer it. Bribes taken from not seem to have changed very much in India even by now and in a relative estimate of the descendants of Abu Dhabi and the present day system of taxation in India we simply confirm the force if we try to take into consideration the illegal payments exacted from the peasants and others under Abu Dhabi.

Judicial fees have sometimes been endorsed as forming a source of income in India in the eighteenth century. These were usually paid

30. Aitchison, Treaties, XII, 100, 108. 31. [illegible], 104.

in the approved pocket except when they were wanted from the defaulters to store towards to which case they should be accounted for in the cost of collection.

But all this money was, however, paid into the state treasury. The larger part of the land revenue was set apart for the payment of military commanders and their contingents. Civil officials were very numerous and most of the Judiciary were paid by assignment of land revenue and other local taxes in areas assigned to them. Mines and mints seem to have been farmed rather than directly exploited. The income was mostly spent for the personal expenses of the emperor, the cost of military expeditions, the buildings of new cities and the repairs of old ones, the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, the payment to state spies, clerks, and Dervishes and such other public servants as did not receive Jagirs. Family displays, public festivities and the marriage of king's kith and kin were also been responsible for spending some more of the state's money. The ulamas, the Kazaqiates, Shaikh-ul-Islam officials and religious received public endowments in the form of Jagirs and as did judicial most of the officers attached to the office of the Sadr, Wakils, and the [illegible].

Administration of Justice under Shah was over-loaded. The Amin in the Diwan-i-Sadarat (Secretariat) Office [illegible] to hold. The Kazi-i-Kazi and the Qazi Diwan of other cities mostly attached.[79] They decided cases according to the Sharia Law. Personally very cases between Muslims were here been brought before them or such criminal cases in which the state was a party cases involving blasphemy, heresy, sorcery, and apostasy. Several Diwanchis had a Kazi-i-Diwanchis, the chief judge who heard civil cases. The Shaghir in the Diwan and the Shaghar-i-Shaghirs in the Higher cult which have come to be called Sadar were executive officers and as such performed preventive duties. But it is possible that some cases might have been brought before them by way of complaint against the judicial officers. At the capital was the Chief Sadr, the Imperial Sadr and above them all the emperor.[80] Of course appeals in the various courts of the land were

80. Sykes, [illegible].

[illegible]. Bad cases could travel into the magnate's court through [illegible] to complaints against various officials. At present an appeal implies the incapacity of the lower courts in fact finding or correctly interpreting the law. In medieval times it involved corruption in justice for various reasons. Ibne Shah had a reputation for justice which must have kept many of his judicial officers straight. He was labeled for many centuries illustrating both his and his being just whenever the corresponding justice and his capacity for meeting of both, which interest the ruler of many evil days.

But the legendary machinery for administering justice only touched the fringe of the problem. For the huge majority of the Rhodes, their cases or village Pokhyan served as the judicial human authority. Even the Rhodes law and the customary law were applied not to the aggrieved party would take the case to the public courts, the Pokhyan usually functioned as just referees for local getting their powers invoked.[19]

We have no remarkable case where court just have been as much interpretive than not as simply a process of finding facts. The Dwarfs decided the cases from their own knowledge of the facts. They were not concerned with the evidence judiciary. Whether the plaintiff or the complainant had proved his case. They doubted a more vital issue, evils of the matter in Shakra. Religion served as a great helper in keeping down litigation. An evil-minded party gave an litigant a case because the the individual Dike searching marked religious penalties of which he was terribly afraid.

The judiciary exists for the punishment of crime if and when committed as well as for the settlement of disputes. Ibne Shah paid a good deal of attention to the prevention of crime. He resorted to the old Hindu custom of exhorting Lakhiby by imposing penal on the localities. Whenever a theft occurred, or a crime was committed, the locality had either to apprehend the criminal or make good the loss. Various stories have been preserved in order to prove just what Ibne Shah was in enforcing this liability. He gained his end. Travel became safe, and crime all violence ceased.[20]

[19] Jacob Adler, Young, p. 4.

[20] Shakra, LII.III.

We have only a glimpse here and there of the criminal Code prevailing. Theft was punished with the death penalty.[37] Criminals sentenced for life were sent to Peshawar,[38] one hundred miles, where they had of hospitals were. Certain places were recognised as asylum wherein criminals obtaining could not be apprehended.[39]

Sher Shah's religious policy remained narrow. The Jizya was collected from the Hindus. All classes paid it including the Brahmans. The helpless, the disabled, the women and children, and the propertyless classes were exempted from payment. A heavy cess was levied as the demand for Jizya dividing the payers into three classes. It here an religious to increase his revenue with the property possessed. Those who had property worth above 10,000,00 Dirhams paid 40 Dirhams. The second class consisted of those whose property was worth from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20,00. They paid Rs. 15 a year. The poorest class consisting of persons worth at least Rs. 20 was till [illegible] as it had to pay annually Rs. 12.[40]

Sher Shah delighted in the beauty of his monuments and particularly the tomb of his Rohilla mother and the Hindu by converting temples into mosques by the Muhammadan conquerors. The temple in the fort at Jodhpur was thus converted.

His attitude towards the Hindus is best illustrated in his treatment of Puran Mal of Raisen. The expedition itself was inspired by religious motives and Sher Shah seems to have vented vengeance on his head. When Puran Mal surrendered, he was allowed to leave the fort in safety. While he was peacefully managing some his fort, Sher Shah's soldiers fell upon him. The Rajput, though trapped and taken aversion, fought to the last and all died fighting. Sher Shah's treatment of Puran Mal is of course not quite different radically from his treatment of Bhagwan. But even his Hindus chroniclers felt the need for justifying it. Two versions have been handed down to us. One author Sher Shah on instructions of Bhagwan who gave vent to their opinion that words

[37] Elliot, IV, p. 421.
[38] Elliot, IV, 422.
[39] Elliot, IV, 422.
[40] Ibn, II, 184.

[41] N. the present writer's Inscription and Orthodox of the Jizya, in the Oriental Review, September, 1926.

given to an infidel need not be kept. We are told, however, that Omar Shah asked his three opinions and was not time on unwilling agent. The second version tells us that Omar Shah was moved by the complaints of the Muslim women alleged to have been resident in the fort. Here again is a dilemma for us to accept. In every we find Omar Shah had stipulated with Prince Rod that he would allow him to go unmolested only if there were no Muslim women confined in the fort. Then Prince Rod was allowed to leave his best prince that from was no women prisoner in the fort. We are left with two alternative views, to accept the version engraved in Devik's Rinali which makes it an act of calculated treachery. But would we be surprised at that. Gold was Omar Shah's strong point and he never missed a straight from when he could gain his end otherwise. It was in keeping with his motive against Shamyna as well as Rudder.[1]

As a good Muslim, Omar Shah must have prayed for victorious purposes. He is said to have spent [illegible] gold daily through his spies and Khalifahs. [illegible] and thousands were the spoils. Omar Shah [illegible] for thanksgiving a prayer that he would see Lord [illegible]. Perhaps making a prayer is a science for God knows he would become rich. The religious was said that it would be [illegible]. He called pious and he would get it locally through the royal alkaids.[2]

Omar Shah had secured a prosperous state in the country by the generous his hand for the purpose of maintaining law and order in the

[1] Devik, op. cit., Rinali, 107 to 108, Tilaqi, 5, 70, 80, 90.

The story tell in Devik is interesting. Prince Rod remarked: "Omar Sun chat." Prince of Gandhi complained to Omar Shah. He was armed by Rod agent, complained to Shamyna, who kidnap Rod with gives to a pot-Muslim and sold to Arpi. Then did the Rudra soldiers fall upon the prosperity Rajputs. It is difficult to explain that Prince Rod's soldiers were still there several days after the occupation of the city. [illegible] 108 to 109, [illegible] states that Shah's soldiers a different war and rather the prisoner. Albert the secretary of the city the was spoiling. Ahmed Khaji Chi, 98 to 99 [illegible] relationship the same tale.

[2] Omar Shah, pursuit social grants at his pleasures and hand, and order of Omar Kua were mentioned. Devik, op. Rinali, 107. Khaji to Shah, 5, 90.

country. The improved means of communication further made transport cheaper and less inconvenient. The Prime minister fixed the territories and places for the deposit of state-owned goods if they happened to be travelling individually. To encourage enterprises old (which he abolished the monopoly system) Shen changed to commerce passed from city to city.[10] Customs duties were to be paid on the frontiers, taxes on sales were collected when an article had been actually sold. To help trade and industry and encourage sales he adjusted the coinage.[11] A standard weight and a uniform measure were adopted for all areas found so that these could be easily accepted without any fear of any discount being charged later on. Gold, silver and copper coins were issued from various mint towns. They were lilliputian. Shih during 221 the double script, the luxury of being included in the hieroglyphics.

Shen Shih was a great builder as well. He founded Hsien Shih's Shih (which building Kung in Hsien on the Lower, Pei-ta, Shen Kai and Hsien Kuan). He commissioned his military over Hsiangyu to demolished Kuang and built a new city in its place.[12] He also built Hsien-yen by moving the city of Hsianfeng thereto.[13]

The power will under Shen Shih gave the country expected to the existence of a strong army. Shen Shih kept a large army including 1,00,000 horse, 800 chariots, 20,000 horsemen, and ordinary troops he was organised. Besides this, special corps were like previous towns another force, 15,000 strong, was maintained.[14]

These 1,00,000 soldiers did not represent a mercenary collection but indifferently recruited, ability chief and if at case be a number of crisis. Shen Shih, founder of a new dynasty that he was, took great pride in keeping an effective military organisation together. Their forces were founded so that only really loyal people could be brought to the field.[15] Descriptive rolls of soldiers are also said to have been taken. Though we are asked to believe that all soldiers were per-

10 Bilsky, IV, 45.
11 Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta 1st ed. 1906 also Allan, 190.
12 Shih-chi, 190.
13 Ibid., 4, 46.
14 Shih-chi, 190.
15 Ibid., 144.

usually recruited by him.[39] It is impossible that Shar Shah was able to supervise (digital) so as to be present at the time of the muster, point of soldiers in all parts of the territory under all the fifty commanders. Of course he must have had the salary of all those who were recruited to serve in his own travelling army.[40] Outside, the soldiers were still for and maintained by the great soldiers out of the income of the jagirs granted to them and their contingents. It is likely that travelling was introduced among the troops on garrison duty as well. Branding of horses was occasionally resorted to forward capitalist.[41] We are assured that Shar Shah wanted to change the duties of the soldiers frequently, to avoid the interchange of his personal army to spell of garrison duty and to ask the garrisons to come and serve in his personal army as well. It is difficult to say, however, with any certainty whether these plans of his were ever put into practice on account of his short reign. The soldiers are said to have been all paid in his presence.[42] This can, however, refer to only such soldiers as were present in the capital or accompanied him in expeditions.

Shar Shah sought justice as his prime consideration keeping their own phrase. He would not allow their wives be plaintiff according to their own authority. He strictly put down those who tried to become royal by bought help in the matter of acting on a false plaintiff.[43]

Taken all in all Shar Shah secured power in a society torn by the ambitions of its petty rulers. His strong government succeeded in keeping law and order with the help of his efficient army, an improved system of communications, an excellent system of keeping in touch with the condition of his empire through his secret agents and fully official reports. His insistence on local responsibility for keeping order made it easy. His personal interest in keeping control the society from the wide bulk of non-state government and imperial orphan. His land revenue system took the earliest experiments in this direction a step further and made possible the realization of Akbar's

39. Elliot, 222.
40. Abbas, 186.
41. Abbas, 185, 188.
42. Ibid.
43. Elliot, 190.

more sophisticated plan of his assessment and collection profile. His currency reform encouraged trade and industry and created more rule of competition. The abolition of petty transit duties at frequent intervals made it possible for the merchants to embark on extensive trade operations with as very small in the assurance that the charge they brought would only cost to them what they paid to the seller.

This is a creditable account for any ruler and much more for a ruler of the times in which he lived. His non-bigoted justice, his strong government, and his efficient administration of the land revenue department all assure for him a place of honour among the rulers of India.

But he had not a clear vision in view upon. Much of his administrative system, in the details, can be traced to some of his predecessors particularly Alauddin Khilji and Muhammad Lodhi. But he laid on the former's mantle of the latter's religious bigotry. He used whatever he could find in the earlier traditions of government in this country and moulded it to his own advantage after his own light.

This is a much maligned (and rightly) and of many of the greatest rulers of mankind. But [illegible] was not enough [illegible] charges have been made on his behalf. "Shirkan was [illegible] a native Indian."[1] The idea of a native born had not yet taken root in Europe to apply it to India of Shar Shah. A respect both to his times and himself. The ruler who went on burying the Hindu, who did not think it necessary to keep faith with a Hindu chief, and who proclaimed his victories by converting a temple into a mosque had yet to learn the elements of overlooking the caste. "The zeal of his biographers seems to have prevented his illustrious ghost in order to justify what dark he falls had of Akbar's triumph of overlooking the caste."[2] That Shar Shah followed the bigoted path in his religious policy only proves that he had his limitations. His fame rests not on moulding his state or making the Hindus and Muslims into a nation but on the solid ground of giving peace and efficient government.

[1] Beveridge, 481. [2] Ibid., 482 to 483.

A people have been under frequently to indulge comparisons between Akbar and Sher Shah. Here we are concerned only with contrasting their administrative systems. Akbar's greatest contribution to the history of India—nay of the world—is that he moderated the pace of a time when rival religious were wont fighting young discussions. This was beyond Sher Shah's ken. Akbar of course added to the efficiency of the administrative machinery by his improved system of land revenue assessment, by instituting provincial governments, by the military organisation of the mansabdars, and by coupling to cash payments in place of the usual kind. Sher Shah had not adumbrated any one of these things. What Akbar built in land revenue system on Sher Shah's foundations and thus he kept the system of transferring taxes into kind. But there was not all Sher Shah's own contributions to the administrative system. Others before him had done. His original contribution was the introduction, in more parts of the country, of the system of land revenue assessment by measurement rather than by division of the crop kind. But he left were this in a very experimental form. Had it been so perfected a measure as his critics say it was it would not have survived so many years of experimentation in Akbar's reign. He left the land revenue assessment still in flux. Akbar's selection of yet higher rates of land revenue demand for different crops to cash formed an great a step in advance of Sher Shah's system as Sher Shah's measurement was on the previous system of division.

But everything apart Sher Shah gave to India a strong and just government. This is high praise for any ruler but of the many credits this is one which was a good soldier, a successful statesman, an inspiring leader of men and a great conqueror.

Sir Reu Sarkar.

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Origin of the Varman and the Sena Dynasties

The Varman dynasty, which ruled East Bengal in the eleventh century A.D., is associated with a place called Simhapura. Dr. R. L. Mitra suggests that Simhapura was "the same place as Kalinga, which is mentioned in the Mahabharata, VI, iii 45, as situated in Lohitaksha, i.e., Kalinga."[1] According to Mr. R. D. Banerji[2] this place is to be identified with the place of the same name, which was situated in the Punjab, and where a Yadava dynasty was ruling from about A.D. 950 to A.D. 980. I suggested[3] previously that the place in question is identical with Simhapura, which was situated in Kalinga, and which according to Kalhana, is probably represented by the modern village-group Jaipur Chhauni and Nyamagapur.[4] I further suggested that Vajrahasta, ancestor (?) of the Varman dynasty, joined Rajendra Cola I in his northern expedition, and founded a kingdom in East Bengal, having overthrown Devaladevadu, apparently the last king of the Chandra dynasty. Mr. R. D. Banerji[5] and Dr. R. C. Dey[6] are inclined to subscribe to the view that Simhapura in Kalinga was the original home of the Varmans.

Mr. Pramode Lal Paul has recently criticised my above suggestions, and has put forward an ingenious theory on the subject.[7] An inscription[8] from Bhuvanesvara, in Bhubaneshwar, reports that there was one Jaja, who helped (Rajaraja) Kesari in battle. Jaja's son was Vajrapala, his grandson was Bhimapala, and his great grandson was Pulomapala. Mr. Paul claims that this Jaja was none other than Jatavarman, son of Vajrahasta, of the Varman dynasty of East Bengal. Jaja, an inhabitant of Simhapura, in Kalinga, assisted with the Kalinga Kesari against Bengal and founded there a kingdom. It is good of Mr. Paul to realize that Jaja and Jata are not identical.

1 JB., vol. XII, p. 29.
2 Origin of the Varman dynasty in East Bengal, CRQ., 1906, p. 20.
3 JB., vol. XVI, p. 4.
4 Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. III, p. 16.
5 Dynastic History, no. 20-20a.
6 Ancient AIR., no. 32, p. 120.
7 Dynastic History, p. 23.
8 IBQ., September, 1925, p. 485.

But he only declares the wisdom of his family when he makes a suggestion that either Mr. R. D. Banerji has rejected this for Pala or the support of the inscription has controlled this verse. Finally the Bonty is short of work of the value when we attempt few have made, without good reason, to prove that it was Dharmapala and not the [illegible] Vajrayoginis, who founded the Varman dynasty in East Bengal.

Here we close consideration. I do not find anything in the Deoba inscription to suggest that the Varman dynasty migrated to East Bengal from any place outside Bengal.

The Deoba inscription[1] reports that "The knowledge of the Great Power is a crowning for men, and those who are devoid of it, are certainly ruined, thinking[2] in the treasure of Shah, the Varmans, dwelling footed-we with their kith-dwelling so and in their architecture for the Great Value and for unrivalled Rights, and winning the very [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Bhattagram, which may be likened to the [illegible] of Uma." "There upon a chief there was living Vajravarman, a good and Chief of the [illegible] military organization of the addition of the Thakur, (who was) like the god of Death in the morning, like his name to the Friends, a good young person, a [illegible] [illegible]." "Vajravarman was born from him (i.e. Vajravarman), just as Dhanda (the son of Dhaga) was born of Shankara, [illegible] was his [illegible] was, battle his position, and charity his [illegible] delight." "Seeing the (great) glory of Pitha, son of Vajra, supporting Tirabi (the daughter) of Surya, cylinding his supremacy among the Angas, adopting the virtues of Bhaskaripa (Aman), putting to shame the strength of the sons of Drona, retaining the dignity of Sandhiman, and giving away all his wealth to Brahmans, he (Vajravarman) [illegible] his own paramount sovereignty." Jatavarman was followed in succession by Harivarman and Bhojavarman.

[1] Dhanda Dhanaga [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Since there is no indication that Vijayapura was situated somewhere outside the kingdom of the Varmans of East Bengal. The Nidhanpur plate of Vallālasena (Dev. Dynp., p. 76, vs. 2, 4) reports that "In his (Sena's) progenitor's family was born princes, who adorned Rāḍha," etc. "In their family was born the mighty Hemantasena" etc. Rāḍha was within the kingdom of Gauḍa when the Badaal pillar was found, therefore nothing militates if Vijayapura is considered to have been a city which was situated within the kingdom of the Varmans of East Bengal or Gauḍa where the Bideva inscription was found.

One may even be inclined to think that the Varmans, mentioned in the above verse, refer to Bhojavarman and his predecessors. An against this assertion an objection may apparently be raised. The verse should [illegible] Varmanāṃ—Mahati Vijayapuraṃ in lit. by signifying remote past. In the normal sense it is to be understood that the Varmans who occupied Vijayapura, were the predecessors of Vajravarman. But in view of the fact that the past participle has been used in using [illegible], and by without mentioning any difference between them in the Bideva inscription, this objection may not be taken to be of great weight. The phrase [illegible], is adduced—Vajravarman, in Vi [illegible], where [illegible] (vs. 8) is to help Bhojavarman (as well) to remember into the past tense by adding one to the present form (v. 10). Finally Pamphalaka uses (v) while speaking of himself—[illegible], in all prey [illegible] Varmanāmaḥ—v. 11). If these considerations have any value, it may be maintained that Vijayapura was not only situated in the kingdom of the Varmans of East Bengal, it might have been the capital of the dynasty. Consequently it should no longer be held that the Varman dynasty came to East Bengal either from the Punjab or from Kaliṅga or from any other place outside Bengal. Vijayapura should not be taken as identical with Vikrampur, which according to Bhāṭṭasālī was situated in Rāḍha, till it is proved that the Varmans held sway over that country.

Dr. Dey[1] subscribes to the view of Dr. R. C. Mazumdar in regard to the origin of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. The history of the origin

1. DHQ., September, 1936, p. 476

of this Sena dynasty has been tentatively traced by Dr. Bajaniar in the following way:[illegible]

A number of inscriptions prove the existence of a line of Jaina teachers in the Bhawar District, Bombay Presidency, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh century A.D. These Jaina teachers belonged to the Sena family.[illegible] The original home of the Sena dynasty of Bengal was Kampila. Hemachandra, the biographer of that dynasty was closely connected with that line of Jaina teachers in the Bhawar District, and in the early part of his life, was himself a Jaina teacher. Later on, he changed his religion from Jainism to Brahmanism, and took up the profession of a soldier. It induced the Chief Bhojadeva, who founded the Jaina temples in the Bhawar District. This was the turning point in the fortunes of his family. He accompanied the Chief[illegible] Vijayasenadeva to his invasion of Bengal, and served as a principality for his family (Sena).

Dr. Bajaniar is right in saying that the original home of the Sena dynasty was Kampila. But his other conclusions do not find support in the inscriptions of the Sena dynasty, which give a different history of its origin.

The Deogaon Inscription[illegible] of Vijayasena reports that "In the line of that Prince of the Moon[illegible] who at the sense of the gods, there were born Vasudeva and others, who were kings of the Deccan,[illegible] having all prevailing force. The [illegible] of beautiful women, which the son of Pushkara (i.e. Vijaya) had caused to fear to choose the sons of mankind, was made prize winning to contest with the memory of their achievements." T.K.

"In this Sena family was born Samantasena of the Dhanaunjaya family, Hemantasena who was raised to the supreme lord of the [illegible] of all opposing soldiers, and whose multitudes were [illegible] (from of) the sea of Dhanaka, by heavenly nymphs, [illegible] the bridge made by the dancing of the waves of the ocean." T.K.

[illegible] Dey, Dynst. Ge. Geo., Calcutta, p. [illegible].
[illegible] Bombay, [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. [illegible].
[illegible] Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. [illegible], no. [illegible].
[illegible] Gitanandadeva: [illegible], etc.

It follows from the above verses that the feudatories of Simantasena were royal personages in the Sena. Thus the predecessors of Simantasena were ruling princes in also supported by the Bhandagra inscription of Vijayasena, and the Nidali copperplate of Vallalasena.[1]

The Nadali copperplate[2] of Vallalasena states that "In his family there were here princes, who adorned Mithila, that was famous on being given to righteous men, with such dignities as were unprecedented. They were known for their benevolence in constantly giving presents to the servants and the Brahmans and called in the world of their fame." V.3.

"In that family was born the mighty Hemasena, who was in the mean of the soldiers of his enemies." ibid. V.4.

The above two verses clearly point out that it was not Hemasena but his remote predecessors, who ruled in Mithila, and bestowed a kingdom there.

The verse 1 of the Bhagalpur inscription[3] of Vijayasena says that "This hero [Hemasena] who installed Vijaya [Vijayasena] to rule as salve the wicked disposition of the Lords (of earth) of Kamrupa, smoked by bands of dancers, that the leaf of gulaba, whose colours are delighted, was laid down to him the earth's soldiers quarter about the excellent supply of scenery, RAS and his mention are unlimited."[4]

The above verse does not indicate that the fight between Hemasena and 'the dangerous of the Lords of the Kamrupa country' took place in the Kamrupa country. It simply means that Hemasena vanquished a king or a feudatory, who had already plundered the Kamrupa country. The statements of this nature are available in the Bhandarkar records. The Ella plate[5] of Govinda II states that "with a battle of Krishna in Chandrapuri suddenly vanquished the numerous forces of Kanyakubja which were invincible to others, and which had proved dark affinity by inflicting crushing defeats on the lord of Kirata, the king of Kerala, the Gaja, the Pandya, Krishna, and Valaya." The Radhanpur plate[6] of Govinda III reports that "he (the

[1] Inscriptions of Bengal, vol. III, pp. 16, v.4 ; p. 31, v.4.
[2] Ibid., p. 31. [3] Ibid., p. 16. [4] EI., vol. VI, p. 132.
[5] Ibid., p. 184.

[illegible] III's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Relations of the Pâla and Sena of Bengal with the other Powers

The great political change with the breaking of the Mughal empire was the fall of Mughal Delhi and rise of Kanauj, henceforth destined to be the imperial city of northern India. If the centre of political gravity had shifted westward to Kanauj, it is also clear that in the east Bengal was rising into great political importance. While after the fall of the imperial Gupta independent dynasties were rising in different parts of the empire, the Hindu king Adisûra tried to revive an empire by bringing up the officers of the Kanyakubja of Kanauj and the Vaidikas of Bhûrisreshthi. His alliance with Devapâla of Mâlwa and relations of Kanauj were the outcome of that policy. But the beginning of an aggressive campaign by Harsavardhana and his Eastern policy contrary to a loving grey Bhûdeva was used of Kanauja to be a sole against Sashâka helped the plans and ambitions of the Gauda king and in the end to secure to him power throughout Bengal. Yet Dharma after the middle of the seventh century saw Bengal politically divided into five divisions: Vâgdi, Pûndravardhana, Samatata, Dhana Uptâ and Karnasuvarna. The military rule of Gauda under Adisûra lost an empire was perhaps plundered and excited the jealousy and fears of the neighbouring kingdoms. No power could lay claim to political mastership without a successful military expedition in the plains of Bengal where opposition to any aspirant for imperial power hitherto was taken almost as an accepted fact. Kanyakubja Bengal became the objective of the great conquerors and political adventurers who aspired or made to lay rich plains on every opportunity occasion. The Nâlanda plates of Bhûdevavarman mention Gauda the victorious army as Kanyakubja and it has generally been considered that the Kâmarûpa king was in possession of the capital of Gauda at that time.[1] It is known from the Bagdoli plates of

1. R. D. Banerji, some of this has been taken by the present writer, see IHQ., XII, pp. 1ff.

Jayavarman II that a prince of the Sailo family ruled a king of Pragjyotisa and accepted his sovereignty from palaeographical considerations he is to be placed in the first half of the eighth century.[1] The Gaudapada of Vikrama inscription (of Vikramanka of Kosala) mentioned a digvijaya, defeated and killed the king of Gauda in battle, who was also the king of Magadha. The very fact, that the contemporaneously this victory over the Gauda king as the supreme achievement of his prince and styles his ancestral seat as Gaudapada, clearly shows the political importance of Bengal in the contemporaneous and future theatres in Kosala. The power of Vakataka was challenged and crushed by the Rashtra monarch Indrabhatta who also in course of his victorious expedition advanced as far as Bengal.[2] Nor was the contemporaneous neighbour Sharabpura ruling idle. It is recorded in an inscription of the Gupta Empire, dated in 700 A.D., that his ancestor great-Indian Emperors of the Kalachuri dynasty conquered Banga, Vanga, Kalinga and Kosala.[3]

The repeated invasions and total of any potential central authority made the chiefs and people of Bengal realize the weakness of the situation to an unprecedented degree. They took the supreme and memorable decision of electing a monarch, under whose leadership the diplomatic political and military work be undertaken. Man of the hour was Gopala, and of Vapyata, on whom fell the choice. Gopala might have even live protection by playing an important part in warding off one of the invasions, but his first and foremost concern was to have a consolidated and strongly united Kingdom which was essential to achieve anything great in the political field. The military exploits and conquests up to the one described in the Bhagalpur plate of his

1 EI., IX, p. 4.

2 Some scholars have doubted the genuineness of Kielhorn's description of the conquest of Gauda by Indrabhatta. See Vol. II. R. D. Banerjee has rightly pointed out that "Since the conquest of Gauda was an historical fact to prevent its two successive invasions—a spell of conquest from Magadha until the invasion of the Gauda king to Vidarbha capital." Dr. Banerjee, Early History of Orissa, pp. 40-41.

3 CI., III, p. 79.

4 Kielhorn gives, Kosalakhanda.

[illegible] Devapāla seems to have had object in view. The task of [illegible] to aggressive policy was removed by his son and successor Vigrahapāla while the requisite preparations were perhaps made by Devapāla.

The outstanding political fact of the period from 810 to 900 A.D. was the triparṭite struggle for imperial mastery of northern India among the three great powers—the Pratīhāras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the possession of Kanauj, the imperial city of the time. Bhoja-I inherited a consolidated kingdom and it seems that his ambition was to make Bengal the ascendant power in northern India. Naturally he turned to the west. It is not known which were the powers with whom he had to fight at first for the westward expansion of his kingdom. The Gwalior prashasti informs that Pratīhāra Vatsarāja wrested the sovereignty of Kanauj from Bhoja[illegible]. Bhoja-I now turn regarded him as a great foe in the moment the Pāla king was defeated. We learn from the Wani and Radhanpur plates that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja who had inflicted defeat on the Gauḍa king. But though defeated in his first attempt, Bhoja-I did not give up his imperial ambition and made further attempts to occupy Kanauj towards not long after this we find him in the possession of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. The Sonpat plate of Jayāpīḍa record that the Gauḍa king was defeated by Bhoja in the Ganga-Yamuna valley and this is confirmed by the Banda and Sooi plates of Kalachūrī.[7] Chronologically it clearly appears that in the westward expansion of his kingdom Dharmapāla received two checks—first from Vatsarāja and next from Dhruva. Dhruva attacked Vatsarāja in c. 780 A.D. and therefore Dharmapāla was defeated by Vatsarāja before that. Dhruva died before May, 794 A.D.,[8] and he must have defeated the Pāla king before that date.

But nothing could arrest the political expansion of Bengal, reinvigorated and reorganised as it was from the political turmoil after the decline of Bengāla. The Pālas were determined to assert

[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], p. 21.
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], p. 80.
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible], p. 94; [illegible], [illegible], p. 10.
[illegible], [illegible], p. 90; [illegible], [illegible], p. 140.
[illegible] Dhakaiya, The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times, p. 60.

[illegible] in north Indian politics and make Bengal a first class political power. The Pratihāra king was Bhoja, [illegible] by Bhojadeva and the real Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV was engaged in a fratricidal war for succession with his brother Amoghavarṣa[illegible] and thus the Kalachuri was opportune for Bhaṭṭasālin. The Nāl stone of the Bhaṭṭāgra plate of Devapāla states that his (Bhaṭṭasālin's) army [illegible] of Jajapura visited Kalinga and Utkala (in the Bhuvaneśvar and Puri Tribhanga respectively). The [illegible] stone of the Bhāgalpur plate accentuates the countries that actually acknowledged his overlordship. It is told that "With a sign of his gracefully moved eyebrows he installed the illustrious king of Kāmarūpa, who really was accepted by the Gauḍa, Kaliṅga, Kośala, Kuru, Tāja, Turuṣka, Ārāṭṭa, Dhārāvāsa and Khaṣa kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems touching and for whom his own golden ornaments for was lifted by the delighted elbow of Pālādeva"[illegible]. Further light on the whole situation is thrown by the last stone of the Bhāgalpur plate of Vikramaśīla. It is known therefrom that Bhaṭṭasālin took possession of Kosala from Indrarāja[illegible] and installed his own protégé Lakṣmīdeva on the throne

11 Ibid., p. 80.

12 According to the Bhāgalpur list of the Bhūmipālas Kuru and Bhoṭṭa are in the middle country, the former near modern Delhi and Indraprastha, and the latter in the Punjab doab. Tāja is the Punjab, in the north of the Turuṣka were the Tuvaras. Āraṭṭa is perhaps Ujjain in Malwa and the Dhārāvāsa is N. W. province. The Khaṣa country has been identified with Khagrāma or Bodhgaya in the Tongra district by Dr. B. M. Barua (JBO, IX, p. 78).

13 Dr. B. C. Bhattacharya identifies Indrarāja with, perhaps, younger brother of Govinda III, who was in charge of Lāṭadeśamaṇḍala which further, according to him, he which institute guardian of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Society, IX, 1933). But some scholars identify Indrarāja with Indrāyudha of Kaṇṭa Dynasty, the ruler of the north who was ruling contemporaneously with Yaśovarmā. (Mīrāshī Pṛthvī, I, p. 180; Dr. R. C. Maj, Pamārā Dynasty, I, p. 200). If this identification is to be accepted, it may be conjectured that Lakṣmīdeva and Gopālādeva were of the same family and the case of the latter was probably strengthened by Dharmapāla. Gopālādeva has been described as one "whose lotus feet obeisance is matchless because of his dependence on others" in the Gwalior prashasti and as "begging of Dharmapāla the crown of Kosala" in the Bhāgalpur plate. Is it because of his making the throne of Kosala from Indrarāja with the help and support of Dharmapāla?

by calling an imperial assembly. His administrative ability was acknowledged and the use of deputies for him to minister to the common needs of the empire-subjects of the task. This supreme political achievement was unrivalled by holding the imperial assembly at Kāñcī.

His multiplied sovereignty of Dhanyapāla over northern India and his handling of the situation according to his pleasure did not go unchallenged. The invasion of Dhārāvarṣa did not crush the Pratīhāra power but only gave a temporary blow to its supreme rise. Nāgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarāja, also seems tried to consolidate the Pratīhāra power in order to make another trial of strength with the Pālas. Before actually taking the field, he came to a close understanding with the kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga[1] —thus making a strong confederacy of states which, as Dr. Rājendra Lālā says, "formed a central belt right across the country bounded in the west by the coasts of the Dhāra and on the south by that of the Kaṅgakāpāṭa." Thus strengthening his position, Nāgabhaṭa II and probably Govinda IV directed his attention to Kāñcī against Śiva and defeated Dantivarmā, Dharmapāla's overlord in the kingdom of Kāñcī. This was setting fire a challenge to the sovereignty of Dharmapāla and accordingly brought him on the field.

His fight between Nāgabhaṭa II and Dharmapāla for the overlordship of northern India was one of the most fiercely contested battles of the period and in all probability both the parties were equally victorious. The epigraphic records of the rulers of the Kaṭāchūri dynasty claim victories over the Gauḍa emperor, implying that they defeated Nāgabhaṭa in his campaign. In an inscription of Śaṅkaragaṇa II, great grandson of Yuvarājadeva and a hundred of Mahendrapāla, it has been claimed that Yuvarājadeva defeated in battle[2] king Dharma who may be identified with Dharmapāla. Again from the Sāhī inscription of Dhāvalāpa, it is known that Śaṅkaragaṇa, the Kaṭāchūri prince, conquered Bhoja, king of the Gauḍa country and

[1] *EI.*, XXXII, pp. 101 f.; *Journal of the Department of Letters*, X, p. 86.
[2] *EI.*, II, pp. 1 f.

made a present of this Kingdom to his overlord." It is known from the Jaitpur inscription of Sasiva that his father Kakka was distinguished for fighting with the Gurjara or Pratihara.[16]

Though no details regarding the geneaology of Bhavagupta are known, yet from the names of the vast and elaborate geneaology of his chief from every possible quarter and from the description of the army of the mighty lords of the lord of Tanga in the Gwalior prasasti it can be presumed that the Pala emperor must have equipped himself fully well to meet the formidable enemy. If Kakka's fight with the Gurjara refers to Nagabhatta II's fight with Dharmapala, the Pratihara advanced so far as Bhaghya and the victory of this career battle was also on Bala's side. But the victory, or otherwise and militarily was, could not offer to the Pratihara king the overlordship. Once more the Bhojadeva stone inscription appeared in the scene and the Bodhagaya plates record that the Pratihara king "had had vanished in body from vigilant." Mihirabhoja III crossed the Pratihara territory and advanced as far as the Khandagiri. The Sanjan plates inform that Dharmapala and Chakrayudha submitted to the Rashtrakuta monarch of Gaur was around. In the Pilgrim inscription, it is mentioned that Govinda III "delivered the people of Bangla." Mr. R. D. Banerji suggested that

14 Dr. Majumdar has offered good reasons to prove that Bhoja refers to Mahipala and the expedition to Magadhan [illegible] Vol. [illegible] 1935, p. 479 ff.

17 It appears that the Jaitpur inscription of Sasiva is incorrect; and it is dated in the regnal year with not by V.S. 900 as Dr. Bhandarkar and Majumdar read it (EI., XVIII, p. 99). Kakka, father of Sasiva, and another son named Kakkaka (from Mungeka inscription) is dated in V.S. 918-919, A.D. There is no reason to infer, as Mr. R. D. Banerji does, that Jaitpur inscription bears then the Mungeka inscription, nor can we accept his opinion that Kakka, father of Sasiva and Kakkaka, cannot be regarded as a contemporary of Nagabhatta II and Dharmapala. It is by no means impossible that Kakka fought for Nagabhatta II, for more than fought for Bhoja, as there is no evidence to show that Bhandarkar, the immediate successor of Nagabhatta II, never advanced to Bhaghya to fight with the Palas. It is also not likely, as we shall presently see, that in the first part of the 9th century Bhoja could fight with Dharmapala or Bhaghya. Thus it is quite reasonable to call Sasiva Kakka fought for Nagabhatta II against Dharmapala (EI, [illegible], 1908, pp. 109 ff.).

18 EI., VI, p. 103.

(pp. 9ff.) Dharmapâla and Gopâladeva (revived the ambitious of Devapâla [1] against Nagabhatta II. Though it cannot be definitely ascertained, it seems quite probable that Bhoja-pâla after his defeat by Nagabhatta II did not risk another encounter with the Râshtrakûtas and thought it wise to submit to Govinda III.[1] From a comparison of the West and Radhanpur grants the northern campaign of Govinda III can be assigned to the period between 807 and 808 A.D. It is therefore clear that the revenge of Bhoja-pâla must have taken place before that date.

It cannot be clearly stated what was the result of the submission of Dharmapâla and Gopâladeva. Most probably Gopâladeva was reinstated on the throne of Kanauj. It remained for Devapâla to vindicate the honour of the Pâla empire. During the reign of Devapâla the Pâla arms were crowned with success everywhere. It is stated in the Bhâgalpur plate that [illegible] his dominions advanced as far as the Vindhyas and the Eastern ocean. This is confirmed by the 10th verse of the Badal Pillar Inscription, where Devapâla's victories in the Vindhyas and Eastern ocean have been alluded to. It seems that he fought with the Bhojas during the interregnum and the period of subsidiary of Amoghavarsha I. It is not precisely known

[1] See A. S. R. The Dogra tried to prove with considerable force of argument that (1) there was no actual association between Dharmapâla and Govinda III and (2) this was attributed to the defeat inflicted by Nagabhatta II (ASWI, XII, p. 99). As regards the first point, it may be said that in the Sanjan Plate Dharmapâla and Govindaraja respectively submitted to Govinda III's presence. The presence of the Gurjara and the Taranga chiefs as in the Baroda plates of Karkarâja II does not seem to mean permanent occupation. In the course of his northern campaign up to the Himalayas he must have for the time being crossed portion of the Jamuna valley. The relation between Dharmapâla and Govinda III may not have been one of amicability but it is likely that the former did not deny a battle with Nagabhatta II or interpret in the light of the Bâdal-Pillar verses, if there have been any private hostility there against Nagabhatta II, as has been suggested by R. D. Banerji, it seems that the addition of the Bhojas (Gurjaras) that the position of Dharmapâla was an honorable one. As regards the second point, Mr. Dev Nishad identifies it based on the Bâdal verse of the Sanjan grantor. He prefer Dr. Bhandarkar's translation. It may be pointed out that in the Bhojas plate the subjugation of Utkala and Gâdhipuri has been mentioned after the defeat of Nagabhatta II.

where the Rashtrakūṭas lived at this time.[7] Thus the statement in the Bodhi Pillar inscription that by the wise counsel and policy of his minister the whole earth bowed by the Vāṅgas and the Mālavas and the eastern and western seas paid tribute to Devapāla was not a mere poetical exaggeration but an actual fact.

Some adventures in the mid period have been abridged in Sandhyākara Nandi. It is also stated therein that by the policy and counsel of Bālāditya (who also served Devapāla) the Gauḍa king "vanished the race of the Utkalas, crushed the pride of the Huṇas and destroyed the strength of Dravida and Gurjara kings."[8] It seems that the Gurjaras and Pratīhāras were during the first part of his reign was challenged and Devapāla had to undertake similar expedition to seek their power and maintain Pāla supremacy. Thus the two rival powers, the Pratīhāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, tried to assert their power in the Gangetic valley. Kanauj was coveted by all three of them. The Gwalior inscription of Pratīhāra Bhoja informs that Gwalior was the frontier of the Pratīhāra kingdom at the time of Bālāditya and in the early part of the reign of Bhoja. The 18th verse of the Gwalior prashasti of Bhoja seems to imply that Bālāditya drove his country from the yoke of foreign military aid, as Dr. Majumdar points out, it seems likely that "hand of foreign soldiers by driving whom Bālāditya got back the lost lands belonged to the Pāla, for the other rival powers, viz., the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are not known to have advanced so far as the Gurjara kingdom at this period."[9] The evidence of Deoḍāgra plate and Ghaṭyāla inscription go to show that some time before 833 A.D. the Pratīhāras under Bhoja made an attempt to assert their power and though it was not with some [illegible] success, his power was again checked some time before 833 A.D. This is in complete agreement with what we know from the Pāla records.

[7] At the time of Amba the Rashtrakūṭa were a Rāṣṭrapāla who in N. W. India. It is known from the Pāla plate of King Mahīpāladeva that there was a Rashtrapāla ruling Kanauj in well-established Bengal in the 10th century. Did Devapāla fight with this family or a Dhanapāla ruled. (A., B.R.S., pp. 100 ff.).

[8] Dr. Majumdar, 'The Imperial Pratīhāras', op. cit.

Jangkhamrai I was the Bhadrāṭṭa contemporary of Dewapāla. During the period of his infancy and minority Dewapāla victoriously advanced as far as the Vindhyas in course of his first expedition. It is stated in the Hirai[30] and Nāgrai grants that the kings of Anga, Vanga and Magadha paid homage to *Jangkhamrai*. But there are reasons to hold that the Dhārādhīśa advanced through Orissa after the conquest of Vanga.[31] *Jangkhamrai* finally crushed the power of the Pataṭ-chāra Vigrahāpāla II some time before 900 A.D., the date of the coming of the Hirai grants. It seems, therefore, that the Bhadrāṭṭa invasion of Bengal should be placed after 850 A.D. and Dewapāla defeated the Bhadrāṭṭa some time before 850 A.D. in course of his second expedition when *Jangkhamrai* was perhaps engaged in wars with the Gurjara-pratīhāra and pulling down vestiges of the rebellious chiefs.

It is not known who was the contemporary Utkala king defeated by Dewapāla.[32] The conquest of the Utkala is corroborated by the Bādal pillar inscription in which it is recorded that Jayapāla, uncle and general of Dewapāla, drove away the Utkala king from the throne. The position of the Kāmpa country is precisely determined at this period. The Bādal pillar also records that Narendra defeated the king of Prāgjyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa).[33]

The Pāla power reached its high watermark during the reign of Dewapāla. The extra-vedic sacrifices of Śrī-Jayapāla and the Pāla sovereignty was established everywhere. But it cannot that the sun of the Pāla power reached the zenith and, as long it was to go down, seems to rise in full splendour and glory, though it mentioned in extra-home records that these conditions exists. Dewapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla I or Śūrapāla who seem probably ruled for a short period.

30. *EI.*, VII, pp. 104-8.

31. The Bādal-pillar and other stones: op. cit., pp. 70, 81. A search through Bagalkhand and Rewa will lead to finding two stone pillars with the ruling power of the Pratīhāras under Bhoja from our mind. The Bhoondeha grant's do not indicate that *Jangkhamrai* I marched against Bengal.

32. The king of Utkala must be a king of the Eastern Gangas.

33. The Kāmarūpa king defeated by Jayapāla was most probably Rājya-pālaka (Dharma Pālaka) and Jayapāla's defeat in 900 A.D. or 850 accounts Narendra.

Their short reign was not without political significance. The king of Anga, Vanga and Magadha who paid homage was very likely Tigrahapāla I, as it has already been pointed out that the Bhagalpur inscription under discussion I took place after 850 A.D. The acceptance of an overlordship by Tigrahapāla I by shifting all responsibilities to his son might have been due to defeat by the foreign invaders and humiliation consequent thereto. It cannot be clearly stated whether Tigrahapāla I suffered defeat in the hands of Bhoja, though this probability is strongly so. The Pāla records are significantly silent over the Pratīhāra invasions of his time. But the gradual retreating of the Pratīhāra empire at the cost of the Pālas can no longer be doubted. The Gwalior praśasti records that Vatsa-rāja felt the force of Bhoja's might. Bhoja, like his grandfather, made extensive preparations in his Bengal campaign and it seems that the two Gaḍa chiefs helped him. It is known from the Rajiya ghāṭa of Gaḍādhara that Tribhuvana, one of Gopālaviddhāra, who ruled in Kalañjara gāṭ, some territories from Bhoja and took away the fortress of Chhoja by a martial expedition.[illegible] The evidence of the Barnawa and Bilhari inscriptions[illegible] taken along with that of the Arvala plates[illegible] goes to show that Bihār was most probably seized by the Kalachuri king Karṇadeva against the Pālas.

Though no record has yet come to light to show the subjugation of Magadha and adjacent territories by Bhoja, the discovery of inscriptions of the early part of the reign of his son Mahendrapāla and the absence of Pāla records in that region indicate that the expansion of the Pratīhāra power over Magadha might have taken place in the reign of Bhoja. In the 7th and 9th year of the reign of Vināyakapāla, the Pāla army was victorious in Gaya and his Bhāgalpur grant was issued in the 17th regnal year from Monghyr and it seems that Magadha was included in the Pāla empire in c. 850 A.D. Bhoja died in c. 888 A.D. The evidence of the Bihār Gaya, Ghosrawa and Udhaiyi inscriptions[illegible] go considerably to show that some portion of Magadha was included in the Pratīhāra

[illegible] Ed., VII, p. 30.
[illegible] Ibid., XXX, p. 1.
[illegible] The Pālas of Bengal, plates from which were published.
[illegible] Ibid., II, pp. 297, 305.

empire in the last decade of the VIII century. The discovery of the Gaṇḍapur Pālas' inscription in the 8th year of the reign of Rājyapāla[1] shows further expansion of the Pratīhāra power. It is quite likely that the Pratīhāras advanced along the northern bank of the Ganges and occupied the very citadel of the Pālas. Even in the long struggle with the Pratīhāras, the Pālas were united for the time being from their possibilities Yamuna. There is nothing to be wondered at how the name of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is included by the Tibetan historian **Taranātha** in the list of the kings of Magadha and Gauḍa. It is known from the Kalas inscription[2] that the Gaḍhāra king Śaṅkara II, son of Harṣadeva, defeated the Gauḍa king and levied tribute from princes in the east. Harṣadeva was a contemporary of Bhoja and his son, therefore may be regarded to be the contemporary of Mahīpāla. This Śaṅkara family was a loyal tributary vassal and rendered valuable services to the Pratīhāras. Another invasion was took place about this time was by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II who, after defeating a Gurjara king, seized Vārāṇasī, Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha.[3] Kṛṣṇa II succeeded his father in a. 880 A.D. and he was engaged in the first part of his reign with the Vengi Cālukyas and with the Pratīhāra emperor Bhoja, his adversaries in the east. He probably undertook towards the close the 9th or beginning of the 10th century.

It is not known how long the Pratīhāra occupation of Magadha and northern Bengal lasted. In the 14th year of Nārāyaṇapāla (i.e., about the second decade of the 10th century) an image was set up at Bāṇgarh which goes to show that at least northern Magadha was under the Pālas. Inscriptions of Rājyapāla[4] and Gopāla II have been found in Bihārsarīf and Dehārī-Gayā. After the death of Mahīpāla the Pratīhāra empire began to break up. The relation between Kṣi-pāla Vīrāja II and Rājyapāla was not friendly. The former could retain the throne for two years only and was ousted by Rājyapāla who was driven away from Kanauj by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion took place in a. 916 A.D. and it is not unlikely that the Pālas might have attempted during this wretched time of the Pratī-

1 *JASB.*, 1907-8, pp. 53-57.
2 *EI.*, V, p. 69, Dwārā plates; *Ind.*, II, p. 307.
3 *IA.*, XII, p. 24.
4 *IV.*, XIX, p. 14.

[illegible] to recover some of their lost possessions. It must be noted that no record of the Palas from the time of Vigrahapāla to Mahīpāla I (but) exclusive) has yet been found in northern Rajasthān and Bengal. The Pāla kingdom was considerably reduced during the weak rules of Vigrahapāla I, Nārāyaṇapāla, Rājyapāla, Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II. There was also trouble in the north-eastern and north-western Bengal and the Pāla authority was cut at sought almost everywhere. A new dynasty was established in eastern Bengal in the 10th century by Candrādityaverman and it seems that the establishment of the Deva dynasty was at the root of the Pālas.[illegible] The recently published Jaina plate of the Rashtrakūṭa king Govinda[illegible] introduces us to a new line of kings who should also be palaeographically assigned to the 10th century and who ruled roughly covering the northern portion of modern Jharkhand Division. The circumstances that made Rājyapāla, the earliest known member of this Rashtrakūṭa, rulers of this part of Bengal are not known. But that they were of considerable political importance seems to be clear from the assumption of the imperial titles by Vigrahapāla.

The important political fact in the 10th century was the decline of the Palas, Candrādityas and Kāmbojas in northern India as great powers. There were new powers like the Paramāras, Kalachuris and Chandellas who held so long in check or ignored as allies or vassals now raised their heads. They asserted their power on their own account and were hard as aggressive neighbours of the east of their neighbours. The matters behind the wars and invasions of this mid-eleventh period were perhaps more to show great powers, i.e. the establishment of hegemony of northern India. But even of them, none the most powerful monarchs like the Paramāra Bhoja or Kalachuri Karṇa succeeded in establishing any permanent ascendency. The invasions of this period should therefore be properly regarded as military raids.

It is known from the two Rajauni inscriptions[illegible] that the Pāla King Vīradeva I and his son Kalyāṇadeva invaded Dandā and Tāṅgāla respectively. Vīradeva I was the father-in-law of Jātavarman III,

[illegible] (Bhj), III, pp. 16-18. [illegible] (A), XXXII, pp. 161 ff.
[illegible] IV, 15, p. 20, Bihar and Orissa gazetteer (Ind., II), p. 146.

the Bhojavarman line, whose reign commenced in c. 800 A.D. Thereafter Vasantapala I and his son seem to have reigned in the first half of the 13th century when Pala contemporaries were probably Rājyapāla and Gopāla II. Vasantapala I carried on raids on many countries far and near, viz. Vanga, Kamarūpa, Utkala, Hūmīra and Kalinga. Independently followed the Tuṅgāhāra[27] king of Dhārā and of the Karṇāṭa and the lords of Kāmarūpa. Not the other neighbouring powers were sending presents. The Bhojavarman inscription[28] of Gaṇḍala Vasantasena dated in 894 A.D. informs that he defeated the king of Gauḍa. Another Bhojavarman inscription,[29] dated in 1001 A.D., records that the wives of the kings of Ekāṅga, Kaḍāra, Kāśī and Aṅga lingered in his prison.

The Pālas were here passing their most critical days in the 10th century. The evidence of the Bhagalpur Pillar inscription goes to show that they were dispossessed of northern Bengal by a Kamboja chief who styled himself as Gauḍādhipa[30]. Palaeographically this event is to be assigned to the period 900-1000 A.D. It is now certain that a Kamboja family ruled in north-western Bengal in the 10th century and it is therefore quite likely, as Dr. N. G. Majumdar thinks,[31] that the Kamboja king of the Bhagalpur Pillar inscription and the princes whose names appear in the Lilā copperplate probably represent one and the same family.[32] If this is accepted, Vigrahapāla II was ousted from northern Bengal by a prince of this family. The Bangarh grant records that Vigrahapāla II was roaming in many parts of the kingdom for seeking shelter and his son Mahīpāla I recovered his paternal throne which was occupied by a usurper who has generally been identified

27. The Tuṅgāhāra king might be Tuṅgapravara of Arkalgūda. For details of Tuṅgāhāra, see *JRAS*, 1914, p. 330.

28. *EI*, I, p. 156.

29. *Ibid.*, the king of Gauḍa might be one of the family of the Kambojas that Nayapāla.

30. I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the separate Kāmarūpānusāra version of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of the Gauḍapati and not as a distinguish. *Vakāṭaka*, 1941 B.A., p. 181.

31. *BG*, *VAK*, p. 146.

32. Rao, Dynastic History of Northern India, vol. I, pp. 303ff. Dr. Bandyopadhyay is of opinion that the Kambojas came to Bengal from the north-west, viz. the Kuchha. *Ibid.*, p. 302, n. 1.

[illegible] with the Kamboja king of Gauḍa. The crown of crowns that made the Kamboja king master of Gauḍa and how Mahīpāla I recovered the paternal throne still remain unknown.

With the accession of Mahīpāla I there seems to have been a revival of the Pāla power. The Bagalpur image inscription shows that Kamarūpa was included within his kingdom in his 3rd regnal year.[1] The Kurkihar image inscription goes to show that northern Bihar was under his patronage.[2] If the date regnal 1038 of the adoptions of the Bhāgalpur (?) is to be referred to the Vikrama era, it seems that Mahīpāla I came into conflict with Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva, though it has been doubted by some scholars.[3] It is noted in the Gōlapara plates that Gāṅgeyadeva conquered as far as the sea at Tīrtha and erected pillars bearing of Aṅga. Most probably Aṅga was included within Mahīpāla's kingdom. The most favourable occasion during his reign was from the south. It is recorded in the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendracōla that in c. 1025 A.D. after ruling Udaiyālpu and Kōdaikkāḷi, his general defeated Dharmapāla of Tōṇḍaimāṇḍalam, Rāṇaśūra of Tōṇḍaimāṇḍalam, Govindachandra of Vangāḷaśāla and Rāṇaśūra of Uttiraḷāḍam.[4] Dharmapāla of Tōṇḍaimāṇḍalam was probably belonged to the family of the Kamboja king Nayapāla whose [illegible] is given. As pointed out by R. D. Banerji suggested, this Govindachandra proved through Sūra, Mālavapura, Bengāla and Uttarāḷa and Vaṅga and fled to Uttarāḷāḍa.

(1) [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible]. (2) [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible].

(3) The adoptions were signed by persons who also flourished were called sons by "Mahāsāmanta Paṭṭakila Śrīsarvadhīkara Śrīdhīkara Śrīpāla Śrīgāṅgeyadeva." Bhāṇḍārkar refuses the date to the Vikrama era and identified the king with Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva. Objections have been raised by Sirkar Lal and Dr. R. P. Chanda, mentioned in [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible]. But that do not seem to be very strong in view of the evidence of the inscription [illegible]. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the date 1038 is to be referred to the Śaka era and the king is to be identified with Gāṅgeyadeva, conqueror of Uttarāpatha on the shores of Prayāga. This seems all difficulties as lately yet it seems to suggest that the inscriptions are here published and therefore cannot be photographically reproduced. The date of the adoptions refer to a statement of Dharmā, who accompanied to be Phālgu. See [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible].

(4) For textual of the pronunciation, see [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible].

Mahipāla's foreign policy has been severely criticised by Rama. K. P. Jayaswal[47] and K. N. Dīksit[48] because he did not join the cause of northern India against the Muslims. The learned author of Gaudarājamālā concludes that Mahipāla, from the emperor Aśoka after the Kalinga war, abandoned his sword and devoted all his energies to peace and religious works after the recovery of northern Bengal from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rājās. Like all historical conjectures it is far from being sound and is in fact a self-contradictory of facts. With any stretch of historical imagination Mahipāla I cannot be compared with the great Kaniṣka emperor either in power and prestige or in religious and moral fervour. K. K. Banerji remarks that Mahipāla could not make common cause with other kings because of his sexy and religious bigotry. Kīrtipāla, a devout Buddhist though he was, granted a village to the Pāṇḍita-vaidyaśāstra-kārikā to the southern Śrīvaiṣṇava Bhaṭṭārakīya Rāmakīrtya, because in the 8th year of his reign and among Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses were included in his reign. The charge of bigotry has no basis at all, as it is not discovered both in official and private records. The reign cannot be said to have had a period of military inactivity and religious asceticism. He was brave and great, difficult for him the very beginning of his reign. He had to recover the ancestral throne from a usurper. The Gurjara was trying and in Magadha to assume Bengal and his country was acknowledged in that region. The Pāla rulers Dharmapāla were making great strides in the east and soon probably Mahipāla had to fight with him. He had not only to reconsolidate the Pāla power but also to consolidate it which was tottering during the reign of his father. It will be academician to judge the foreign policy of Mahipāla in the light of later history or of modern times. If he did not outright thought to the interest of neighbour Indian politics because of the unfavourable facility involved in that course and adopted the policy of the 'safety first', it shows his foresight and political capacity. The position was weak in his own territory and his kingdom was vulnerable from every quarter. When Bengal was first conquered quarters, his energy and resources were spent in repelling them. If his successors

[47] Imperial History, p. 41.

[48] Dynastic History, vol. 1, p. 101.

were spent in checking the Bhadra invasions, the Pala kingdom might have ended with the death of Dharmapala's successor and, possibly, our dynasty, previous to the rise of the Palas, might have been the result.

After the fall of the Pratiharas, the Rashtrakuta were the most active enemies of the Palas. The invasions of Govinda, Dhruva, Govindarāja and Amoghavarsha have already been referred to. The Rashtrakuta power rose to its height under Rama, son of Govindarāja and most of the contemporary authors Indian kings felt the brunt of his power. The Tibetan biographer[29] of Atisa describes Dipankara records the multitude of hardships that occurred between Bengalis and Kings. If the Tibetan account is to be believed in its entirety, the Rashtrakuta army was successful at first and besieged the holy city of Gaya but was ultimately defeated by the Pala army. There is nothing improbable in the account that after hostilities a treaty was brought about through the good offices of the great Buddhist patriarch. "With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed in the price of war, all other things were either restored to or compensated for. The treaty concluded by Atisa seems to have proved to be a wise. The evidence of the Sadhana mangalāshtaka[30] and of the Dhanapāla[31] go to show that a second campaign against the Pālas was undertaken by Rama. In this expedition Rama advanced as far as Pallava (in the Dhaka district) and set up a vijaya-stambha (victory pillar) as a mark of his victorious march, where an image was carved by a certain sculptor by the order of the Gaḍa King. Rama's invasion of Bengal has also been alluded to in the Sirnoghat inscription of Vijayādityadeva[32] and in Ramachal inscription[33] of Jayavigraha. It is stated in the Antaroliya that Vigrahapāla III, through defeated Rama, did not spare him and that Rama's daughter Yaumadevi was married to him. It is difficult to believe that the Pala king who carried victorious campaigns far and wide was compelled to give his daughter in marriage with Vigrahapāla. In the height of his power he crushed the whole of northern India but in the latter part of his reign he suffered many defeats. From various sources come the

29 *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. 3, p. 1.
30 *ASI.*, 1903-04, p. 70.
31 *Dhanapāla*, 13.
32 *EI.*, IV, p. 31.
33 *Id.*, XVII, p. 347.

story of his defeat by Gōvinda IV (Govinda Vijayāditya[30] and Gōvinda Harivarman I).[31] It is known from the Prabōdhacandrodaya that Karṇa at first aided unofficially the Chandēla kingdom during the weak rule of Devaḥlaṭavarman but for some drastic reason (as earlier Govinda with the help of his Brahmin minister Gopāla joined the Chandēla kingdom after vanquishing Karṇa's power. Faced in the south and west by the Chālukya and the Paramāra, the rising power of the Chandēlas was still more a greater danger to the power of Karṇa. It is therefore quite possible that the native belief that anti-Chandēla alliance with Vigrahapāla III was a lasting peace with the Pālas.

The Pālamañjarīs which narrate the regular and military expeditions of Vīramādēva VI, son of Chālukya king Somēśvara I, records that when a Varmaṇḍa, Vīramādēva made a cavalry raid of Gauḍa[32] and Kāmarūpa. It is stated in the inscriptions of the reigns of Somēśvara I[33] Jayasiṁha II,[34] Vīramādēva II[35] that the Chālukya displayed the pride of many kinds in which the names of Gauḍa and Vaṅga occur. The invasion of Somēśvara I could have taken place before 1061 A.D. because the Kalyāṇamālā, Bhāgalāvarṇa of the Belwadi inscription[36] states Vaṅga had come to have followed him. As the invasion of Bengal is mentioned in the records of three successive Chālukya kings and in the Vikramāṅkadēvacaritam, it is quite probable that there was more than one Chālukya invasion in the eleventh century.

The unsteady political state of Bengal due to the coup de tat of the Kaivartas and the disappearance of the Pālas from Varendrī in the latter half of the 11th century invited more foreign invasions and offered a fruitful field to the ambitious political adventurers. Brandishing from the middle of the eleventh century as independent power was established by the Varmans in eastern Bengal.[37] Most probably the

30 EI., I, p. 183, Prabōdhacandrodaya, pt. II, 11.
31 Ibid., II, p. 183.
32 Who the Kalachuris (since accepts (Dwarahat by George Bühler, p. 86; IA., V, p. 86), Vikramāṅkadēvacaritā/
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., p. 81.
39 Ibid., p. 80.
40 EI., IV, p. 99.
41 EI., XV, p. 31.
42 EAC., p. 270.
43 CR., XIX, 31.

Vaṅgaṭa came in the wake of a foreign invader and taking advantage of the political situation, Jātavarman founded the Varman dynasty. The relation between the Varmans and the Pālas at first is not known, though Vigrahapāla III and Jātavarman were contemporaries of Kalacuri Karṇa. Jātavarman came into conflict with the Kalacuris, who invaded and then is also perhaps alluded to in the Bilhari inscription of Vijayasenadeva.[illegible] In the Nagari grant of the Varman kings it is stated that the Varman king Lakṣmaṇadeva first proceeded to Rāḍ's quarters and entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa. Rāḍ's quarters has generally been taken to mean and but it may refer to the kingdom of Rāḍavarman who, according to the evidence of the Vajrayogini plate,[illegible] ruled before Śūradevavarman, son of Jātavarman.

After the suppression of the Kalacuris revolt and recovery of Varanāsī by Rāmapāla there was another attempt to assert Pāla supremacy in eastern India. Towards the end of the chapter III of the Rāmacaritam, a description of Rāmapāla's conquest has been given. The verses III relate to his march to the [illegible] Śūras and to the most exertion to assist of the Vāgha. It is stated in verse 44 that a Varman king[illegible] of the east presented Rāmapāla an elephant and his elephant for his own safety. The exact name refers to Rāmapāla's victory in the vanquished king of Utkala who took the territory of a Utkarṇāvāgha-nāmā.[illegible] The word of speaks of the conquest of Kāmarūpa by a Rāmapāla's minister.[illegible]

Towards the close of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century the Dāhalādhipa of Kalañjī founded a strong kingdom in upper central

[illegible] Ibid.

[illegible] Bhāndārkar, 1905 B.A., p. 304; Bl., II, p. 44.

[illegible] The Varman king who probably subjugated very other Bhāṭṭavāṭa or Bhāṭṭavāṭa.

[illegible] For the information of this word and some interesting suggestions, see [illegible], A. Bhāṭṭavāṭa, Description of Bengal, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] The Kāmarūpa king mentioned by Rāmapāla was, according to Pandit P. Bhāṭṭavāṭa, Bhattacharya of Bhāṭṭavāṭa's dynasty. According to R. L. Barua, he might have been Jayantāla of the Rāmapāla grant (see Sāra, Kāmarūpa, Jayantāla), or, as the dynasty of Bhāṭṭavāṭa, Bala, Bhāṭṭavāṭa, Bhāṭṭavāṭa. It is also not improbable that Bhāṭṭavāṭa was a general to subjugate the rebellious chief Dharmapāla who seems to have assumed any independent authority as the central authority when Vāṭa was seized from northern Bengal by the Kalacuris.

[illegible] and to their customary expenditure [illegible] with the Pāliva. The Hīnayānīn Mahānāmā's inscriptions are dated from c. 1201 to 1208 A.D. and in his Ratna grant[29] the relations over the Gauḍa elephants are said to have been achieved by the valour of his ancestor Śrīvikramāditya. It is difficult to say whether the Gauḍa-Gāṇa or the Pāliva were the aggressors. It may be that the Pāliva under Dīrghajīvin made an attempt to extend their sway in the east and it was checked by the ruling power of Śrīvikramāditya. Śrīvikramāditya married Kīrtiṭṭhādevī, the granddaughter of Mahānāma, who was maternal uncle of Dīrghajīvin and his right-hand man in the suppression of the Kalinga revolt. But the eastward advance of the Śrīvikramāditya power during the period 1201-1207 A.D. is proved by the Bhāsar and Lar plates and this probably took place during the reigns of the weak successors of Dīrghajīvin. The short reign of Kīrtiṭṭhādevī was not without some political significance. (The Bhāsar) plate vividly narrates how the general and minister Vaiḍyādāya put down a revolt in northern Bengal by winning a great battle. It is possible that when the strong arm of Dīrghajīvin was no more, the Varmans tried to shake off the Pāliva suzerainty but were unsuccessful in the attempt. The same grant records that Vaiḍyādāya by spirited exertion surprised Vijayādāya of Dāmarūpa who had joined the standard of revolt against the Pāliva and Vaiḍyādāya made himself master of the Dāmarūpa kingdom, though he did not feel fit to maintain his services to, and relationship with, Kāmarūpa.

In their relations with the eastern neighbours, Dāmarūpa, the Pāliva were always aggressive. Perhaps Bengal learnt a lesson from the disastrous effect of the alliance between Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarman and the invasion of Harṣadeva of Dāmarūpa will never again attempt to repeat such an eventuality. We learn after the Pachpal temple inscription of Lakshmī-Śrīpadma (when my digit) first to an invasion of Bengal by a Dāmarūpa king. In Hanagara grant[30] of Vaiṭṭagāṭṭa it is stated that he built a fort with an array with that it would not be broken by the unmanageable elephants of Gauḍa. This clearly shows that the Dāmarūpa kings were in constant dread of attack by the

[29] Sl., VVIII, p. 30. [30] JAHS, LXVII, pp. 19-18.

Pala kings. The aggressive policy launched by the Pālas [illegible] invasions during the reigns of Devapāla, Bhāmapāla and [illegible] against Kāmarūpa was continued by the Senas. Even Rāmapāla, who established the Varman power in eastern Bengal in the middle of the 11th century, made an expedition against Kāmarūpa. The Deopara and Madhāinagar inscriptions allude to the victorious campaigns of Vijayasena and his grandson Lakshmanasena against Kāmarūpa. Most probably Vijayasena came into hostile contact with Kāmarūpa which has been perhaps alluded to in the Amara plates of Vallālasena. The name of Lakshmanasena's contemporary on the Kāmarūpa throne is not known.

In the scramble for power that followed the breaking of the Pāla kingdom, Vijayasena came out victorious. He had not only to fight with local chiefs but also with foreign potentates who were also keen on aggrandisement. Vijayasena came into conflict with the Kalinga kings of Orissa. It is known that Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga forced the ruler of Kāmarūpa to flee and [illegible] Vijayasena. Most probably in order to check the Kalinga power in the south, Vijayasena fought with the Chola king and made Rāghava a prisoner who has been identified with Kulottunga's son[illegible] of that name. Another chief who attempted to reap a rich harvest in the uncertain political condition of Bengal was Madanapāla of Rāḍhā and seems to have met with a similar fate.[illegible] The Bilhari verse of the Deopara inscription also records that Vijayasena sent a army to the west and it is not known against whom this was done. A further expedition against Kalinga was undertaken during the reign of Vallālasena by the crown prince Lakshmanasena.[7] The Kalinga king whom unwittingly was chased by Lakshmanasena was most probably a successor of Rājendrapāla, ruling in some part of Rāḍhā.[8] The Sena power reached its zenith during the reign of Lakshmanasena. The Gāhaḍavālas under Govindachandra perhaps made another attempt to grab their western hereditary

[illegible] Bl., V, p. 190.
[illegible] Bhāma of Dhāra, vs. 5, p. 104.
[illegible] Madhāinagar plate of Lakshmanasena.
[illegible] Indian Antiquary, II, pp. 359 ff.
[illegible] (ASB., 1909, pt. I, pp. 108, 110.
[illegible] (Ep., 1912, p. 108.

in Rajgiha and Anga, as it is proved by evidence of the Bihar plate.[96] The erection of victorious pillars at Rajgir and Pataliputra by Lakshmanasena as recorded, in the records of his sons suggests that the Gahadavala expansion was once more checked. Lakshmanasena's inscriptions in Kamarupa, Kalinga and erection of victorious pillars at Benares and Allahabad went along with the Bhoj-Ti Paramaddina go to suggest that he undertook a digvijaya, though allowance must be made for court-poet's exaggeration. The text of digvijaya seems to have some historical background, though for the search of a suitable circle for a little it has been as far south as the Kalinga hills.[97] But Lakshmanasena seems to have suffered a serious defeat in the hands of the Muslims and soon probably southern Bengal passed to their possession leaving his reign. He now and successors continued the struggle against the gain empire from eastern Bengal.[98]

Bengal

It has been claimed elsewhere[99] that the conquests of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga have been mentioned in some invariable in very vague and general terms. They are purely exaggerations in royal prasastis, and should be regarded as hollow claims. We can add there other inscriptions to the list. The Bihar stone inscription of Kalyana provided to conquer Pitaka, Gola and Vanga.[100] Again, his son Sankhamadana's epithets are said to have conquered over Gauda, Pundra, Dhakka, Gola, Rajadhi and Kalinga. One of his known date is 1148 A.D. that year being the 5th year of his reign[101] In the Bilhanaka-inscription, dated in 1173 A.D., Gangeyadeva claims to have defeated Hulaman (= Vikrama Ling), king of Kalinga, Lata and Kerala.[102] In the absence of any contemporary evidence these bold and wild claims should be doubted.

The Palas were managed to remain struggle with the Pratiharas and Rashtrakutas from the very foundation of the empire. It seems that

[96] IB., VIII, App. I, p. 10, lat. no. 10, 11-1., VII, p. 84.
[97] Dasaratha, edited by H. Shastri-verse.
[98] Ang., III, n. 10.
[99] IA., IV, p. 201.
[100] Ind., VIII, n. 18.
[101] EI., II, n. 70.
[102] Ind., V, p. 48.

the struggle was more keen and lengthened with the Dravidians than with the latter. A close study of the Bhagavata and Pâla records tends to show that the Pâlas were politically or matrimonially allied with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It was held by some scholars that Dhruva Dhārāvarsha undertook his campaign against Vatsarāja as an ally of Dharmapāla, but it is to be given up in view of the direct mention of his connexion with the Rashṭra king in the 14th verse of the Sanjan plates. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa lady was perhaps sought by Dharmapāla when he was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II. The 23rd verse of the same record which describes the northern campaign of Govinda III and his victory over Nāgabhaṭa II informs that Dharmapāla and Chakrayudha submitted of their own accord. This circumstance becomes more probable because Dharmapāla married Rennādevī, daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Parabala.[1] Additionally, the famous author of the *Bhagavata*, lived under the patronage of the chief prince Dhārāvarsha who is to be identified with Dantidurga[2] and which also points of Rāṣṭrakūṭa influence.

The sixth Pāla king Devapāla married Bhāgyadevī, daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Durga. The identification of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince is also far from being certain. Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruled during c. 915-940 A.D. and the Pāla power was passing through the most critical

[1] This Parabala has not been yet satisfactorily identified. But Parabala is known from the Pedari Pillar inscription (E., IX, p. 101). Further and he lived in 907 V.S. (850 A.D.) which is in the opinion is clear. It is impossible to verify it from the materials. Dharmapāla's late reigns is pushed in the year beyond 850 A.D. and therefore it is difficult to believe that Parabala who lived in 907 A.D. could have been his father-in-law. It is to be noted that Parabala's date is dependent on that of Dharmapāla and not vice versa. This argument the opinion that Parabala is to be identified with Akālavarsha (A) son of Govinda of Govinda III as said in our known. Dr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that Parabala of the Pedari inscription had a very long life and there is no difficulty to identify him with Dharmapāla's father-in-law. (Bengal Govt., p. 100).

[2] *Bhagavata*, published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. XLVI, see the very learned introduction by the editor. A very strong case has been made for Dhārāvarsha's identification with Dantidurga. Dhārāvarsha was the son of Vīravarsha and of Dharmapāla. See all other references cited therein. Learned note of Bengal Govt. also interested by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings. (II., XII, p. 29; XXI, p. 140; IV., XII, p. 80).

ral days at this period, as the Pratihāras under Mahendrapāla occupied northern Bihar and Bengal. The strengthening of the Pāla power by a matrimonial alliance can be presumed. What is more important to notice is that in every official record of the Palas after Rājyapāla this matrimonial alliance has been very prominently referred to, while Rājyapāla's marriage with Bhāgyadevī is known from the Bhāgalpur and Nālandā grants of Devapāla. Vigrahapāla I's marriage with the Kalachuri princess Lajjādevī is known only from the Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. But Rājyapāla's marriage with Bhāgyadevī has been repeated in the genealogical records of the Palas in every grant. It is quite probable that this marriage was of great political importance to the Palas. Kielhorn suggested that Rājyapāla's father-in-law was Jayāpīḍa, son of Ejaya II.[30] Jayāpīḍa predecessed his son Indra III and did not reign.[31] It cannot be ascertained whether the northern campaign of Indra III and his signal victory over the Pratīhāra emperor Mahīpāla had something to do or sympathies with this matrimonial alliance. But it seems certain that this daughter to the Pratīhāras offered a great opportunity to the Palas for the recovery of the lost possessions. Every Rāṣṭrakūṭa campaign against the Pratīhāras, whatever motivations for their withdrawal or objectives, was certainly of great political advantage to the Palas.

If the northern campaigns of Govinda III and Indra III are considered doubtful as direct help to the Palas, the criticism of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa of Saṅgli-Kāmaṭhī is conclusive on the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch of Rāṣṭrakūṭas rendered invaluable service to the cause of the Palas at one of the most critical juncture of their fortunes. Vigrahapāla III asserted a claim of Mahāsāmanta this was the right-hand man of Dharmapāla in his conquests of the Kānyakubja circle. The vanguard of Dharmapāla's army was led by Mahāsāmanta's nephew Rāṣṭrapālita Śrīmata and his son Mahāsāmanta Lakṣmīdhara

30 *Ep. Ind.*, III-VII, p. 12. Dr. R. G. Yeo identified him with Rājya II Gaṇḍī who led also the Tulapa (Tulapa Jābha Gōbha, Mānya Khēḍa, p. 108). Dr. R. G. Bhandārkar remarks that he is perhaps to be identified with Vīrgaṇḍaraṇavikrama Jayasiṃha, for from Gaṇḍī to Jayāpīḍa (B. G. Bhāṇḍārkar Grant, p. 176, cf. 72).

31 Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, op. cit., p. 80.

the Kanauj-pālas also took an important part in that war. Rāmapāla, the last known Pāla king of northern Bengal, was helped in his recovery by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gōvindarāja.[illegible]

It seems therefore that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa alliance was the mainspring of the Pāla foreign policy and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas directly or indirectly did great service to the Pāla empire from almost its foundation to the last day of its existence. But these intimate matrimonial and political relations did not prevent them from undertaking campaigns against Bengal or claiming suzerainty over the Pālas. The statements of the Kordha inscription[illegible] that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas compelled "every prince, through anxiety to kill one horse, to pay tribute to Govinda" seem to be quite unexpected. Was did the Pālas, if bound a favourable opportunity, feel any scruples in harass the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. The defeat of a Pālādīta king by Amōghā, who from his mother's side had Rāṣṭrakūṭa blood in him, most probably refers to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa war.

After the end of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa struggle among the Pālas, Pratīhāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the military table turned in by the new powers were not considered military permanent effects. Military wings of these only were necessitated by hope and phantom. Political and military glory might have been one of the leading motives but the more tangible and economic motives must also predominate. Wherever might have been the vision, these immediate ends were a great check on the security of the Pālas. In all probability the rise of the Nāyakas in eastern Bengal[illegible] and the Sena[illegible] were associated with some of these foreign invasions. It appears that they came in the track of foreign invaders and efficiently carved out kingdoms for themselves.

It will not be out of place to discuss some of the defence problems of ancient Bengal. From the western side Bengal was approachable by a foreign army from three routes. Firstly, an invader could proceed towards Banāja along the banks of the Ganges through the Rajmahal hills which were seem to have been followed by the Pratīhāra under Mahendrapāla. Secondly, another possible route was through southern

[illegible] Ibid., I, p. 48.
[illegible] Ibid, Writing of Pala, vol. 2, p. 1.
[illegible] EHI., V, p. 'XII: XX', p. 406.
[illegible] Prolegomena of Mand Mahabal Inscription, p. 164.

[illegible], the objective being Dhārāna to which the capital of Rāṣṭra was probably situated. This route was followed by Vīra Rāja. Thirdly, the other route was through Orissa and Midnapore and it is not followed by the Gāla army. In the glorious days of the Pālas, their geographical limits was at Pāṭaliputra or Mudgagiri (Monghyr) as mentioned in the Khalimpur, Monghyr and Bhāgalpur grants. This would prevent the passage of the invading army by the first route and possibly repeal a great deal on the second route also. The invading army would thus be prudent to advance into the heart of Bengal through southern Bihar without trying to struggle with the only way in the west because known by itself somewhere might have been possible but again was very difficult. The Senas, who may be regarded roughly as kings of Bengal proper from the geographical point, took the most cautious steps to check such foreign invasions by establishing their headquarters in three parts, viz. Lakhnauti, Vikramapura.

The Pāla power was weakest in Rāṣṭra and Vanga. The record of the Pālas dwelling in Rāṣṭra (currently Bihar pr. [illegible]) found in Tilādā, Bihar probably Bhāgalpur of Dandibhukti and Bhāgalpur of Indrapura. Bihār (ought for Bihār) city only against the invading Gāla army of Rājendra Cola I. Bihārīpāla of the Tālandyā inscription, described as King of Uttara-Rāḍa. He generally long identified with Mahīpāla I and if this is to be accepted, it is implied that Uttara-Rāḍā was within his kingdom. Only one record (the Sagdīgha image inscription) has been discovered in eastern Bengal, proving Mahīpāla's ownership in that region. Rāḍā and Vanga gave work records to the Pālas. If the Rāmāvīja, king of the Bhādgaon pillar belonged to the family of the Rāmāvīja king Nayapālādeva of the Lāṭa plate, it is to be accepted that there was an invasion of northern Bengal from western Bengal. The Senas also fought with the Pālas as well by making Bihār as their base of operations. Eastern Bengal twice needed from the Pālas rule—once in the tenth century with the establishment of the Candra dynasty and again in the eleventh century with the foundation of the Varman kingdom. The rise of the Gauḍas, Varmans and Senas clearly shows that the Pāla power was more firmly rooted in northern Bengal and Bihar than in western and eastern Bengal.

Prabhāsa Lec. Text.

The Grain Trade of Dalna in early Seventeenth Century

From earliest times Dalna has been an important centre of civilisation. It was both a port and a land entrée. With some or how neighbours it continued to be a place of importance.[1] In the middle of the 16th century when Sher Shah transferred the headquarters of local government from Eilat to Dalna (1542), it was known as 'Dalnad' meaning the 'home'[2]—a name which shows that it was of some considerable importance.[3] The author of the Devil's-Devil's Book notes that Shah's idea of the calling of the Dungan as a Lighthouse of civilization: "If a fort what is to hold in this place, the venue of the Bangla would mean this for Shah is, and Dalna would

1 Dalna has been known as a centre of civilisation before the invasions from Dungh and as checked in Dalna [illegible]. Dungh "The Polaverly centralisation more attention of pre-Dalnadi and pre-Dalna [illegible] before 1000 B.C., similar to the Mahajanpadas elsewhere. Dalnadi (Dalna) was one of the principal pre-Dungh cities of the Bangla valley. Previously Old Bangla (Dungh) was the Magadhan capital (c) the 7th century B.C. and New Bangla (c) the century B.C. Pataliputra was created as a third city from the 5th century B.C., some other which is became the capital.

Like Dalna and Benares, Pataliputra was a port. The Bangalian built on a naval organization at Pataliputra to protect the naval power of Dalna, which had actively solicited and remote trade and assumed Dalna magnitude. Trade followed as a natural result of naval strength. Remnants of jetties and shipyard of old Pataliputra as a project have recently been discovered long the old bed of the Ganges. Rich medieval Chinese and Malayan travels, accounts of salient transportation from ships from Lakshdiva (where Pataliputra).

The depletion of Pataliputra as a Lakshdiva followed long the loss of its being a seaport. In the Dalna, Pataliputra and Nilanda are mentioned as two shipping places on the Lake (Jalo Eilat Mandal) to the north to Nilgiria to the south. Pataliputra was a main station and a junction in the land system to Rajgir Dana.

2 Dalnadi (Dana) is an hapful name of several trading centre. It the Pancavilar accounts with 'pathant' trading.

3 Abdul Ali, Dalna, Bid [illegible] 1921 the Eilat Dungan Statistics, (1937, 1938, p. 30).

income one of the great towns of the country.[16] Thanks to the services of experienced and skilled carpenters and bricklayers, an exceedingly strong fort was first completed at a cost of about Rs. 5 lakhs (plus 'oil to tole, while Patna became one of the largest cities of the province.[17] Its rapidly growing commercial importance under the protection of the fort can be realized from the following remark, made 40 years later (1608), by Ralph Fitch, 'England's Pioneer to India and Burma' (1583-91):—'Patnam is a very large and great Towne. . . . . There is a trade of Untoe and Cloth of Cotton, much sugar, which they carrie from Agra to Bengala and Ticlia,[18] very much Spices and other commodities.'[19] Again in 1632 Peter Mundy wrote, 'It is the greatest Mart of all this Country, from whence they transport from Bengala Rice way to the sea side, and from Indostan and other Inland countries round about, plentifull in provisions, abounding with cotton manufactures.'[20] Thus English merchants in India were attracted by its name as a 'great trading centre' of Hindustan.[21] The establishment of a factory at Patna in 1620 for purchase of coral, cultivated and Bengal silk was an important phase of Englishmen's quest of Eastern 'Trade' and is worthwhile with the establishment of factories in other parts of India. Thus, apart from Surat and Bhatti (Patna), 'the principal markets for English commerce in India' factories were established in Ahmedabad,[22] Cambay, Baroda[23] and Broach, other places in Gujrat, Agra, with subfactories in 1630 at Lahore and Burhanpur. Almost all these places were either important centres of production of cotton, or bleaching or distribution.[24] Patna occupied no very inferior position among these places.

1. Sarkar, Shah Jahan, II, pp. 474-5. 2. Ibid.
3. Akbar A.I. in 1581, 1585, p. 35.
4. 'Ticlia might mean Silsar pass at Kohli, but its phonetic would then be strange; probably 'Sailar' is meant, i.e., the Indian anthracite.
5. Sarkar, Shah Jahan, p. 400; Hosten, JPS., xx 1918.
6. Curzon Tracts, 1758, II, p. 19.
7. Akbar A.I., p. 100. 8. E.B., V, 1901, p. 100.
9. Thomas Roe (See Hosten Footnote), 1609, writes that the English had a factory at Bantala, but this was in the town Kotchha Bi Bo Bazar pargana. Ibid, p. 100.
10. Foster, Supplementary Letter of Mandesso 1940, pp. 1944.

The English East India Company's records in Delhi serve to prove that the cloths generally called *andaman* or *andamane* (*andar* or *andarin*) or *sarcar-khan andaman* or *andar-khili* were produced cheaply and in large quantities at Patna. In the District of Patna deputed from Agra Robert Hughes on 5th June, 1618, who reached Patna on 3rd July 1618, and was joined by John Fisher as an assistant from September.[1]

Hughes was quite competent and after first months' observations, in a region, entirely new and unknown to English traders, he reported that the "two sorts (kinds) people (people) which most upheld (upheld) this (Patna) factory and they not to be provided in any (anything) without a sufficient resident" were cotton and raw silk.[2]

Description of andaman

The *andaman* (*Andarman* or *Andarmane*)[3] were a species of Northern Indian cloths.[4] Their usage "Lengths, (lengths) and well-watch-(cloth),[5] and another (one) for exclusive of wide (silken cloth) known as Dorindaie (made at Dhaydad in Bara Zilla) (District) (District) (District) in Magadh district) and dorindaie (or Dandan, a due cloth made at Jamania in the Patna Zilla)."[6] It was of coarse texture, being only 40", and so uniform throughout the present length and textile before. The Agra factors wrote to the Co. 20 1618 that it "both are both for

1. PFR., II, app. 3, p. 88. The Newport appointed of a sample of Andaman purchased from Bihar and forwarded to England by the Agra stock, F. Sayer (1632), pp. 19-20.

2. Hughes and Fisher to the Co. 20 November 1618, PFR., I, p. 19-20, 24., T.E.C.E. 1916, p. 18.

3. PFR., II, app. 3, p. 88, n. 1(2a, Kindl—sandal, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]—[illegible], or [illegible]. Modern [illegible]—[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]). Pieces Temple and Panton explain the term as 'anything [illegible]'. But a more probable explanation is 'an [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible]' (=[illegible]).

4. Ibid., p. 14n.

5. Letter of Agra factors to the Co. 1616, PFR., 1616-18, p. 181, PFR., II, p. 88n.

6. PFR., II, pp. 181-[illegible]; PFR., 1616-8, p. [illegible]; Hughes to Kerr, 9 March, 1616; PFR., I, p. 90, 94., 20.10.1616, [illegible].

the [illegible]."[70] Hughes wrote in [illegible] that it was "a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]" or a little more. Sarasa, which is good, half quarter English which breadth, as [illegible] says, [illegible] [illegible]. In [illegible] [illegible] weight."[71] The letter of Hughes and Parker to the Co. dated [illegible] 30, 1609 says: "Neither can the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."[72] Thus the measurement of the [illegible] cloth was the price of its durability. In October, 1608, 300 pieces of [illegible] were sold;[73] in August, 1613, 300 pieces of [illegible] were procured.[74]

Different Varieties of Indian Calicoes

The reports made the [illegible] known as raw or unbleached.[75] When just coming from the loom, these were generally 21 cubits [illegible] long but of different breadths[76]. The letter of Hughes to Pond, 14th November, 1608 subject to [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] prices.[77] Finally, the cloth was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

November 20, 1620 on "Six fine narrow Doriks ... generally coarse, (coarse) and there are some about two cups not for power of about halfa pound breadth and 18 yards length"[illegible]. They were 12 to 18" wide and priced at Rs. 3 ana a piece. Secondly, the *Dafeeneeps* or *Dafeeliaes* is valued probably from the provision of the Kotthwan of Sultan Khan, governor of Dhaka, "some years before."[illegible]. According to the letter of Hughes to Rawlt, November 11, 1620 these were "2 or 2½ most ½ breadth (that those (much) from 12 to 8 cups the not power."[illegible] while the letter of Hughes and Parker of November 10, 1620 to the Company specifies these "six score scarp for one-fourth breadth then the former, but much finer and of light colour, from two to six cups per power."[illegible]. They were 12to 18" to 20" wide and priced at Rs. 3½ to 4 ana a piece. Thirdly, the *Calampore* or *Calampiri*, the third and last variety, the breadth and the finest (more) of Patna, about 40" wide, priced at Rs. 8 to 12 ana a piece.[illegible]

There is reason (that the Patna Factory Records (1906-8)) that it such was "quality as well as quantity" had to do with the price.[illegible] About ten years later (1622) Peter Woody observed that the cotton which the Bengal Company usually supplied from Patna were finest (less coarse), as well as the weavers were engaged in the Kotthwan of the local Governor *Abdullah Khan* in making five times (or his order) or weight.[illegible]. Price of the 20 or 30 pieces which factors bought

[illegible] FDP., 1620-21, p. 214 also in letter of November 11, 1620: Hughes to Rawlt; FDP., I, p. 24, 11., 20-22, 1624, pp. 1940.

[illegible] FDP., 1620-21, p. 220n.: "Six score from an inscription on a stone slab, preserved at the Pathanpura masjid of Dhaka and found by Prof. E. B. Davis of Patna College in 1921, that a fort was built by one, who defeated Shaqdi a Rajah of Nawab Islam Khan in 1010 a.H. =1600 a.D.

[illegible] Id., 1622-23, 1624, pp. 1940.

[illegible] FDP., I, p. 24; FDP., 1620-21, p. 220. The price of Hughes to Rawlt, 1 March, 1620 gives their price as "Corbas 8 cups per power"; FDP., I, p. 20, 11., 22-23, 1624, pp. 1940.

[illegible] Hughes to Rawlt, November 11, 1620; FDP., I, p. 24, 11., 20-22, 1624, pp. 1940; Hughes and Parker to Co. November 10, 1620 FDP., I, p. 14; FDP., 1620-21, p. 220: "the *Calampiri* of all prices to 8 cups per power." Hughes to Rawlt, 1 March 1620; FDP., I, p. 20, 11., 22-23, 1624, pp. 1940.

[illegible] 1906, 14., p. 180. [illegible] 1906, II, pp. 140-141.

as Peter Mundy was "very lowe priced (yeilded) as required" and were [illegible] (1904 to 1908 Superintendent) as early for English domestic.[illegible] Hence Mundy held that a website would be found cheaper at Agra than at Poona and that it would be wasteful to establish a factory at Poona.[illegible]

Other Varieties of Calicoes

Besides ordinary drills other varieties of calicoes, both fine and coarse, were procurable in the neighbourhood of Patna and Cuttack.[illegible]

(2) *Salwar*

(1) *Salwar* (*sirkar*) *Jirkan*, fine dressing or *Salwar*, mentioning *Bhandara* of *Salwar* (2) *Salwar* has been made in the correspondence of the Patna factors with Agra, Surat and the Company. In 1622, they would procure only "12 corgas (corgas) of *Salwar* cloth costing 'Th rupees and' (or about 5/4 or more)."[illegible] It is included among the cotton cloths in the *Fire-bill-book*, [illegible] any explanation, [illegible] a piece at 1 to 2 *M* (*mahmudis*)[illegible] and referred to by Pelsaert dividing the products of Jaganath as broken a superior wide cloth suitable for bedsheets.[illegible]

(3) *Bhandara*

(1) *Bhandara*, *mandilas*, is mentioned occasionally in the correspondence of the Patna factors.[illegible] *Bhandara* speaks of it among Orissa products.[illegible] Peter Mundy in 1906 mentioned "Bhandaras, Lynsees, [illegible] broad, from Dhakkara (Dacca)" among the mosley

(1) Ibid., p. 145. (2) Ibid., p. 146.

(3) EFM., II, App. 3, pp. 291. "Bhandara refer to 'cotton goods (viz. Bengal muslin, checkers, calicoes), mulmulas and various other cloths (1620)'." E., p. 31. In Bodmann's time, Patna was noted for coarse and fine cotton cloth (1904), ornamental cotton cloth (1911), gold and silver thread work (1917), silver (1917), cotton tape (1917) and sweets; Monta, 1C., Patna.

(4) Original Pocket to Co., August 14, 1621; FRP., I, p. 15; FFP., 1908-9, p. 20; also mentioned in letters to Brick of July 13, 1908 and of January 16, 1910.

(5) Bhandara, vol. 5, p. 96; I understand is equivalent to cotton by 1908., E., p. 32.

(6) FRP., 1910-19, pp. 19-20; *Ch.*, p. 8.

(7) Original to Rowe, 12 July, 1620. (8) *Ch.*, p. 8.

commodities to be had in Patna.[46] Taylor mentions it as a "whole of a thick cotton texture and generally worn as a wrapper in the cold season."[47]

It is interesting to note in the Patna Factory records that the cloth in both these varieties (*Dhiran* and *Baftawin*) was in the hands of the Pathan dealers, who imported them in small parcels from lower Bengal to India.[48] Thus it appears that they were not local products of Patna. Neither were they very much in demand for local consumption; but the needs of the English Factory led to a gradual increase in their imports into Patna.[49] The letter of 18th July, 1620, states: "Of Baftawins and Instamans (*Satin*) are 3/4 bales 14 pieces in stock;"[50] that of August 5, 1620 shows that import was increasing: "Of Baftawins (*Satin*) cotton cloth are 1 bales. Stamins (*satin*) imported from the lower parts of Bengalla, which by reports brings good profit;"[51] while the letter of November 11, 1620 states: "The other sorts of cotton cloth, as Baftawins and Instamins, were pretty dear and not so much bought (after 11 Oct) good profit, but a contraction have many Dutchmen provide more, but in what number I cannot say."[52] In 1626, 60 pieces of Baftawins and Tanzebes were supplied[53] by the Patna factory to the Agra Factory.

(12) Chintzes or Chouters

(12) Chintzes (*Chints*), (*Chintz*), (*Chintz*) or (*Chouters*), a variety of fabric calicoes. Literally the word means fourfolds, a cotton

(46) FFIR., II, pp. 186, 188n.

(47) Taylor, *Hollow Manufactures of Dacca*, quoted by Gordon, Robert Johnson and others, quoted in FFIR., 1618-21, pp. 188-89n.

(48) Hughes to Sarna, PRP., I, p. 1; PRP., 1618-19, pp. 18-19.

(49) It should be noted that the English E.I.C. had no interests in the Bengal side as yet, and these goods were required for Agra and Surat.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Hughes to Sarna, PRP., I, p. 1; PRP., 1619-21, pp. 187-1, 14., XXIII, 1621, pp. 78-9.

(52) Hughes to Sarna, PRP., I, p. 31; 14., XXIII, 1621, p. 1; FFIR., 1618-21, pp. 189-91.

(53) Hughes and Parlow to Agra, 4 October, 1626, 14., XXIII, 1626, p. 77.

[illegible] taught double white cotton cloth.[8] It is also referred to by Pelsaert as a possible article of debut on Agra for Holland or Batavia.[9] From the correspondence of the Paten factory, Sohana and Tyrnatee also seem to be two varieties of Chintzes.[10] Probably it had "a wide range of meaning, but as used by the Dutch at this period it seems to mean the calicoes of India and Persia."[11]

(iv) *Bakrasies or Bunas*

(11) *Bakrasies*, *Bunas*, a kind of *cambhik*, or white muslin cotton cloth.[12] (*Bunas* used.

While the Dutch did not import the varieties of chintzes but Bulbul or Bakrasies (see above) Pelsaert regretted, the English factors at Patna endeavoured to procure them for their investments.[13]

(v) *Chintzes*

(12) *Sowcolbat*, *Bhandy* slightly dated or partly printed, bunas, a rough cotton-cloth pattern. At the Blessing of Lockyear underwritten with being bad copying, Hughes suggested to Court, Surtaq (11 November, 1618) the supply of sowcolbat (*Sowcolbat*) as a quicker and cheaper alternative. (Nov. 9 Disappointed Influencer) It had to be dropped of power to consider and buy from the bunas, otherwise it would not last out a journey.[14] In 1616 Hughes and Parker sent to

8 *EFM*., II, p. 171; 11., 1614, *EIRL* p. 75; Crosby, Hobson Jobson, loc. cit., pp. 161, 166.

9 *FC*., p. 28.

10 Incidentally after mentioning Bunas and Sowcolbat Hughes writes, "Other sorts of chintzes are not here to be gotten unless some have determined." Letter to Bunas, 18 July 1616; *Id*., *EIRL*, 1614, p. 70.

11 *Id*., p. 204; *FFF*., 1918-19, pp. 70-80.

12 *Ibid*., Gunny Sample was usually so large it to use muslin cotton. It is a mistranslation for cotton, cast, metal cloth,—*Id*., 1616, p. 75n.

13 Letter of Hughes to Bunas, 13 July 1616; *FFF*., I, p. 5; *FFF*, 1918-19, pp. 204-5.

14 Hughes to Bunas, 9 November, 1616; *FFF*., I, p. 14; *FFF*., 1918-19, p. 208 and n. 1; *EIRL*, 1616, p. 96; *TFR*., II, p. 171. It is difficult to agree with Foster's view,—"*Bhandy* or *Bhandy* for *chintz*, but that does not seem to be the meaning intended here." Probably the Patna factors (*Id*. and Foster) for exact pronunciation or spelling.

[illegible] (samples) 8 pieces of Bowcaliko wrought only without sheets, and 18 pieces with sheets, all provided at Lohkowar.[illegible]

(vi) Gems

[illegible] (Gems [or variety of metals]) : mentioned by the Patna factors as an import from Patna. [illegible] wrote : "Patna produces much metals (metal), but it is a money, much 4 or 5 rupees the piece."[illegible]

The variety of metals was the Ratnikhna, probably so-called after Qaim Khan,[illegible] and referred to by John Ross, chief at Chaibassa [illegible]. It was "a sort of Gilan-dust" of Bihar, very fine coarse sand (metal) [illegible] by [illegible], and priced at 10, 10 and 10 rupees a seer, i.e., 2.5 lbs. a piece. It was chiefly bought by Mughals (Moghuls) and Pragdoses (and also Armenians in the circles of the VOC merchants); for transport to Lahore and thence to Persia. Hughes proposed to send samples for a trial.[illegible] Ideal the Patna factors and the Dutch authorities implied the 'Gilan' Ratnikhna to be "Mine for Persia than Bagdad, yet as it for Rockey or Mirror to any other place."[illegible]

Another variety was "a stone called the [illegible] Lorsan", referred to by the Patna factors, as "generally in good [illegible]."[illegible]

[illegible] Author to Bowen, October 8, 1701, FSP., I, p. 12.

[illegible] Ib., pp. 3-6. "Our ordinary stone is only 15-20 pos to 1[illegible] but those are usually 18-20 pos to 1[illegible], equivalent to 30 Holland ells long by 12 ells broad. Those from pos of 20" is selected, not Bengal pos of 18"—Pulicat, Masulipatam and Surat, etc. Already speaks of "stones in Patna-pos, 20 seer down the chief Bengal, a five and little-sized" (quoted FSP., 1701-03, pp. 14-15). Two hundred pieces have (10 Lb) Rockaway ordered to gold and other dressed stuffs sent at Patna by women, similar to that at Malda. Shortia, Eastern India, Patna, pp. 106-7.

[illegible] Also in Parker, summaries of Xavier's letters (FSP., 1929-31), pp. 170n, 171.

[illegible] Hughes to Broad, 19 Feb. 1699, FSP., I, pp. 6-7, 14, 16-18, 1904, p. 71.

[illegible] Hughes to Broad, 12 November, 1699, FSP., I, p. 14, FSP., 1929-31, p. 180 (n.), 1932-33, 1904, p. 70.

[illegible] Hughes and Parker to the Dt. November 10, 1701, FSP., I, p. 10, FSP., 1929-31, p. 170. (Emphasis, upon authority).

(vii) Longcloth

(vii) Dungaree: from Hindi dungari, raw hempcloth. It was a kind of coarse calico cloth used for garments and imported from Malda by the Peoplebec.[40]

Place of Production

From the description of cotton and different varieties available, let us now pass to the place of manufacture. The localities round Patna, within a radius of 30 miles, were important centres of cotton manufacture. Some also his arrival there in 1608, Hughes found that the cotton calicoes he was seeking were "made a days journey from this place (Patna) in a pergunna (parganah) or shire (zilah) called Lashkarey."[41] Four years in 1612 Hughes reached to an "a place 10 miles (coss) off, where is much cloth made and brought hither (Patna)."[42] At Lashkari (identified with Lakhnawar of the Ain-i-Akbari, a town since 16 or 20 miles SSW of Patna)[43] Hughes described it as "the place of Bafta"[44] i.e., "that a number of cloth goods for the surrounding villages where they have vents."[45] At Lakhnawar they were "bought of all sorts, adapted apparelyes, from the poor weavers."[46] Palanqs were first "Lakhnawar produces cotton, a superior grade of white cloth, 14 gaz long and of different width were

(a) Hughes to Jourdain (3 Feb), 1608; FRF., I, p. 4; FRF., 1615-18, pp. 195-6; I.C., 1614-18, 1616, p. 11. Nicholas Tiffin bought of Dupellow a kind of cloth (1616) of gaz of 10 (gaz) per piece made at Salempore. FRF., 1616-17, pp. 1616n, 18n.

(b) Tavernier, Travels in India, 1676; O.E.P., I, p. 10; FRF., 1618-19, p. 200.

(c) DPGB., II, p. 145.

(d) FRF., 1618-19, p. 166n. Survey of India Map., IV, Patna.

(e) Hughes to Barret, 12 Feb., 1608; FRF., I, p. 3; FRF., op. 1614, (Lakhnawar) cloth at patna, a market town.

(f) TCR., II, Ajm. 3, p. 186.

(g) FRF., I, p. 14; FRF., 1618-19, p. 195; Hughes to Nicks, August 3, 1609; FRF., I, p. 6; FRF., 1618-19, pp. 195 & 24n, TCFE, 1614, p. 96.

[illegible] from [illegible] to [illegible] the place."[illegible] Apparently [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] variety of the [illegible].

Besides Lakhimpur, there were other centres of production. Thus Bloody mentions "Ambarwar [illegible] at Nuslewaqpur and Sulizpur [illegible], 24 and 44 coarse [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] 1 broad."[illegible] Francis Hamilton could not identify these two places.[illegible] In the gazetteer a Sulizpur is given among the [illegible] in the district of Tirhut.[illegible] A glance at the Survey of India map (Patna district, [illegible]) suggests the possibility that Sulizpur is [illegible] Jalalpur[illegible] of the Patna-Jalalpur railway line and that Nuslewaqpur is probably represented by Fatuha, about 30 miles south of Patna. The town of Bihar, as it is [illegible], was also a centre of cloth production. About 1801 Ross (Chief of Gunjabazar factory 1800-02) wrote: "At Bessoo (? Bihar) 32 seers from Patna, and Lambers, 10 [illegible] cloth, 10 [illegible] Patna of his left [illegible] Dacca and Tanda, from No. 1,[illegible] to 8; [illegible] per piece."[illegible] Taylor, [illegible] in Patna says[illegible] that from Jhalalpur and Bihar to Jagannath all live by the weaving [illegible], in the 14 [illegible] of Patna, every village, every town was a centre of cloth production, so Bloody [illegible] that the merchants had to go "from village to village."[illegible]

Comparison of Patna Cotton with Jamdani and Other Cotton

The cotton industry at Patna was regarded in the [illegible] of the 19th century as [illegible] to the English Company's interest. [illegible]

[illegible] p. [illegible]. The [illegible] is in [illegible] Bloody, but this is [illegible]. References to [illegible] cloths [illegible] are found in the 19th century [illegible] also see Prof. E. B. Havell's [illegible] in Aryan India' (p. [illegible]

[illegible] PPR., II, p. 146. [illegible] PPR, II, p. 104.

[illegible] (Patna), II, p. 186.

[illegible] The [illegible] of Delhi [illegible] [illegible] Sulizpur [illegible] Bihar[illegible] [illegible], the other Tipu [illegible] of Lakhimpur.

[illegible] Quoted in PPP., [illegible], p. 126.

[illegible] [illegible], p. 5.

[illegible] PPR, II, pp. 146ff. In Bengal's cities Patna, Rajmahal, [illegible] and Dacca were centres of cloth production. Bradnell's Patna Report in Shakir's Eastern India, p. 101.

that a Decision Pertinent to the Whole State. The connection of Raghoo Das, the Sahukhana of Lohdeeana were brought made from the Dumraon collector is corroborated by the letter of Mohan Tiwaj at Bettiah to the President and Council at Patna, dated August 2, 1821 to the effect that Patna was "a more fitting place than Patna, as it was reported to affords greater quantities of wellmade cloth, which is more fitting our country than the cloth of those parts being for the most part of a slighter making and of unmatched length and breadth."[16] Further, in the Studies of the 19th century the Sahukhana of Lohdeeana were in no way worse than the Sahu of Bettiah, as the letter of Raghoo as Lohdeeana to Bettiah dated August 2, 1821 states that "the Sahukhana both for length and breadth, will qualify, I recommend your servants Bettiah Sahus."[17] Conditions changed in the nineteenty Magnet was "returning to its original status," when the famine of 1896, and Dawn Mosaic doubted whether the cultivation of Patna would be equal to Sahu of Gujrat, hence known for goodness and cheapness.[18] The Gujrat cultivated with the assistance of Patna India Yule (1903-1) and Bandelain (1904-1).[19]

Production of Cotton

The correspondence of the Patna market does not throw any light on the question whether the cotton was produced in the neighbourhood of Patna or imported. But the newspaper present of Patna Bhaskar notes that on 19th to 17th September, 1891, heavy cotton dealer passing, together with other items, in the town between Bandalpur and Patna. Therefore we can safely say that at least a part of what was sold in the cloth industry was produced in Patna.[20]

16. 1821, ibidem, p. 88.

17. Letter of Raghoo to Dawn, August 2, 1821, 1821, 1, p. 11; 1821, ibidem, p. 88.

18. 1896, 11, p. 19.

19. Photo India Yule (1903, Rep. 1911 edition) pp. 16-17, Calcutta Review, 1904, p. 78, article by D. Sahasra on Bandelain and Thyrsain.

20. 1896, 11, p. 19. In the September 1896 Bhaskar reached Nandalpur, on 8th he reached "Kai Dhi (Patna, 8 record) we had gained all the way, but full of Bhoga Tooty, Nutritious, Sugar Gaur, Gutter and garlic." The

Supply of raw material

As in the [illegible] and early 19th, currently, as in the early part of the 17th century also, the merchants had to supply capital to the weavers who were classified as 'poor' in the correspondence of the Patna factory. Goods could be made to order and meet the requirements of the merchants.[46] This is in sub-class from the Patna records (further) the dealer system encouraged indebtedness among the weavers and reduced them to "a state of dependence little better, if we speak, as slavery," as it did in early 19th century.[47]

The trade in [illegible] cloths at Lakhnawar was large, but it was not as large as originally expected by the Patna factors. According to the letter of August 6, 1686, Hughes hoped or hoped evidence (reports of weavers) that fifty 2000 pieces would be procured, and as the prices of raw goods lessened from 4 to 3 rupees, this would bring the annual outlays to from 40,000 to 120,000 pieces, valued at from Rs. 300,000 to Rs. 900,000 in annual transfers (@ Rs. 7.5 a piece all around).[48] He Hughes suggested that Rs. 50,000 could be safely invested in factory outlays [illegible]. But other contemporary indicate information about the conditions of Lakhnawar. Hughes wrote on November 22, 1686 that "30,000 pieces every year [illegible] provided figures."[49] We may compare this

(the Arthur (Dec. 1689) gives Patna Salt in C. Indies, Ind., p. 49, but, Probably the chance of the Patna factors (1683) was due to the fact that they traded mainly with the Dutch of Patna, while the [illegible] Salt here by the east Bengalese. Write (a mid 20th century): "Patna is by far the main cotton [illegible] and in the cloth manufacture of Bihar [illegible] and a great part of what is used is produced in the country." Marsh, Bankers Indus. Ph. Patna, p. 186.

46 Letter of 6th August, 1686.

47 Bankers, early in 19th: "The nature of advances and a good deal of the [illegible] in trade on advances produces the most unwarranted and the [illegible] Banking Industry, as not only to a greater value than the value [illegible] all [illegible] goods the [illegible] sale?" (Marsh's Bankers Indus, Patna, p. 186) and further the "Spirit of advances is [illegible] [illegible] but it is here [illegible] by all the [illegible] [illegible] keeping the weavers in a state of dependence little better, if we speak, as slavery" (p. 186).

48 Hughes to Patna, August 6, 1686, F.R.P., [illegible] 1686, 75.

49 Letter of November 22, 1686.

estimate with what Peter Rowlly wrote in 1631, that "in 4 or 5 months the merchants who had sold their trade for a long time might procure at or 30 Tons (Kind, mere of pieces) or perhaps 300 (i.e., about 300, 000 or 3000 pieces) and that the chief Broker for cotton Guru suggested that the English might invest Rs. 3 or 4000 a month, after the business was set on foot, and the country come to know the object of the English."[70]

The English factors were greatly hampered by lack of funds, often insufficient and "tied in cottons." Thus only 27,000 rupees were sent in all in 1616-1, whereas Rs. 10,000 were demanded for raw materials alone.[71]

Marketing Organization

Some details of the marketing organization and the difficulties of getting trade carry to gathered from the correspondence of the Patna factors. It appears that the Patna factors, though enjoying full initiative in dealing with the sources and responsibility in sending the goods, were hemmed down by the general instructions of the authorities at Surat and Agra. Thus on September 14, 1616, Hughes wrote to Agra that he "noted the instructions from Agra" regarding purchase of unbleached cloth.[72]

The principal task of dealing with the sources in procuring raw cotton was from about October to November. The letter of Hughes to Surat of October 12, 1620 states: "with the proceeds of sale in the gomastas, Hughes wanted to go to Gaurkhpur without Mr. Parker to grow better with 100 cups to make enhance with the new Adventure, the upper bringe now principal, good for cloths purchase, and for bigger dimensions."[73] Hence it may be inferred that the other merchants, rivals of the English, did not begin dealing with the sources before October.

(70) [illegible], 12 op. [illegible] (71) [illegible], [illegible] D.

(72) [illegible], vol. 1, p. 14; [illegible], [illegible], p. 28.

(73) [illegible], 1, p. 20, 11., [illegible], 1904, p. 70; [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible]. In early 19th century, Buchanan wrote: "The native goods made for market sale are always sold to those come from the coast" (Martin, Eastern India, Patna, p. 406).

Usually, ancient cotton was purchased at Lakhanor near from merchants who brought them from neighbouring parganas or neighbouring villages, at the rate of about 50, 60 or 100 pieces daily.[illegible] But some merchants of Lakhanor also brought cotton to Patna town, for sale in the local bazar from whom Hughes purchased small parcels.[illegible]

In buying raw cotton from the markets, at Patna, it was necessary for the purchasers to get a discount or drawn of 4 seers in the maund of 28 seers i.e., an abatement or allowance of 14%.[illegible] But at Lakhanor the discount was uncertain, depending on the bargaining power of the merchants.[illegible]

The purchase of raw cotton appears to take about 3 or 4 months i.e., approximately from November to February. Not Standing was necessary to make them fit for the European market.[illegible] Some varieties of cotton used to bring blanket cotton 'in small parcels' to Patna town only for the home demand, but then, from Hughes would not (November, 1626), bought of his best efforts, parcels more than one thousand pieces. He he had to purchase raw cotton for investment partly at Lakhanor and partly from other merchants. They used to buy cotton raw and then bleach them themselves and they would not sell them even with 12% profit, as they made greater profits by transporting them to Agra and Tatanna.[illegible]

Since Hughes held that with sufficient time at Gujrat, the best and cheapest cotton was to procure from raw or unbleached from the markets and they immediately to have than bleached.[illegible] But Standing

[illegible] Hughes to Evans, 31 July, 1626; FRP., I, p. 4; FRP., [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Hughes to Jones, August 9, 1626; FRP., I, p. 4, 14., [illegible], p. 76; FRP., [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Hughes to Jones, 18 July, 1626; FRP., I, p. 4; FRP., [illegible], pp. [illegible]; Hughes to Evans, 11 November, 1626, FRP., I, p. 14; FRP., [illegible], pp. [illegible]; id., [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Hughes to Jones, 11 November, 1626; id., [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible]; FRP., [illegible], p. 106. [illegible] FRP., I, p. [illegible].

[illegible] Hughes to Jones, Patna, 11 November, 1626; FRP., I, p. 15; FRP., [illegible], pp. [illegible]; to Jones, id., [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Hughes' Letter to Jones, 8 August, 1626; FRP., I, p. 4; FRP., [illegible], pp. [illegible]; id., [illegible], 1626, p. 75. Underscore words in [illegible]. 'The cotton goods cards the stuffed silks are chosen still as they come from the loom, but that intended for sale is all bleached' (Jourdain's Journal, 109).

may "sometimes [illegible] and [illegible], though yet both as length,"[107] as "the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]." Apart from this [illegible] from March to May approximately, bleaching involved many charges, varying according to the fineness and breadth of the cloth, besides the cost of dressing materials. The letter of December 11, 1609 notes that "their charge is [illegible] [illegible] or less, according to their fineness and breadth, some 2½, some 3, and some 3½ reys per corge, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."[108] In the charge of bleaching was approximately 2 to 3 rey, a [illegible],[109] somewhat higher than in the time of Barbosa.

This cost of bleaching had to be borne, not by the weavers, to [illegible] sell the goods [illegible], but as [illegible] by the merchants who had to ship the raw goods to the seats of the markets by bleaching. And the merchants used to cover these charges by the [illegible] [illegible] of the "[illegible]" or by [illegible] off a fragment of [illegible] of the total length of the piece before sending it to be bleached. This "[illegible]" could be sold as [illegible] stuff and was a "valuable asset" in cases of large scale purchases. But as the length of the bleached cotton goods would be reduced from 18½ to about 18 yards, the Company's factors did not [illegible] the [illegible] but "without the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."[110]

107 Hughes' letter to Boot of November 14, 1609: PRO., I, p. 14; I.O., E.I.C.B. 1614, pp. 19-21; PRO., 1613-15, p. 201.

108 Hughes' letter to Boot, 18 July, 1609: PRO., I, p. 5; PRO., 1608-10, pp. 201-2. In the time of Peter Mundy (1608) the price taken for whitening was "about a quarter." PTM., II, p. 140. Possibly in the Mirdha, owing to reduced demand after the expulsion of Portuguese, indigenous could finish a larger number of cotton goods in a shorter time than before.

109 PTM., II, App. B, p. 400; Hughes' letter to Boot, 18 November 1609: PRO., I, p. 14; I.O., E.I.C.B. 1614, pp. 20-21; Hughes to Boot, 19 July, 1609: PRO., I, p. 4; PRO., 1608-10, pp. 201-2.

110 PTM., II, App. B, p. 400. Details of bleaching and mercerising in 19th century are given by Bidwell (Mirdha), pp. 209-10, 216. In such 19th century, the cost of bleaching was only 3½ pieces worked out to the from "8 to 7 annas, 3 pieces to 3 to 2 annas, 3 pieces" or roughly from 3½ to 2½ [illegible] including the cost of soap, soda, lime and [illegible] chemicals which the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

111 Hughes to Boot, 18th July, 1609: PRO., I, p. 5; PRO., 1608-10, pp. 201-2; Hughes to Boot, 11 November, 1609: PRO., I, p. 14; I.O., E.I.C.B. 1614, pp. 20-21.

These Gujaratis of moderate, blanched and multicolored, used their preparation and dyeing for sale, required from about 8 to 12 months.[illegible] It was necessary for the merchants "to get gatherings of it by Bids and Dibs, from Towns to Towns, barter for values, and return to Baden [illegible]" as literally translated,[illegible] or "to have the power and ancient behaviour to be proportionally dealt therein," as Hughes wrote.[illegible] Hard concentration and search for new poles, still adequate supply of textile were unknown conditions of a successful investment. Hence, starting rather late in the season, and getting only "very few textile" (Ibid.) [illegible], Hughes could not send any material shipping in the first year (1607), except some samples of "calicoes" goods. Peter Mundy also had to discard the idea of establishing a factory at Poona in 1632, on account of the Guided Use of the Channel (Tide Regulator in Tide Navigation, 1632).[illegible]

In the marketing organization of this period, brokers played an important and indispensable part. They used to act as intermediaries between the producer and the purchaser, finding out for the former the [illegible] of supply of the goods and bringing buyers for approved, [illegible] to [illegible]. Thus Peter Mundy [illegible] brokers to [illegible] [illegible] "Bags [illegible] Cloth bought [illegible] or 40 pieces, which [illegible] recommended the Dibs as being [illegible] for the Bag(s) desired."[illegible] Probably there was different brokers who specialized in different varieties of goods e.g., as Peter Mundy mentions "Chaugh Dibs, the Chaubar Brokers in their parts for

[illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible]. Thomas Tomyns explains the others as: "Bind the [illegible] [illegible] of the white pieces, and [illegible] a [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] in the baker's chest" (Id., [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible]; TPR., II, [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible]).

[illegible] TPR., II, p. [illegible].

[illegible] Ibid., pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Hughes to [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], TPR., I, [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Mundy was ordered to navigate Indian to Poona as he had [illegible] to the middle of December 1632. He he would have to stay for the end of December and had to finish everything in short [illegible] time. Introduction TPR., II, [illegible].

[illegible] TPR., II, p. [illegible].

[illegible]. In return for these services, there was a brokerage paid by the market both at Potosí and at Lambayeque.[illegible] From the surviving guidance of the Potosí factors it appears that on, well-worked goods the brokerage was fluctuating and uncertain, and that on blanket goods it was about 1 piece a piece, paid by the market. [illegible] the 1 piece went to the "Receiver or Holder" or overseer office of the property, 1 piece to the broker, and 1 piece was paid to the merchant. Hence "near every transaction there must have been a great deal of calculation, and each party had to keep head cool and eyes wide open." This was a very wide caution, but apparently the Potosí factors regarded it as unpleasant and hard to evaluate it.[illegible]

Variations in Shipments

Sources of unclouded price of transportation increased the difficulties of the clerk made. There were high different sources, the [illegible] cost of 27° (illegible), the Eldes gave us the lower cost of 17°, the Palma cost of 8°, and the [illegible] cost of 45°. Hughes said the [illegible] cost is to the market. But the Dyal factors [illegible] the [illegible] cost of 27° and from Bengal of 8 to 10°. Rosie Dyal [illegible]'s [illegible] discrepancy is [illegible]. Owing to the Dhulpana [illegible] the Potosí and the Lahore [illegible], the [illegible] consistently adhered the [illegible] of [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible].[illegible]

[illegible] FTP., p. [illegible].

[illegible] Hughes to Boots, 11 November, 1611, 11., [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], p. [illegible]; Hughes to Boots, 18 July, 1611; FOP., 1, p. 1; FBP., [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Jhan, [illegible], 14, p. [illegible]. In a [illegible] from Hughes' [illegible] whether the [illegible] was paid to the Emperor or Jahangir or to both of them. Probably it was paid only to the Jahangir, the [illegible] office.

[illegible] FTP., 11, app. 11, p. [illegible]; Hughes to Boots, 3 March, 1611, FTP., 1, p. [illegible]; 11., [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible]; Hughes to Boots, 11 December, 1611; FOP., 1, p. 11; FBP., [illegible], p. [illegible]; 11., FTP., [illegible], pp. [illegible]; Hughes to Boots, 18 July, 1611; FOP., 1, p. 11; FBP., [illegible], pp. [illegible].

[illegible] "Hey [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] ([illegible]) of [illegible] 11 July, 1611.

The provision and despatch of goods were also hindered by the rainy season. The letter of Hughes to Boyd dated August 5, [illegible], states that "the rainyes (which do more impediment to theise provision for that the weavers by reason thereof cannot ioyn to bring us ourselfe)."[illegible] The provisions of [illegible] were finished before 9th October, [illegible].

Trade Competition and Interdiction

Apart from the English Company's factors, other merchants were engaged in trade with Patna, and the factors had to meet a strong competition in the Portuguese, Dutch, English, Persian, American and Indian merchants including East Bengal merchants. Speaking of provision of Dolloma, Hughes wrote to Boyd on 9th August, [illegible]: "There are greate store of buyers abroade which hath inwarded (i.e., enhanced the price of) the Commodity."[illegible]

The Portuguese merchants who were directly in possession of the field, used to come to Patna in their Grand Frigates from the "Portion of Bengal's,"[illegible] Gaja Bengala, Dhaka and Hooghly and to "Pegu up of Pegu (sic. Syre Lanka)."[illegible] "They traded into Bengal and yearly had shipping from Malacca and Cochin."[illegible] To obtain the Chinese silks, spices, tea and porcellain which they imported, they imported from Patna certain cotteens, "Dacoit of variety of quality, oil seeds of Rice Bran, "dyed Jute cloth proportion but little to the merchandy," silk, and

[illegible] "The Officers generally in towns belonging Kings or of Portion, between which and the seed of Inchiness is some small difference, the country cotton belongs the Kings' he allowed a place (i.e. of a grain or [illegible])" (Pomphey, [illegible]). Peter Mundy [illegible] notes, "The Cloth (sure) is 12 cubit of Agra, and 8 cubits of Agra make a English yeard, but this this Kind is usually sold (or sure as [illegible]) 1 yard 4 inches, [illegible], 14, p. 138.

[illegible] Hughes to Boyd, August 5, [illegible] (OC., 1, p. [illegible]; Ib., [illegible], [illegible], p. 78; [illegible], [illegible], pp. [illegible]).

[illegible] Letter of Hughes to Boyd, 9 August, [illegible] (OC., 1, pp. [illegible]; Ib., [illegible], [illegible], p. 78).

[illegible] Hughes and Parker to Co. November 10, [illegible] (OC., 1, pp. [illegible]; Ib., [illegible], p. 86).

[illegible] Saffier of 8 August to Ib., p. 78. Letter to Co. November 10, [illegible] (OC., 1, pp. [illegible]; Ib., [illegible], [illegible], p. 86; [illegible], 14, p. 138). These goods were known in the English sale for Bengal, Mocha and Agra.

[illegible] Ibid.

[illegible] Lampin carpets.[illegible] The Firingian wine of [illegible] protected by Bhaskjaban and were expelled from Bengal about 1823, on account which [illegible] absolutely affected the [illegible] trade but the other merchants mentioned by "India great Investments" at Patna in the first half of the 19th century.[illegible]

Taylor writes in his letter of 28th July, 1828: "The Bhopalee and Pragchaee are here like here."[illegible] The word Bhopalee does not indicate a definite race, but it is applied to all sorts of Central Asiatic foreigners including Pathans and merchants from the Northern Punjab regions.[illegible] Probably the word Pragchaee does not mean inhabitants of Delhi and Deoria, as Sir William Foster conjectures,[illegible] nor Bhaktiar of Dhamra, as Sir Jadu N. Sarkar writes,[illegible] but that Bengali traders, judging from the word and the spelling of the word—as it was not in use in Bihar or Delhi—pronounced and is only available in Bengali; and the word composition is possible in East Bengal, and also from the fact that the village [illegible] of East Bengal is preserved from the mentioned period [illegible] but all the Bengalis merchants were frequented by Bengal boats and merchants carrying Bengal products for and [illegible] different parts of India-China and East Indies. The [illegible] shows the [illegible] trade of the

[illegible] 1828, II, p. 100; letter of Hughes to Bruce, July 15, 1828; FBP., I, p. 5; FBP., 1828-30, pp. 102-4; letter of Hughes and Parker to the Financial Sec. 1831, FBP., I, no. 10-11, 14., XXIII, p. 19.

[illegible] 1828, II, pp. 100-8.

[illegible] Hughes to Bruce, FBP., I, p. 4, 14., XXIII, 1831, p. 77. How is mentioned in Pharaoh's adjudication, "Accordingly morning and noting cloud like Bengal (?), Dhaka greatly [illegible]." ib., p. 19.

[illegible] 1828, II, p. 102; Carter Sampler cum to J.A., XXIII, 1854, p. 14.

[illegible] "Bhaktiar [illegible] is possibly to be [illegible] by the Bhaktiar Khilji, conquering the [illegible], "the inhabitant of the [illegible]" i.e., in Bihar and Agra (Dhaka, Bhaktiar probably [illegible] the [illegible] of Delhi, Bihar, etc. But this is mere [illegible]—FBP., 1828-30, p. 100; 1828, II, p. 102; J.A., XXIII, 1854, p. 7n. The words "Bengal" and "Bengalee Pirzee" are [illegible] in Sulaiman's Memoirs, ib., p. 4. Elliot said the term is [illegible] the Bhaktiar [illegible] of Dhakaba, Bihar, and Orissa, but not Bengal (ib., p. 4n.; see also 1828, II, p. 102).

[illegible] W. Bruce, 1828-30, p. 104.

Purchases are (1) bringing Malda products to Patna market, and (2) taking Bihar products to Bengal.[illegible]

The chief exports of both the Bhojpuri (Shahabad) and the Pargana end of Patna were mulmul sellers, muslin or cotton cloth of Bamnee (? Bihar), demanded in Persia,[illegible] gilbas or Zamarkands, kaches (petticoats), sarees, dhotas or short silk and thread cloth, and dungrees or cotton goods in the form of sheets from Bhilsa; also some types of muslins and a sort of silk cloth called cupmunjum (Kimmkhaw) of Kilee (a name variety of Bhamee), which were sold in the site English market.[illegible] They were bought by transport by the Bugalis to Indore and Northwest India generally[illegible] and found a ready market in Persia, Turkey and North Africa. They purchased nothing required by importing only specie or bills of exchange.[illegible]

Besides these, there were the Pathan traders, engaged in bringing fabrics from lower Bengal. It is plausible that they were mostly half-genuine Pathans who had recently lost disappointed of political power and territorial possessions, and not the foreign Pathans who began to come to India from about the middle of the 17th century.[illegible]

Armenian merchants were represented by Pahanes or Tahanes, together with merchants of Aleppo.[illegible] But from the notes of Peter Mundy (1630) we know that the Armenians had some relations with Patna also. There was a considerable need for the product of these traders. Speaking of the "Sofa Gunny Sorts," Mundy says, "this place is chiefly for Shookeers of strange Countries, as Bugalis, Persians, Armenians, where they may lodge and keep their goods the space of their stay (sic), perhaps a week by the month. They are needfull in great cities, for the other part of Barnes (sic) is all plaine

146. The Bengal cotton or dupsi came from Amoy for the last decade of the 17th century.

147. Letter of 17 November, 1670; O.C., 3146, p. 30.

148. P.P.R., II, p. 85. 149. Ibid., p. 186.

150. Ibid., p. 186; Letter of 3 November, 1681; E.F., I, 14., 30/81, 1681, p. 30; Letter of Hughes to Farrer, 18 Feb. 1681; P.P.C., I, no. 14; O.C., 3126; 1714, p. 71.

151. See J. N. Sarkar, Fall of Mughal Empire, no. 1.

152. O.C., p. 30.

earnings for all sorts of Tyrwellers that come out night and sorry in the mornings."[101]

In Feb. 1608, an Indian, Villerdas Bessarlou, came to Agra, persist in Prices to make investments for Farsia. Possibly he got information from the English factor who "Lopsoched him on his way." But he was not fated of again.[102]

Regarding Calicoes, it appears that there was a small local demand in the Prices bazar for the calicoed and blanked cloths of Lahore.[103] There was also some international trade carried on by the English and other merchants with Agra and Lahore in blanched cotton goods,[104] and also with North and South Bengal. Some of the blanched goods were again exported by the English merchants for sale in England, other European countries, Persia, Barbary and Turkey.[105] Persia was a market for the rockets and Ramchaccoes[106] of Bihar and Lahore as least up to the middle of the 17th century. It was later, speaking of the possible use of rockets, in England, Hughes wrote: "The merchant says yet another thing nothing fitter for England as transports as Chintes the bearing cents (i.e., Calicoes) in the letter of 3rd August 1609 in some shapes in their lengths and breadths for

101. 1750., 97, p. 110. "Sally (Shore a Mall Bill), the governor of Bihar 1607-08, see 1710., II, pp. 110-1n. "Villerdas was an Armenian trader name from Agra, 1608 (Bakhan Bakar from Agra), a merchant prince and benefactor. An Armenian writer's work is referred to in the Sorbin University, PN Pishvaiy, 1001.

102. H. Beni, 1610, pp. 97-98 quoting the letter of Hughes and Parker to Local, October 31, 1608. "Perhaps he availed himself of one of the Portuguese frigates coming to Prices from Hugli and Pattna and sailed down the Ganges to the sea and he was in Dacca without his cost coins." See H. Hugs, p. 30.

103. Hughes to Mason, October 31, 1608 (FOP., I, p. 10; 11.11, 1610, pp. 70-71). It appears from the letter of Hudson, that there was such a local demand in the early 16th century (Morris, Factory Letts, Prices Report, no. 1004).

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid., Hughes to Mason, 1 August 1609 (FOP., I, p. 6; FOP., 1610-11, pp. 40-1; Jo., 1611, 1614, p. 7). Hughes proposed to buy some small identities as samples of the available articles for a trial for Barbary and Persia. Letter of July 31, 1608, (Jo., 1611, 1614, p. 7). Hides and other cotton goods manufactured at Bensah, were in this period, exported to England, Java, Bantu, and Persia—EIE., II, 101, p. 101.

106. Kaye, 1886, quoted in FOP., 1610-11, p. 18.

the use of shackles, shackles use.....The well-making of the Clothes whereof I remain either Samples or your Ladyes [of Hirsch] in the letter to Bantu, 3rd August, 1621 will make it of good estimate in England.'[illegible] Thus it appears that English interest was of little value for coarse and thick cotton cloth, possibly to serve as substitute for woollens.[7]

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION

(a) Original.

(b) Notes in relating to the Five Commercial Missions to Patna (1620-1). A full account as contained in the 40 letters (24 July, 1620-20 November, 1621) to be found in the Indian Antiquary, XLIX, 1921, edited by the late Sir Richard Carnac Temple. The contents of representations are given in Sir William Foster's English Factories, 1618-21. They include a plan of concrete information material for economic history of the period, but the English factors regarded the details from the point of view of the Company and are little on the actual result. Part of the returns (all products of artisans, some engaged in A part of women in spinning and weaving, production of cotton) etc.

(c) Account of Malda Wind, 1608-10, given in Roe's Sarpi Wind, and in Della Tavola to India in the Wilson Diary.

(d) The Remembrancer of Expense (Bilatch), one chief of the French factory at Agra. To be Mentioned with Bhaj in Sarkar's Indian based on seven years' (1630-6) experience.

(e) The extremely valuable account of Francis of Peter Mundy, to be entitled 'In the late Sir Richard Carnac Temple's hand on 8 years' (1628-36) experience. (Mil factory, September 1630 arrived at Patna, April 1631, Rajmahal at Patna, 3rd December, 1631, Dat and sent of Agra further under Freedom 17th, 1632 August 1632, when sent to Patna).

(f) The Diary of Pelsaert Van Ital Brinks of Bend, translated by W. H. Moreland, in JRE., vol. II, 1925.

(g) The Travels of the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle (1626-7), Hakluyt Society Hayes edition.

[illegible] Hughes to Bantu, Patna, 4 March, 1621; FEF., I, p. 20; D., [illegible], 1924, no. 1040; Hughes to Bantu, Lucknow, 4 August, 1621; FEF., I, p. [illegible]; Ibid., p. 196.

[7] For writing this paper I am indebted for guidance to Dr. S. H. Hashmi, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon) and for some suggestions to my friend and colleague Prof. S. N. Dutta, M.A., P.R.S.

(xv) The Records of the Gaurian Gandhi Association (Gaya) New Mandalar (1926). Reproduced in Gaharwar Bansar, (1961).

(xvi) [illegible] and Sadu Jaiswalkhari, in by Blackman and Jaiswal, I w.k.

(xvii) Jaiswal's Dhanbad-Itihas, in Bihar II.

The highly valuable account of Patna given by Robinson (1926-28) reproduced in Bajpai's Bankipur Gaya, was carried twice: supplementary and contradictory information.

(B) According :

i. Sir William Hunter's Introduction to Statistical Analysis, 1868-69.
ii. Sir William Foster, Raghunath's Quest of Romeo Peale.
iii. Sir Richard Temple Notes appendix to Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. 2.
iv. [illegible] Patna, Ist edition with Sir John Ch. Robinson, Ind. Ant. Dec., Dec., 1926
v. [illegible] Patna Journ of the English Settlement in Bihar
vi. Sarangpur, The City of Patna, Ind. Ant., vol. 10, 1881.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

i. AS. . . . = Asiatic Antiquary, vol. XLIII, 1914.
ii. PBP. . . = Pathway Bansarla, Patna, vol. X, (c) 6.
iii. PJV . . . = Pathak, Raghuvir, Pachisal, 1956(?).
iv. ETV. . . . = Early Travels in India by Blunt.
v. IT. . . . = Mookerji and Hari, Ashoka's Edits (being the vol. of the Bombay Series of Pitman).
vi. TPM., II = Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. II, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.
vii. EIEB. . = Early Annals of the English Settlement in Bihar
viii. JOP. . . = Journal of Indian History, vol. X, 1931.

Deities and Cult-acts in Kerala*

(The Bhagavati Cult)

Of all the varied cults, prevalent in Kerala, the Bhagavati Cult is the most popular. Bhagavati is generally the patron-deity of all families, big and small. She is again the patron of the village and even though there may be a big temple dedicated to the chief gods of Parasigale Kandaiam in the village, she holds the place of importance in the minds not only of the rustic villagers, but also of the cultured. Quite consistent with this we have a number of Kiravu, the case of Bhagavati shrines, and all Kiravu are looked upon with more than an ordinary interest of awe and respect. The popularity that Bhagavati enjoys even today amongst the masses, the number of temples set apart for the goddess and the solicitous anxiety with which these are treated—all these tend to show that this idea of the cult is most popular in Kerala; and when we also remember the belief that prevail in these temples and the ritual necessity practiced associated with these temples, at least a majority of them, we are virtually tempted to believe also that this cult have been one of the earliest of the cults to become popular in this part of the land. Herein peculiar features of this cult form the subject of this paper.

The cult of Bhagavati stands entirely distinct from the cults of Siva and Vishnu. In the first place, though varied are the avatars of Bhagavati, yet in the cult as it exists today, these differences are none or less merged. Secondly, Bhagavati is the only divinity amongst us who wants through the instrumentality of a human agent. Thirdly, partials are the rituals which are conducted for the propitiation of the goddess and such circulatory practices are strictly absent in the case of many other deity, inasmuch as they are of the nature of ceremonial offerings, characterised by the presence of the lower forms of instruments and musicians who are not merely accompanied by the offering

* Condensed from JIQ., vol. II, 1926, pp. 49 ff.

of human blood or something similar to it. Similarly, due to possibly the deity who is invoked in times of danger, foul body, lust is probably the chief vice, the elimination of which led to the gradual development of our indigenous dramas and dramatic forms which again served as the first of the many impulses leading to the creation of our religious versatile literature.

Phagunit is the deity par excellence in times of danger and in times of sickness. In times of political danger when face to face with an invading army or represented by a mighty dictator, people generally come to their patron-goddess for help and protection. And popular legends concerning the appearance of the patron-goddess in human form in our Dramas. Thus the patron-goddess of the small shrine Chhiku in Godlit. With a priestly followed to have led the people of the locality to victory when threatened by the Rockim chief, a victory under divine leadership which the people are celebrating even today under the name of Kondapujal. Similarly the patron-goddess of the Godlit royal family is popularly believed to have led the people of Pilapuwala in a victorious fray with an adventurous chief of Tippu and to have safely vanished for long of the time. Subhas Thayyunna Kaana Pavuna, for a [illegible] [illegible] Godlit. In fact, the deity of the villages was [illegible] with their problem. In the matter of social evils also, the patron-goddess is invoked to fight the cause of the evil(s) and the good. When a man defies the social conduct, the goddess is invoked. The legends are rife in similar relating to this aspect of Phagunit, so much so that it has become a proverbial saying: 'Know to Phagunit when in difficulties'[1] A typical story may be noted in connection with the curtains of [illegible] Bhattathiri, the contemporary of the famous Tirunna of Valiaya in the first half of the 16th century. He was leading the life of a Brahmachari and the social leaders are enlisting the secrets of the great man resorted to Phagunit at the dictate of Orthodoxy to get him interested. It is agreed to be noticed that, the first thing to be done in the inauguration of a Tirunna is to propitiate the patron-deity.

[1] [illegible]
[illegible]

The village patron-deity is also the sole protector of the villagers during periods of epidemics. When cholera or smallpox breaks out in a village, the villagers conclude it with the anger of the goddess, and this is invariably followed by yearly and village wide offerings at the sacred shrine. As a sudden of fear when the epidemic causes begins, every Bhagavati shrine becomes more than usually active. Invariably prior to day after day and daily votive offerings of individuals become a general rule followed by a solemn communal offering and celebrations towards the close. In this connection reference may be made to the shrine at Chengannur which is the Sacred Manikkavaal for the whole of Malabar where the Bharani in March-April is celebrated as a palliative against the outbreak of smallpox.

So far we have described the goddess as the general patron of village protecting it from every threatened visitation, which is beyond the control of human agency. The goddess also figures as the protector of individuals, particularly the cause of diseases, especially those diseases, generally associated with the bacterial influence of gloom and gritter. One of the commonest prescriptions for the diseased person is to undergo a periodic of Bhagavati by using well-known Bhagavati shrine. In this aspect, the shrines at Tottapilliyil and at the Cape Thomas are very well-known, which is the case of an individual attack of smallpox, a votive offering at the famous shrine at Chengannur is supposed to be particularly efficacious.

Thus we find that both for the individual and the community the Bhagavati is the deity to protect them from dangers, especially sickness. It is, however, significant to point out that there are but few Bhagavati shrines which are supposed to be the giver of prosperity or children or learning. Of course on a minor scale every shrine is associated with these also; but such an association is generally made by the very adoration and not by the people at large. I remember one shrine at Iruvi, dedicated to Bhagavati, which is held specially sacred for learning, I mean the use of Arivanapalu vaa, to offerings of Tottam and vaa, particularly to prosperity, the shrine at Cochanikkara. But the general character of Bhagavati deities associated with the happiness aspects of human life is peculiarly striking. Here we have a clue to the origin of the Bhagavati deities. The deities have originated in

dead and that for the purpose of worshipping the natural wonders? The goddess lightens permanently on the brand in Jowalu. In ancient days when the people were left to the tender mercies of divine life, they could provide of some who let the Mother to help them out. From the lump of fear and trend in which was assigned all the life of life may have evolved the idea of the heathen mother, probably through the relative contact of the Aryans who appear to have colonized the land long before the Christian era—a view that gains accidentally in support from the fact that Bhagavati shrines are the only places of worship where by the side of the Aryan Vipra we have resulting cult-acts so hard once a year, not to touch in the name of the individual or in the name of the community.

Sri has imported in another feature of the native goddess which differentiates her from other deities, and this is the presence of an actual representative for the goddess to carry out her behests. This is a feature common to almost all Bhagavati shrines. The power is known as Kovaraya or Velichappadu and his chief function is to be the mediatorship of the deity. When occasion demands it, he becomes possessed and accepts the presence of the goddess in human nature and directs the doing of this or that necessary by a voice effecting to every this or that constitutes and will be called to the best power. In his moral substance he provides the idea of the deity when it is taken out. He is undoubtedly an interesting personality and exerts great influence over the villages.

The election of the village Kovaraya is an important ceremony and it is an interesting rite. He is generally an elected office, elected, on the basis of spiritual superiority of which he is required to give tangible proof. The intending candidate undergoes a period of Bhajanam in the village shrine and on a fixed day he must actually the people that he possesses some supernatural power, which qualifies him to become the honoured agent of the deity. The election of the Kovaraya is an event of great import in Onapuram. When, however, the last Kovaraya died a few years back, there has not yet come forward any one who could prove his right to the place by the possession of supernatural power.

A couple of observations regarding the institution of this dignitary

in Bhagavati sixteen (worse to be made here. In the first place, the man elected for the place is invariably a Nāṭṭu, though in some days instances are not found wanting where other castes officiate —also false to the prohibition. In the second place, the person selected for the place is invariably a man and not a woman. That this office is generally held by a Nāṭṭu may be taken as an indication of the primitive nature of the origin of this cult. For if it is not likely that, if this be an Aryan cult, the priestly hierarchy would have allowed a Nāṭṭu to occupy this important position. It therefore stands to be considered how that, in this dignity falls the discharge of the lowest forms of menial work for the propitiation of the goddess. There thus is a difficulty also regarding the women of the Bhagavati cult. The other factors does not lend itself to such an easy explanation, in spite of the fact that it is a tempting line of inquiry. I incline to think that women have been selected for cult office as the worthy representatives of the divine mother by virtue of her prevailing activity. Since the Kuruppan has to officiate at the offerings of blood to visit the houses of victims suffering from smallpox and cholera and other epidemics, it is but logical to think that the choice would naturally fall upon a man who is better fitted by nature for this sort of work. Such an assumption would naturally suggest that this dignity originally functioned only in those institutions which may have had a pre-Aryan origin. As a matter of fact we have Kuruppans functioning in almost all Bhagavati shrines which are Dravidian and not in other shrines which are not Dravidian. Putting these two ideas together we have again the same conclusion that the Bhagavati cult is a cult handed down to us from a pre-Aryan period and we shall not be far wrong if the presence or absence of a Kuruppan be made a test of the antiquity of a Bhagavati shrine.

The institution of the Kuruppan in Bhagavati resembles one of the institutions of the Priest of Diana on the banks of the Nemi lake in Italy. In the case of the priest the choice is made with reference to his physical strength and the strongest man is always the priest. But in the case of the Kuruppan, the choice is based upon his supernatural power, the process of which in a particular individual is taken to mean that he is in direct connection with the spirit of the

goddess. Secondly, when once the Kottamma is selected, he is there for life. In the case of the priest-king he is there for life, but unfortunately he can be killed at any moment by anybody who is younger than himself. Consequently, he is always anxious about his own safety and so tends to be less an Protector than the rest of religious King himself. Find the Economic relations of his hereditary power and the security of his position, and you find two Dualisms the Aryan falling to the share. It is possible that both these offices may have originated from the same system with the Offerings that while the Romans used for physical strength, the people in Kerala turned upon supernatural powers and spiritual protection. When it is also considered that the Romans had a colony in Cranganore were having the pre-Christian era, an lovely into this institution becomes very interesting. It is as well possible that there be some borrowing.

* The more important of the minor festivals in Bhagavati shrines are the Udhatsav, Utsam, Chittirapattam, Tiruvathirai, Bharani, Pitthan and Kuppappu and other items of Bhagavati human and domestic representations.

The first of these is a kind of solemn celebration, marked by Brahmins and consists in the showing of Vel's lance, certainly a symbol of Kottamma the shrine. It is held for the golden-coloured Kottamma the power by Rom-sacred shrine. The Pattinapuram is a forty-one days' celebration, the festival on the last day being on a grand scale in which all the villagers take part, and which is accompanied by Tiliyatt, Pithan or Bhagavati. This is later followed by Thumpi in the month of March-April. All these are more or less village celebrations to which every family in the village contributes its mite. It is noteworthy that these celebrations are associated only with Bhagavati shrines and non-other.

Tiliyatt is the ceremonial instrument used exclusively in almost all Bhagavati shrines. It consists in an elaborate religious ceremony in the temple in more or less on a grand scale. This is followed both in the afternoon and at night by a procession in daylight. This one day celebration—four days in the Cranganore temples—is supposed to remove the goddess and give her favour for the village. This is an interesting festival and the name itself suggests a clue to its origin.

Tulu women (also and pali, voluntary gifts, and the whole function means the offering of voluntary gifts to the deity. It is, however, a fact that this two gift does not form part of the festival as it obtains. But a close scrutiny reveals that the function is characterised by a symbolic offering. Coming on the festival close at the close of the annual crop, this celebration might originally have been characterised by payment in kind by villagers to the village patron-deity. It is held that failure to celebrate Thilapali will be followed by the outbreak of epidemics. It is, therefore, legitimate to conclude that in Thilapali the patron-deity is not collecting the annual dues to be paid by the dead for her upkeep. Again just before this, the representative of the goddess accompanied by her divine symbols goes out from house to house collecting dues, a process which is popularly called Pattanilal. This has also been interpreted as an extreme solicitude on the part of the deity to see will, her only spiritual but her devotees are getting on. In other words, we may reasonably see in Thilapali a process of voluntary contribution being linked with the villagers for the upkeep of the village deity.

In some shrines we have Tiyat celebrated in place of Thilapali. It is a festive gathering of the deity and the great elite of the village or known the Village priestly-guilds. In many cases the celebration is also characterised by the singing of chastity songs, which may be taken as a sign of morality. But in expecting to honour the goddess by the singing of chastity songs, we may see the popular conception, reasonably primitive though, that even superior gods and goddesses are prone to physical sensuous pleasures, as they themselves are.

Very popular and hence apparently very important are the Bhagavati celebrations, which should on no account be postponed. The two most important shrines where this is celebrated on a grand scale are the shrines at Cranganore and at Bhavada. It is an annual festival and the concourse of people taking active part in it is really vast. There are some essential features associated with the celebrations at Cranganore. The first is the killing of cocks and as a result the whole temple becomes a swimming pool of blood. Secondly, there is the closing of the shrine centuries and then throwing the whole area open to all castes and creeds among Hindus. The third is the singing

of obscene songs, the substance of which is particularly shocking to a man of my theory. The rites go on for three days and at the end of which the temple goes back to its normal greatness. In this peculiar festival we may well see the vestiges of the old Dravidian cults. Probably in the very center of the Sabari temple, there must have been the premier Dravidian place of worship where was centered an elaborate form of nature worship in all its primitive form.

Closely allied to this, or some would have it, a survival form of this is the flower which is a commonly offering and conducted particularly in times of great danger. A beautiful preparation in ancient rite is offered in place of blood to allay the anger of the deity. Probably whenever this kind of worship survives we have the goddess in her terrific aspect, for it symbolizes the offering of human sacrifices and that means that it is a rite with pre-Aryan antiquity. This offering is found mostly in Quilandy exclusively where modern sphinxes sign in the page.

The last important, but really more personal to the worship, is the celebration of what is called Thinkan or Kodiyettu. The ancient of temples where this is found, (indicated are but not are becoming down). A total cutting of this will not be out of place, because this is found to be a possible thing of offering for other occasions as well. And here I shall cut in better than quote from the Annual Report on Archaeological Researches in Cochin State for the year 1937 B.E. which I had the privilege to prepare.

"The man to be looked, undergoes Dhyanam in the temple for a period of seven, twelve, twenty-one or forty-one days, as the case may be. During the period of preparation, his charges for boarding and lodging are met from the temple funds. On the day on which the festival comes off, he spends his time till the appointed hour entirely in the temple. There he is fully dressed in the ceremonial dress with the head-gear and is supplied with sword and shield. When everything is ready, he makes out, accompanied by a crowd of people with, at least, two carrying sword and shield, to the centre where a fort is constructed of a circle. He takes his position on the centre the fort and is covered and his sacrificial gauze the knots through his skin pulled out at the back. Then a hole is bored and the blood allowed

to [illegible] down at his feet. After this is done, a [illegible] man, generally a professional man having definite importance in the work, pulls down the other half of the cocoa-nut and the victim then [illegible] and dangling in the air. There a number of people shoulder the [illegible] and they are off to prostrate [illegible]. In front of the procession for few actual people put up a dense fight, the victim hanging by the hooks also fighting with the air in that hideous position. It is not at all a pleasant sight. If wonderful are the ways of God, [illegible], indeed, are the ways of pleasing Him.

The procession goes on at a quick space—the more the speed, the more the merit and the more the pain and the disfigurement the more God, which is taken not not temporarily lodged in the cocoa-nut. Each time the victim comes in front of the shrine, he gets on a [illegible] [illegible] and bows to the goddess, the high priest of the temple [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] or worship or both.

After the last time is over, the procession goes before [illegible] back to the old place [illegible] and the victim is [illegible] and the victim dead. Then the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Kava. I would take it primarily as a festival of thanksgiving to one's deity for a victory in battle (a victory the sacrifice of the vanquished chief is the crowning feature).[1]

The *Bhagavati* cult (*Devaki*) representations and dances constitute another series of celebrations, the importance of which cannot be estimated, for the student of this cult, as well as for the student of our cultural antiquities. These varieties are six in number, namely (i) *Bhagavati-Pattu*, (ii) *Tiyattu*, (iii) *Pana*, (iv) *Pattu*, (v) *Kaniyan Kali*, (vi) *Kolpattu*. These are invariably found celebrated in Bhagavati shrines in honour of the goddess, sometimes as an annual festival conducted by the temple itself and at other times as a votive offering by the pious religious in the temple or in their homes. These are intended to glorify the *Bhagavati* and deal exclusively with her glorification and (for the participation of those only which is here) the (mostly Dravidian) and popular in our people. They have again for their main theme the destruction of *Bhadra* (or *Kali* or the *Devaki*) and Pinaki over them. The language of these songs is exclusively in the local vernacular, and the scenes or the dances are generally with the lower orders of the caste Hindus. Thus, and the fact that the lower types of dancers and musicians (which are also found associated with some *Bhagavati* shrines today) are to which that of these spectacular representations may be found the sole surviving relics of the old type of the worship of sylvan gods and goddesses (which) amongst the indigenous native population which, by colonisation and intermarriages, were purified, ennobled and absorbed into the Aryan fold.

(i) *Bhagavati-Pattu*

Bhagavati-Pattu is generally found conducted either in temples or in the houses of the Hindu Brahmins, called *Pattupurakals*. The figure of *Bhagavati* with hands and arms and body is drawn on the floor with coloured flour and then *Aksapattiyam* is done. Sitting

1. Such a view would necessitate the assumption that the *Bhagavati* cult was one of the oldest form of religious concept here, and has originally no bad principles.

around it and playing upon some of the musical instruments for troops of people, called Kirtans, sing the songs glorifying the goddess. The songs continue and the story involves the climax, when the Kirtanis assembled in the temple becomes possessed and begins his work dance carrying a jingling chowrie in one hand and a polished sword in the other. He replaces in bronze mounts the idols of the goddess, as it were, and points out how the goddess—the same the first person—is good and good and powerful, but she is pleased with the devotion that the people have shown but how they have failed in this one or that other respect, how she is well pleased with them with the conduct of the Priests and how she will always protect them. As the climax of telling goes on, the songs continue and the musical kirtan music go on swelling. At this scene the Kirtanis sinks down and the whole function comes to a close.

(c) Dyalgi

Dyalgi is similar to the above in all respects except for this difference: that when the song reach the AEE Hajo, the Kirtanis in his possessed state jumps into the fire and dances some solid stepping down. While the Kirtanis go of dyalgi may be either a family or a village offering, this dance is always a village or a community offering. The point (purpose) point in this is the conduct of dances and dances in the presence of crowds, in the accompaniment of which there is a sort of invoking by a character who plays as a representative of a Divine being for the edification of a large audience in an open place.

(d) Pana

Pana is another variety of similar dancing and though not much different from the preceding, it is nevertheless held to be different. Two types are prevalent: it may be an individual votive offering in which case there is only one Kirtanis taking part in it—the Kirtanis associated, with the temple in which the performance is conducted. It might also be a community or a village function, in which case all the Kirtanis of all the Bhagatoni dafins (a Dafin neighbourhood unit) take part in it. Dressed in their usual wood bodis, they continue in random a very great kind of dance to the accompaniment of the

[illegible] [illegible] of the 'type called *Annamkuttu*.'[1] As a third subsidiary of the mess, may be mentioned another similar dance (a form of a *Bhagavati* dance) conducted by Kanyarkuttu, a class of people included amongst the lower orders of Nayar, who become possessed under the influence of alcoholic drinks. This Pulayan variety, he is noted, is run as a village affairs for the purpose of getting rain, when it is inordinately delayed—an evidently powerful rite to regulate the Dravidian origin of Nayar and other similar types of entertainments conducted in the name of *Bhagavati*.

(iv) *Pilla*

But by common Pulayan there is another, much less in spirit, in the variety, known as *Pilla*. It is purely a family or domestic function celebrated by rich families as a beneficent compliment to such circle or marriage. The purely religious aspect of this consists in the invocation of the goddess Pattathi, as a priestess. A young, innocently made-out, i.e., a *Pilla* overcrowded by the various forms of Bhagavati-worship, this is first followed by singing in a staggering tune, accompanied by the sounding of a metal plate with a little hatchet. At the same time three elderly in front of the goddess brandish a couple of hatchet dressed in their religious accoutrements from, and as the song proceeds, they become possessed and then begin a circular dance and satisfy the concerned of the goddess. The frenzied begins early in the morning and with necessary intervals runs on the whole day and night. These agents we have the glorification of the goddess, but it differs from the other kinds in that here it is a woman who becomes possessed.

(v) *Ranjan Kali*

Ranjan Kali is another variety of interesting performance carried in the northern parts of Cochin, conducted in *Bhagavati* shrines. When the performance comes off, there is erected a decorated pandal in

1. Annamkuttu is the name given to the instruments such as Drums, Bottle, Kuzal, etc., and the music produced by them is loud and is everything that is far opposite of gentle.

(the temple adorned with flags and festoons. In the centre a big lighted lamp is placed, round which the players dance to our music, both instrumental and vocal, the dance being supposed to be an imitation of the dance of Bhadrakali and Shivakinkar. The performance generally continues for three days, the portion for each day by day being fixed with reference to the events. On the first day we have the *Anjilithiri*; the second day we have the Pallivetta (Hide), and on the third, *Kalamezuttu* Pattu, to honour the game of Kina. Pallivetta Pattu is in praise of Vallonan who is held to have been a saint and philosopher, and *Kalamezuttu* Pattu was so called, because probably a recitable song was sung. All these songs are highly devotional in nature, though here and there may be found references to social incidents. The main performance is done in the temporary hall and each day has its fixed songs. After the songs and dances are over, some devotional element is introduced in which the various castes are represented and ridiculed for their various sins. This portion of the representation is called by the name of Porattu, and to make them a humorous and social picture, each player appears in costume suitable to the character. On the first day after the songs are over, all the players together worship the porattu tools (of) the temple and make their exit. This is a unique kind of performance in which music, vocal and instrumental, and dancing and acting play an equally important part; but as in the varnadi considered, here also the main and central point of interest is the Bhagavati, enshrined in the temple. Naturally therefore this also deals with the glorification of the Bhagavati cult. This is, however, like the Pilaa, a group or ceremonial celebration, where all castes, children and adults, can take part, and is celebrated both as a votive offering and as a temple festival.

(vi) Bhajanas

Unlike the variables (Urhada described above Bhajanas, which is the most important of the representations associated with the Bhagavati cult. This is the only variety in which two characters appear in conflict, the two representing Siva and the evil, Dakha. The issue itself is significant in that it recalls the Puranic genealogy of the Bhagavati (the consort) of Siva. A critical study of these various religious variables

temple can be traced the origin of dramatic representations with religious motifs accompanied by spontaneous gestures and then acute rhythmic dancing. Since the figure (form) exhibiting in itself both pictorial and sculptural representation forms may also be seen the beginnings of painting and sculpture. This view forms an important marking which deserves to be more closely studied.

An instant idea again is exhibited in Dhanasari temples and is considered by a subsection of Brahmanas called Ganaka, who combine in themselves the arts of music and poetry, acting and dancing. They are to early in the afternoon, and in a conspicuous place in the temple front prepare a relief painting of the goddess Kali in her most terrific aspect. Simultaneously with the morning rites in the temple, they begin to entertain the people with their music, vocal and instrumental. When the morning rites and ceremonies of the temple are over, the chief of the goddess is taken out in procession, and after a fixed number of circumambulations the procession of the temple is to take in a prominent place. The first halt is the representation in a meeting between Siva and Bhadra, when the latter (Arjuna) kills first the earth in protection under the appearance of Bhadra and in alliance with Siva's promise of his (Arjuna's) victory. Kali the temptress, the two characters who impersonate Kali and Dhadra are dressed in costumes ready to appear and in the appointed hour Bhadra comes out and challenges Kali. The challenge is accepted, and Kali enters in. There is no fixed stage—the whole temple area forms the stage and the characters will dance in a morning light. Siva is a long, tedious process of acting a battle between the two, and ultimately the goddess wins killing Dhadra. The last act is an imposing scene and fills the audience with terror, according as it does at day-break. The chief item of the murder scene is when Kali plunges her hands into the very bowels of Dhadra followed by the drinking of, and bathing her body with, blood, and ultimately the admiration with his intestines.[1]

The success of the acting depends, as it necessarily must, on the superior practical skill of the actors in the course of acting, all the

1. There is kept within the entrance a good, overcoming cover and hand and a long scimitar which the dying to represent the intestines.

seen as none there is no other serious accompaniment to relieve the action. This representation is looked upon as a very orthodox and religious act, and as it is beyond the pale of popular criticism from the point of view of orthodoxy, and can most successfully remark that this acting is of a superior order. The scenes of the character upon is many respects with the scenes of the character in Kathakali, and without associating himself to such statements, we may suggest that the latter may have been derived from the world of the Indians. Further, I incline to find in this religious representation one of the few surviving relics of the indigenous type of spontaneous entertainments, and this more than anything else has tended to popularise the Bhagavati cult in Kerala.

Before we proceed further we may as well notice here some various paraphernalia that these dramatic representations and dances have with the Devaram cases. This (the paraphernalia) is always set of drums, the actors, musicians and the spectators all being in open air. The performances is conducted by day in most varieties, while many of them are held during night, sometimes lit up by the moonlight but always by lamps and torches. Further, the main motive of interest is not so much the representation, as the Bhagavati cult in the form form of the goddess in celebrating in many prominent place. Furthermore, there is absolutely no effort made at any scenic effect, while the place and time are denoted by mere words or proper gestures. This is all to show that Bhagavati cult dances, music and acting are entirely a religious function and a religious act, with the implicit religious solemnity pervading the whole performance, but with this difference, namely that the audience is here open participating it. It is also interesting to point out that the songs, the dances and mere gesticulative acting—all these are hung on to a single story, the destruction of Dhaka by Kali. There are some interesting parallels with the Greek representations during pre-Athenian festivals. Thus there is the single act of worship translating into a drama. There is also the process of the transmutation of gods. And last, but not least, mirror the mythological nature of the subject which hangs on to a single story and which has special relevance to national cults and culture. An intensive study of these from a comparative point of view is sure to

yield some useful results which may throw some more light on the problem of the origin of Bhagavati representations.

We have in the prevailing western national sense of the salient features of the Bhagavati cult which distinguishes it from the higher national type of Aryan cults. Quite noticeable with this is the structure of Bhagavati shrines and the architecture in them. As we have already mentioned, Bhagavati is the patron-deity of the village, she is the Grama-devatha. There is no fact as we have only one instance of a Bhagavati being above the village boundaries and reaching all-Kerala importance and that is at the shrine at Cranganore. Considering this fact general position, her shrine is a lonely one. Even the shrine at Cranganore is not a very imposing one, in spite of its being a national temple for all Malayalis. It would serve a very interesting purpose to compare this shrine at Cranganore with the Sri [illegible] at Thiruvanchikulam of a later day. At a general glance, it may be noted that the structure for Bhagavati appears an unusual one. Is this an indication of the COMPARATIVE low position that she may occupy in our religious consciousness? It may be so; but more possibly it is the influence of the prevailing Buddhistic or a subordinate agency. She is associated with the form of everyday life—with the happiness and misery of the villagers—and not with the higher problems of existence, with life and death and death here and hereafter and as such she is subordinate to the deities of Siva and Vishnu. To give her a shrine, nearest but with the Aryan hierarchy of gods and offer her the Aryan ritual and worship, was the point that even the most sympathetic Aryan colonist would do. The writer has come across at least one shrine devoted to a female deity which has only an enclosing wall and nothing more, at which natural pujā about to offend. A third variety of Bhagavati shrines are those located under trees, such as Pala or Ilaneli but in all these cases there is, at least a Kavu, a sacred shrine very near to which it is situated. A fourth variety also is not rare, where the Bhagavati is found located in a small niche in a corner of a big shrine dedicated to Siva or Vishnu. Thus we find that Bhagavati is located in all sorts of places, good, bad, indifferent—again an indication of the popularity of this cult and the great power of accommodation that Brahmanism has always been exercising.

This peculiar feature is again found recorded in major temples dedicated to Bhagavati. In the well-known Bhagavati shrines two and sometimes three distinctly sacred places can be noted. The first and the most important is the sanctum sanctorum itself. Equally important from the traditional point of view is another for which is called Kottamkovil, which a popular version associates with the first resting place of the goddess whence she was transferred to the permanent place, the present main shrine. This, however, not in all temples that such a shrine could be seen. Another equally sacrosanct sacred place is seen in many shrines: in front of the main sanctuary and further yet may be seen standing a small block of stone without anthropomorphic or symbolic features, generally located under trees and sometimes under a medal vesh. This shrine stands in some dual relationship with the major shrine. For all the lower forms of worship (thus, such for instance, as killing of cocks, offerings of blood, Pongal etc. are here done and in majority of cases, the priest who officiates for worship in this outer shrine is not a Brahmin but only a non-Brahmin, the Elayamkil poor Nair. Thus there is an interesting survival of probably a tribal cult which the Brahmin conquerors (as Indian Bhagavati) did not disturb. With the coming in of the superior Aryan cults and culture, a convenient bifurcation of them is made of the personality in her beneficent and malevolent, or more correctly the higher and lower forms of worship. The higher conceptual deity was housed in shrines and here were conducted higher ritualistic rituals by Brahmins, while the crude popular deities of a dreaded character are left outside to delight as best they may in the sacred or natural offerings characteristic of the lower forms of Brahmin cult and culture.

An equally interesting classification of the deities may be made from the point of the images enshrined in Bhagavati shrines. Three specific types may be mentioned. The commonest type is that in the form of a Kappilakkolam, i.e., Mirror-disk, with an anthropomorphic carved. In other cases, we have a regular disk with anthropomorphic features; an excellent instance of this type of disk may be found in the shrine at Cape Comorin. A still third type may be found in places where the disk is composed of an uncouth piece of granite or basaltic rock. Such disks are a rarity and these are looked upon as

anupadhika. It is interesting to point out that this type of idol shows to hold to the positive good, and it is only with this type of idol that any higher conceptions of religion are generally associated. Two most interesting instances of types are those at Dantaladhara and at Jayavaragrama. The nature of the idols is also also an interesting only which may help to throw some light on the meaning of this cult.

We have important are the people who are associated with the rituals of these shrines. There are three *Gotras* (*Vamsa*) also associated and they are the Brahmins, *Kshatriyas* and the Sudras, especially the lower orders. As a general rule it may be said that in all shrines the Brahmins are the priests, but on special occasions and for special kinds of offerings, they are replaced by *Kshatriyas* or *Sudras*. Thus at Dantaparura, Brahmins and *Kshatriyas* were side by side while the Kinnaras helps them as active agents during the *Dhvaja* period. Similarly, at Chitrot Kshatriyas did the leading priests of the main shrine, but the Vaiya Pandits as well as the outer shrine in Sravi. There are at least a people of divinity where the priests are only Brahmins. I mean the shrine at Chitrakuta and at Avasapada. This fact forms another line of demarcation for tracing the origin and antiquity of this cult, for it is significant thing to point out that only those temples which have and as Brahmin priests are associated with the higher types of beneficent goddess, and these shrines are located upon at the point-centre of the Brahmin colonies. Thus the shrine at Dantaladhara and Dantaru are the point-centre of the Pangrahas of the Vakaut-pranta and Parvatanagrama, certainly suggesting for these shrines a high antiquity, which must have been accepted even at the time of the fusion of the two cultures of the Aryan and the Dravidian.

A study of the general nature of these shrine also forms an important source of information. These shrines, the more important ones, are located at the head of ghats or top of hills and quite naturally from the point of view of this fact they are located in the point-duty of the area concerned. From the point of view of the females, the final end has associated with the shrine very. Thus a local goddess is held to be more dreadful than a goddess in the plain. The goddess of the ghats are again noted in fostering the mandane instinct of

the religious, where no hill goddesses are associated with the fertilizing of the more fundamental and spiritual aspects.

Enough has now been said regarding Bhagavati cult from a general point of view. We shall now try to inquire what exactly is her relation to the gods and goddesses of the Aryans. Corresponding to the masculine aspects of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, there are the feminine aspects of Saraswati, Lakshmi and Durga. All temples in Kerala can be broadly divided into Saivite ones and Vaishnavite ones, though we have some (minority) to Brahma. Such a rigid and dry classification of the feminine aspects of these gods is not possible as regards the deities in their homes. There is no temple which may be pronounced to be definitely Vaishnavite or Saivite. The traditions and legends associated with them are less than the true and vivid contact in their cult, and to tell from any definite relationship that may be maintained to Vishnu or Siva. If the presence of blood offerings may be taken as an indication of the deity's relationship to the feminine aspect of Siva, there is also the attendance of the priest with reference to fasting or propitiation associated with Bhagavati Pujas. One thing may be pronounced, the cult of purity, but it is equally important as the cult of mental illness. Such a union of feminine aspects seems to imply, especially in view of the fact that the functions of Lakshmi or Saraswati are always fixed worshipping. We have instances of deities, definitely localized as Durga or Parvati proved to be similar Lords of gods or evil and the killing of evil in solving evil of their displeasure. There is still to be found that the functions of these deities are or represent their correspondingly feminine. This tendency is evidenced by another aspect of the goddess in the popular conception. The deity worshipped at Ogre Ground has three distinct functions associated with the three different times of the day. Was early in the morning she is the harbinger of blessing, at noon the harbinger of debts and in the evening the giver of bliss and the remover of illness, indeed invincible conceptions, which we try to relate her with one or other of the Divinities. Only one explanation seems possible for this variety of functions, even at the time of the deeper relationship this deity must have seem to be popularly associated with the functions of sending all evils and of bestowing bliss, spirit-

[illegible] and worshipers. In other words, there are not Brahmanical deities, nor are they the offspring of Brahmanical culture; they are primitive goddesses converted into Brahmanic folk. Consequently according to the religionists of the mind they have matchless functions and lesser sacrificial origins. Thus the temporary presence of a Kerala shrine made the Bhagavati shrine Bhitiry compact, for instance, the choice of Parameshwara of Trichur. Again popular traditions make one god, that the consort of another god. Thus the goddess of Chalyam is made the consort of the god worshipped at Tangalassala. The fancy of the worshipper or the popularity of the high priest makes the deities Vishnu-Vishnu or Shiva, as the case may be. Thus different origins are reported about the deity mentioned as Chamundiamma. In all these cases, however, it deserves to be pointed out that the deities could have not had anachronisms in any such profound declamation being accepted. This is as much as saying that originally they had nothing to do with either Siva or Vishnu. They were simply the benign or malignant village-deities and this aspect is much better well-preserved in spite of the numbered arbitrary-prestige given to the deities by the Vaishnavite and Saivite priestcraft. It is to doubt possible, even prior facie, that before these deities were perverted into the Aryan fold they must in a great sense have been influenced by the Buddhist and Jain religions. Some deities originally displeased the shrines of their horrifying rites and rituals, such, for instance, as the offering of human beings, of blood-stained sacrifices, and animals which did exist, and replaced them by symbolic offerings. From this point of view it may be argued that those deities to which political forms of Saivite religions are prescribed and which are labelled as Saivite might have been brought under Buddhist influence, while those which are labelled as Vaishnavite, and to which such sacrifices are absent might have been originally brought under Jain influence. It is quite conceivable that the purely benign goddesses—and there are very few—were for a bygone bestowed down to us by our distant Buddhist and Jain forefathers, while the others might be the surviving deities of the Dravidians. Quite consistently with this historical nature, there have always been the deities who concerned themselves with the everyday life of the villagers and to whom the villager always looked up to

my help in evil days. By results in the hands of the villagers the cities and climates were characterized not so much by positive or shadow for moral blessings as by a tone of perspiration and fatalism (silence). It may also be mentioned here that the conception of a supreme being and the relationship of the soul and the world with such lowness principles and everything that might originally have been, prepared the way for the acceptance of the Buddhistic, Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava cults and cults and culturists, with the result that the cult as it claims today includes all the features of all, but of some in particular.

Enough for now. Now, said to show that the revivalism of the Bhagavatas cult is a subject of great importance, in which a large amount of material is still available for the student. A systematic study of these is sure to yield a rich harvest to the readers of comparative religion and philosophy.

B. D. Francis

On Lyonsch Agni-Purāṇa[1]

The *Bhāṭṭa* and the *Bhavishya Purāṇas* within the *Agni Purāṇa* as follows:

'That Purāṇa which describes the occurrence of the Three Kalpas and was recited by Agni to Vasishṭha is called the *Agneya*.'[2] But in the present *Agni*, though Agni is found to speak to Vasishṭha, there is no mention of the Three Kalpas. On the other hand, the Vārāha Kalpa has been mentioned in connection with the Particular Incarnation of Viṣṇu (see *Agni*, I, 11). This disagreement between the descriptions in the *Bhāṭṭa* and the *Bhavishya Purāṇas* and the contents of the present *Agni* shows that the latter is not the earlier *Agni Purāṇa* which was uttered by these two Purāṇas. This genealogical character of the present *Agni* is further exhibited by the lineage quoted from the '*Agni Purāṇa*' or '*Āgneya*' in the *Gaṇa-Vāhanaṭīkā*. The respective mention of Vasishṭha and King Sudharma as 'intermediaries' and the occurrence of the words '*[illegible]*,' '*[illegible]*,' '*[illegible]*,' '*[illegible]*,' '*[illegible]*,' etc. in the Twelve Gaṇas (a many of the spurious passages) prove that in the original *Agni Purāṇa* Vasishṭha spoke to King Sudharma (or Sutī) on the various topics on Dharma. However, in lieu of the verses quoted from the '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' in the *Vāhana-ṭīkā*, Prajā is constituted as the speaker, and in consider, Prajā speaks to Bhṛgu (cf. *Dhāra-*

1 The Calcutta edition is despite by despite the same as the Kashīkhanda Press edition. There are of course, numerous variations in readings and omission of verses in the corresponding chapters.

2 [illegible]

Bhāṭṭa (II, 28 and *Bhavishya* PD, I, 2, 1). The other words '*[illegible]*' in the first line.

In *Agni*, PT, which is an abridgement of *Bhāṭṭa*, (II and not of *Bhavishya*, I, 10-18) as Kāṇgāmbā Rāṭṭa lately, the reference to the Three Kalpas has been left out obviously with a view to adapt the description to the present *Agni*.

3 PT, Chowkhamba, 66, 69a and 70a-70b, and Bibliotheca Indica, 54, 1866.

4 [illegible], 192, 193-195, 198-[illegible], 199-[illegible], 200-[illegible], 202, 204, [illegible] (pp. 17), [illegible], p. 106; *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* I, 1-2 and II, 1-3; Kāṇgāmbā, pp. 76, 130 and 133) and so on.

[illegible], pp. [illegible] and [illegible]). In the present *Agni Purāṇa*, however, there is no introduction between Vasiṣṭha and King Aśvaśira or between Tīrṣa and Gotrā, and there is also no chapter in which Rāma is the speaker. These facts, considered together, prove definitely that the present *Agni Purāṇa* is not the earlier one.[1]

From a comparison between the present *Agni Purāṇa* and the verses quoted in the *Nibandhas* from the earlier *Agni* we understand that the former is the result of a destructive revision to which the latter was subjected. How in this revision the form of the older *Purāṇa* was changed is best exemplified by a comparison between a long passage, or rather an entire chapter, quoted from the "*Agni Purāṇa*" in the *Nibandhas* (Vol. IIIa-IVb) and chapter [illegible] of the present *Agni*. In the quoted passage Vālmīki is found to speak to the king (Aśvaśira) on Gaṅgādvāra-tīrtha (gift of a cow made of raw sugar), but in the said chapter of the present *Agni* (though all the marks proving the existence of the conversation between Vālmīki and King Aśvaśira have been eliminated, many verses are similar, e.g., *Agni*, [illegible], verses [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] fully with some of the verses quoted in the *Nibandhas* Vol. IIIa-IVb). The above comparison further shows that the present *Agni Purāṇa* is not a new work from beginning to end, but has adopted fragments of chapters and inserted verses from the earlier Purāṇa. It is for this reason that a few of the numerous quoted verses are found in the present *Agni* with variations in readings and arrangement of lines.

The present *Agni Purāṇa*, though an encyclopædic and comparatively late work, does not seem to have come down to us quite unaffected. There are evidences to show that some of its chapters, viz., [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], are in all probability later interpolations. In *Agni* 1 the mention of all knowledge (Vidyāsvāna) is proposed to be given. This knowledge is divided into two classes—Vīṭā and Apara. The Para Vīṭā is that with which the supreme Brahman alone is attained, and the Apara Vīṭā consists of the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas (Śīkṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandas and Jyotiṣa),

1 Dr. G. R. Sharma calls it 'encyclopædic'. See Dr. Sharma's *Purāṇa*, vol. I, p. [illegible].

[illegible], **Hanumān**, **Dharmadhara**, **Purāṇa**, **Kṛṣṇa**, **Vaiṣṇava**, **Bhāgavata**, **Bhaviṣyottara** and **Śrīdhara**. It is to be noticed that in the above enumeration there is another neither of the **Pāñcarātra** Saṃhitās, of which, as we shall see below, some of the interpolated chapters of the present *Agni Purāṇa* seem to be [illegible], nor of the anthologies of the worship of different gods dealt with in these chapters. Again, in chapter 20 *Agni* speaks of the nine kinds of worship, taking as the story of Śiva's visit to the daughter of Himālaya, and ends with the verse:

> [illegible] ।
> [illegible] ॥

This verse, which serves as an introduction to chapters 21-100 on the Tantric worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa, is so tendentious and abrupt that it proves the spurious character of these chapters. There is positively no doubt in Śrīdhara (mentioned by the last that though in chapters 21-23 **Kṛṣṇa** is the eighth of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, in chap. 48 Śrīdhara also perceives his place. From the lists of the incarnations of Viṣṇu he gives that the celebration of Rama by Hanumān is of a much later date. Of these interpolated chapters (21-100), the first 48 (i.e. chaps. 41-50 on Viṣṇu-worship, Viṣṇu-Pūjā, making of the images of Viṣṇu, and so forth) are most probably constituted of one or more of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, but none of the verses quoted in Śrīpādādhikā's *Durdhakārī-vṛtti*, from the *Pāñcarātra-pahcaśāra* have their parallels in *Agni*. 50-99 entitled to Bhagavata. For example, *Agni*, 51, 8 contains the quotation from the *Nārāyaṇa-pahcaśāra* (i. *Bṛhadādi-vṛtti*, p. 1015, *Agni*, 19-100 on the *Pādmādyaṣṭāṅga*), again, more in Śrīdhara than *Agni*, 51.70. The last verse:

> [illegible] ।
> [illegible] ॥

of chap. 79, that concludes chaps. 71-100 declared by Śrīdhara (i.e. *Śiva*), to also always and [illegible]. This interlocutory verse being entitled to Bhagavata, it is highly probable that chaps. 71-100 are later than chaps. 41-50. In *Agni*, 100, 1, *Agni* promises to recite what Paṭhāra said to Rāma as "[illegible]". Consequently chaps. 100 (verses 1) to 106, entitled to Paṭhāra, and which Śrī. Śrīdhara,

[illegible] and Jalāsaṃvādīkā. For the speaker is found to speak further on [illegible], [illegible], bath etc., almost all of which are defined with Tantric elements. This contested portion (i.e. chaps. [illegible]) of Puṣkara's speech is more probably spurious. The word 'Nāṭyā' in the line 'Nāṭyā dīnāṭāṃ yāṃ tha mantrin kad ca tha mahī' (Agni, [illegible], 1) which introduces chaps. 137-[illegible] resolved to Śiva's prayogam chaps. 11-[illegible] is which Śiva's speaks to Bhavāṇī. Therefore, at least chaps. 137-[illegible] consist in earlier Śiva chaps. 9-[illegible]. Among the remaining chapters there may be some which are spurious, but it is almost impossible to detect them.

From the last chapter of the present Agni we understand that the compiler of this Purāṇa had the deliberate intention of making the work a sort of a upāṅgapāda to [illegible]. With this end in view he incorporated the contents of some works, viz., the *Dhvajāgra*, the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, the *Bhāvanāpāda*, the [illegible] on chapter-headings in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the *Dhāma* of *Vāgbhaṭa* with a commentary, the *Amarakośa*,[1] the *Tulādhārāstotra*[2] (?), and [illegible] verses or entire chapters of other works, viz., the *Pāṇḍavagītā*,[3] the *Vyāsaśikṣā* and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.[4] Hence it may be little doubted that the chapters on the different branches of knowledge belonged to the extant Agni Purāṇa in its nucleal form and that they were put together to constitute the Purāṇa in the [illegible]. That of these chapters at least

1 Haraprasād Śāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSs.*, [illegible], vol. V (Purāṇa MSs.), Preface, pp. [illegible], [illegible].

2 Agni, [illegible] are certainly the summary of the *Tulādhārāstotra* with [illegible] upon by Bhāṭṭa. The author of the *Amarakośa*, Bhaṭṭacārya and others, however, we have found that some of the lines quoted from the *Tulādhārāstotra* by the *Bhaṭṭacārya* compiler occur there in the aforementioned chapters of the Agni Purāṇa. For instance, the five verses which follow [illegible] verse 'mamāṅgī' quoted from the *Tulādhārāstotra* in *Bhaṭṭacārya*, I, p. [illegible] may be compared to Agni, [illegible] ('[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]'). However, in Agni, [illegible] I agree propose to give the solution of the *Tulādhārāstotra* verses [illegible] [illegible] publication. This solution, however, does not seem to be very close to the original but appears rather in [illegible].

3 F. W. Bailey, *Dialects of Central Asia*, vol. I, p. [illegible].

4 Agni, [illegible] has numerous verses in common with *Vāyu Purāṇa*, [illegible], [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] on Dhanvantari, Yoga and Sankara (Śiva) are contemporaneous is further established by *Agni*, [illegible]. (Dh.Dh) (*tatra tatra*[illegible] *śāstrāṇi* [illegible]) in *pūrṇ yuga-prādurbhāv vakṣye* (*sarvāṇīna yuga*) [illegible] *sarvatattvāṇi vakṣyate* to *yuga*. [illegible] the story of Bharata is given in connection with Yoga and the knowledge of Dhanvantari. From all this we can safely hold that the date of compilation of the present *Agni* is the same as that of the commentaries and incorporations. Hence, P. V. Kane compares the text of the Upanishad section of the Fifth-enlightenment found in the *Agni Purāṇa* (chap. [illegible], verses [illegible] to chap. [illegible]) with those used by the commentators Vācaspati and Vijñāneśvara and comes to the conclusion "that the text of *Yājñ.* preserved in the *Agni Purāṇa* is intermediate between the text of Vācaspati and that of the Mitākṣarā." He further adds: "As Vācaspati flourished about 850-900 A.D., the *Agni Purāṇa* represents a text of *Yājñ.* current centuries before Lat. about 800 A.D."[illegible] As to the Mandāra section of the *Agni Purāṇa*, Kane is of opinion that as the extant *Agni* quotes Dandin (of Dhārāvāsa and knows the theory of Rasas), it was composed about 800 A.D.[illegible] The dates from Kane and scholars differ by the beginning of the ninth century A.D.[illegible] In spite of these astronomical opinions, there can be no serious objection if we hold that the present *Agni P.* was compiled some time during the ninth century. Kamalākar Bhaṭṭ also places the date of the *Purāṇa* between 850 and 900 A.D.[illegible] This general date seems to be supported by other evidences also. Tantrism in the medical or astrology and medicine, which have been mentioned among the different branches of the *Apara Vidyā*, shows that the date of the *Agni P.* cannot possibly be earlier than 500 A.D., because from an examination of the Bhoja, Purāṇa and other Purāṇas we ascertained that the Tantric elements began to be attached appropriately by the Purāṇas not earlier than about 500 A.D. Again, the majority of the verses quoted

[illegible] P. V. Kane, H.D.S. of D.L., vol. I, p. [illegible].

[illegible] P. V. Kane, *History of dharmaśāstra literature*, [illegible] as an introduction to the edition of the *Mitākṣarā*-*Aparārka*, pp. [illegible], and *Hist. of Skt.*, vol. I, p. [illegible].

[illegible] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Purāṇa*, vol. I, p. [illegible]. Also see Dr. [illegible] (B.A.S., [illegible] Part [illegible], Bombay), pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Sankara, [illegible] of Alex. Mac., A.D., vol. [illegible], Krishna, ed.

by Śaṅkarānanda in his *Nibandhapārijātamañjarī* (*Ānandāśrama Series*, pp. [illegible]). Moreover, the verses on Śaṅkarānanda quoted in the *Dānakriyākaumudī*, pp. [illegible], though agreeing remarkably with *Agni* [illegible], [illegible], differ from the passage on the same topic quoted in Bühler's *Introduction* (fol. [illegible]). It is, therefore, certain that at least the verses on Śaṅkarānanda, from which Vācaspati and Aniruddha have been [illegible], were taken by Śaṅkarānanda from the present *Agni*. Hence the present *Agni* could not have been later than 1500 A.D. According to Hemādri there is a chapter on Priṣṭī in the *Agni Purāṇa* in the summary of the Śrāddha with a commentary. This commentary is mentioned by Kālīprasāda in the second half of the [illegible] century without mentioning its author. So the *Agni* would seem more considerable than before Hemādri. And Gadādhara's commentary has been known to the author to whom we have given the summary of this short gaṇeśa commentary and not on chosen predecessor of it.[16]

The present *Agni* is originally a work of the Pāñcarātra. It purports to deal with Bhakti which is described with Vāsu (cf. *Agni*, I, 8-12). It is for this reason that Rāma's worshippers are mentioned in the very outset. In other Śaiva chapters also it is Vāsu who is identified with Śaṅkara and whose worship is preached. As examples, the chapters on Tapa and Īśvaraviṭhāna may be referred to. The Purāṇa has sometimes been taken to be a source of the Bhāgavata point.[17] But only a chapter cannot be attributed to the extant Purāṇa in its original form, because the Bhāgavata characteristics are found only in those chapters which, as we have seen, are in all probability later additions.

It is difficult to say when the present *Agni* was first compiled. The view of Hanumānd Shāstrī that it was compiled in Bengal or Bihār is based on evidences contained in those chapters of the *Purāṇa* which appear to be spurious.

16. Śrādha, Dir. of Ben. Mss., AXII, vol. V, Preface, p. ii.
17. J. N. Banerjea, the Dawn of the Religious Enlightenment of India, p. 100.

Besides the related *Agni Purāṇa*, Rao. have been found of another Purāṇa called *Vahni Purāṇa*.[illegible] This *Vahni Purāṇa*, which is quite different from the present *Agni*, contains no mention of the Dhara Rājas or of the interbreeds between *Agni* and *Vahni*. Though it contains an introduction between Dhara and *Sarbanga*,[illegible] there is some evidence, *Vahni* and long *Anukramaṇī* as in the *Agni Purāṇa* known upon by the Purāṇa-writers. Therefore, it is certainly not the earlier *Agni* which was known to these writers, though it seems to have been found on the latter. Whether it is the same as the *Vahni Purāṇa* known upon by the Purāṇa-writers like Devapālādeva, Rāhānādeva, Gopālādeva and Rāhādeva, cannot be asserted until the quoted verses have been found in it. That maintains the *Agni Purāṇa* was confused with the *Vahni Purāṇa* is shown by the reading 'Agni Purāṇa' in one Ms. of Bhāṭṭanātha's commentary on the *Pārāśara-smṛti* for 'Vahni Purāṇa' in other.[illegible] But such very contradictory should not be made the basis of the conclusion that it was the *Agni* which was called *Vahni Purāṇa*.

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the 'Agni Purāṇa' in the 'Smṛtis' i.e.

1. Dhāraṇādevī of Bālāmṛta, i.e. Mṛtyu	Agni Purāṇa	5. [illegible] quoted in the [illegible], Vol. 1, Part I, p. 300	Agni Purāṇa
	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Later of the social status are not found.		[illegible]
		6. [illegible] of [illegible], vi, 195	vii, 196, 19
2. [illegible] of [illegible], IV, 18	[illegible], 3a. The other line 'Agnāhāra [illegible] [illegible]' is not found.	7. [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible], i, 188	[illegible], 9a-d. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] are not found.

[illegible] Vahni Ādha Purāṇam, vol. 1, part VI, pp. [illegible].

[illegible] Ibid., p. [illegible].

[illegible] the [illegible] commentary on the *Pārāśara-smṛti*, vol. 1, part I, p. [illegible].

1. *Hierologia*: Annuals of Antiphonals.	*Lyric Poetics*	9. *Ellipsis* of Antiphons.	*Lyric Poetics*
p. 9	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
p. 9	[illegible]	p. [illegible]	[illegible]
p. 12	[illegible]	p. [illegible]	[illegible]
p. 12	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
p. 13	[illegible]	p. [illegible]	[illegible]
		10. *Declamation* of Rhetoricians.	
p. 14	[illegible]	Vol. II, p. [illegible]	[illegible]
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		The other two 'grands hebdomadis' [illegible]
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		
p. [illegible] (verso)	[illegible] The other quoted line is not found.	p. [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]		
p. [illegible]	[illegible]	11. *Sportulary* Office of Exhibitions.	
p. [illegible]	[illegible]	p. [illegible]	[illegible]
7. *Hodiernal* Annual of Antiphonals.			
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		
8. *Vesperal* Annual of Antiphonals.		12. *Vesperal* Annual of Antiphons.	
p. [illegible]	[illegible]	p. [illegible]	[illegible]
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		
p. [illegible]	[illegible]	13. *Antiphonal* [illegible] of Dies Iraeiadis.	
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		
p. [illegible]	[illegible]	p. [illegible]	[illegible]
p. [illegible]	[illegible]		

The following editions of the Poetics and other Sonnets works have been used in making this edition:

Lyric Poetics.....Original edition, Gotham.

Hierologia Annuals of Antiphonals.....Bibliotheca Sonica, Valentia.

Hierologia of Sacrifices.....Ms No. 17264, Julia Office Library, London.

Rechtsbeschreibungen of Rhetoric Sportulis.....Aurelia-gesellschaft, Moscow.

Sportulariae of Vesperiadis.....Published by Vincent Thornton & Sons, Valentia.

Ellipsis of Antiphons.....Pub. Ind., Valentia.

Encyclopædias of Geography.....Rs. Rs. 4,000; Dacca University Site Library.

Miscellaneous etc. in the Professorate.....Based by V. A. Gangadhar, Madras.

Bengali Poetry.....Tolgarbal edition, Calcutta.

Hindu Poetry.....Pub. by the Participation Press, Bombay.

Bibliography of Sanskrit Literature.....Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Urdu Poetry.....Tolgarbal edition, Calcutta.

Encyclopædia of Geographies.....Pub. by the Sect. of Mysore.

Anthologies of Sanskrit.....Pub. by Bombay Nirnayasagara Press.

Antiquarianism of Sanskrit.....Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Anthologies of Bengal.....Rs. Rs. 100; Dacca University Site Library.

Antiquarianism of Sanskrit.....Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Bibliography of Tamil.....Bibl. Ind., Madras.

Vocabularianism of Sanskrit.....Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Tiger Poetry.....Tolgarbal edition, Calcutta.

Bodhivinodakāvyam

(A specimen of Paryāyakāvya)

The poem published below was found amongst the MSS. collection of Rv. Śrīnivāsācārya T. Ōmaṇa (Śrīnivāsa-Rāghavācārya), who possesses a good collection of Sanskrit MSS. It is written on paper, and though undated, seems to have been copied before already or soon after the poem[1].

The name of the poet is not mentioned anywhere in the MS., but the name of the commentator is given as Śrīdhara in the colophon. The commentator describes the author of the poem as 'Śakti-mahākavi.'

The poem admittedly belongs to the circumstances class of poetry and should not be placed very early. After reading the poem, I am inclined to take it as an example of the paryāyabandha type of kāvya. Paryāyabandhas have been recognized as a distinct type of poetry in the *Dhvanyāloka*. In giving the varieties of poetry, *Ānandavardhana* has given the following kārikā[2]:

Yathā, *dhvajapaṭa prabhṛtiṣu nirviśeṣaṃ jaladharyāvibhāgaḥ kaścidāsīt, vyāhārāṅgatvādvyāpāraṣaṭkasyāpyaviśeṣaḥ paryāyabandhaḥ, parikathā, aparāṅgī, khaṇḍakāvyaṃ, sakalakathā, yugapadbhāvinyaḥ kathāyāstāsu kāsuciddhṛdayāvarjakatvādityevamādayaḥ.*

This is explained by Abhinavagupta thus:

Ānandavardhanena tvayaṃ prakāraḥ [illegible] paryāyabandhaḥ (p. 111).

The exposition of paryāyabandha as given by Abhinava is in conformity with the general conception of the figure paryāyokta as found in the alaṃkāra works. Every verse in the poem under discussion is a clear example of paryāyokta. It should also be pointed out that the poem is not exclusively concerned with having any other subject-matter, which after all is the characteristic of paryāyabandha according to Abhinava. For all these considerations I have called this poem a paryāyakāvya[3].

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1. The name of the copyist is *Śaṃkarācārya*, who was the grandfather of the *Śrīnivāsācārya* whose collection was used by me.

2. This is a paraphrase in modern prose etc. In more precise to this point the reader has used commas in the paraphrase instead, e.g. nirviśeṣa, prakāraṣaṭka etc.

Again (verse 16) in metrical form, the poem is of no great, even excellent short-poem class. In the actual *Bauddha* poetical literature, we find only two types of poems—either the metrical type which is restricted to very verses only or the longer types of *Mahākāvya* or epic-literature. A poem of this type devoted solely to the description of manners and moralizing rules of life (*nīti*) in short poems is not found in large number in Buddhist literature. I, therefore, prefer to look it from as a specimen of the *prajñāpramitiṭīkā* (*Ṭīkā*) which is a doubtful type of poetry.

D. K. Barua

1. It is usual to interpret this *Ṭīkā*-title as a *Ṭīkā*-*Kāvya*, though according to the Commentator *Ṭīkā*-*Kāvya* (usual in the *Ṭīkā*-*Kāvya*), it should be taken as a specimen of the complete type of poetry. (See *Bauddha-Sahitya-Vicāra*, part I, p. 78).

बुद्धिविमोक्षशास्त्रम्

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

६ । कुल कि कुल । [illegible] । कुल कि कुल । [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] । [illegible] । [illegible] । [

[illegible] । [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] ।

[illegible] ॥ ११ ॥

[illegible] ॥ ११ ॥

[illegible] ॥ ११ ॥

Śrī-Harṣa, the King-Poet[1]

II

Introspection and Self-conception in the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* and *Pārijātaharaṇa*

We shall now proceed to take a note of the introversion and the conception of a lover's Conscience and character as reflected in Harṣa's earlier works; and then, what is still more interesting, to see all these closer unfolding complete revelation in Pārijātaharaṇa, his last work.

The relation between the young, as considered by the warrior-poet, proceeds without the kind of scruples, which a poet, with the Hellenistic tradition of self-sacrificing, would usually impose on it. It is admitted on all hands that Harṣa's earlier themes have been modelled on Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* and have much in common with it, yet one finds the Hellenistic Scholars close in respect of the moral outlook. The self-respect does not allow Harṣa to reach the moral level of the Hellenistic poet. In the world of the lover, the relation between the sexes is tempered by self-respect and prudent by passion. That is a fact which Harṣa's moralizing and tone pronounced in the poet's mouth or mind.

The story of love in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* is, on the other hand, the story of a storm of passion, which, as seen in its inner core, wakes up for a moment and sweeps all legal barriers before it, mental or moral, sacrificial.

In Act II of the *Naiṣadha*, the lovers meet first and first for a very short time. Even then the king cannot wait for long either to enjoy the consummation. The king, in his undue haste, takes hold on the princess, when she wants to go away. [illegible]. This is an impulse of the moment, which the lover of Rukmiṇī is shown to resist with much effort. As regards *Pārijātaharaṇa*, it gives a very funny story of the lover's first meeting in the Ghosh-Quadrangle. The princess is circling between, when she is

[1] Continued from THQ., Vol. III, no. 4, p. 300.

attacked by the bears and she is therefore crying for help. In the confusion of the moment what happens is that she never actually sees the face of the king. While the princess thinks that it is her uncle disguised as bear who wants to bite her, and is still holding only at the bear, the king throws it a arrow around her neck—**[illegible]**

In this first drama the second meeting of the lovers takes place in Act III. It is a scene of *Abhisāra*, or Dhanañjaya calls it, where the king is bold enough to let his new love pass in the garden. The bold conception of the hero grows bolder still in the corresponding act of the second drama (*Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa*) where (it what is called *Bālikā-vijaya*) the name changes to the *Pratijñā*. The game *Dhammillaka* is to see a short play performed by her own palace maids. It is the story of her own love and adventure with the king, dramatized by her maidens (*bālikā*). In this *Avayaka* (the heroine) is to play the part of *Vāsavadattā*, and by a secret arrangement with a palace-maid the king himself is to play his part. The fact is kept secret even from *Avayaka*. On entering the stage, he is recognized at once and pointed by the game. But he, however, told by her mother-in-law, the dramatic, that it is Kāmadevā acting the part of the king, and she [illegible] (*[illegible]*) pleased with the skill of the actress. It is curious to add that the king makes the most of his opportunities, and his love-making is carried to such an extent that the queen is about to leave the scene in shame and disgust. The scene at last looks out through the simplicity of the Vidūṣaka to the great discomfiture of the king.

It was to see much to these scenes of Rama for that high citadine which constitutes the glory of old Sanskrit literature. But in the same time it must be noted that the king-poet wins our love and admiration by his endless touches in his account of the palace grandeur and the palace intrigues of the king, and of those 'bold' romances of joy and happiness, which are invested with special charms for their very humility and honesty.[1]

1. As the subject of *Avayaka* (Act IV) the *Avayaka* have been shown only by title, it would not be out of place here to point out how the poet surprises his art in the later drama. He has shown far both the dramatic the romantic

Zeus's conception of Zeus's character and function

In both the dramas, the hero **looks upon himself** as a child or inferior of the type of Wagoner or Oxtender. The latter, to use the words of the poet, "A kindly providence brings together all which he

or Kingship, which was at one time as popular a figure in Greek as Chaos or Zeus and Eyre in Tyrion and Bella Zeus in the Wish. It is referred to by Aristotle in the one surviving fragment of the Sthenoboiaba and by Rosa Zeus's in a work bearing the title **[illegible]** or **[illegible]**. The story is a very old one, referred to even by Euripides in Book (2), Plutarch on Physics, [illegible], and Pausanias on the V. in P. [illegible]. The Kingship has its theme with the same philosophicality it is known for. Kingship must have felt the necessity of recording the first history, and the recording ends up the upshot.

Dorkwell, which appears to be Rosa's first attempt at dramatization, conforms to the Aristotle conclusion on density, in size, substituting the mentioned gardens and hearth of Hungry. The poet, which is a whole, appears quite dull. The second Hungry, on the other hand, appears somewhat dull, the opening of the *play* being Mahabharata transplant to Greece. Rosa is an Aristotle of the poet's own **and [illegible]** and which has a [illegible].

In Dorkwell the place of the first reading of the Lettre scenario quite as recent poems, having [illegible] the affinity and the hatred of the corresponding scene of Phaedrokleia. The poetical production of Lay Dorkwell not is quite to criticism in the view. Nevertheless, again the inexplicability is not 8.8 of Prize-Lovell) shows a great inconsistency on the name of Ellenore in the corresponding act of Dorkwell. So far as our knowledge goes, Aetos in Phaedrokleia is was the first time introduced on the Aristotle stage. An indication of it is found in the last line of Ellenoreiaxenia. It is, therefore, clear that while Ellenore is quite a fashionable name, the 'Kardiaschola' or pine cones play another a much little importance in Lovell's dramatic art.

The difference between the two Dramas is so far striking as regards Psychographics. In Aristotle's plays, which are all Hegel-erotic representations, the story is developed in the joy and sadness, happiness and misery, order and disorder. There is always a happy end, contributed to by various factors, which are conflicting clouds, with a mode of purpose which is revealed at long last. The effect of all this is intended to be either or contradictory, according to the rule. "**[illegible]**

[illegible]

In Dorkwell, this force or attitude has to be created by introducing the magic means. It may be pointed out here that in another Aristo-erotic Hegel-Dramas, [illegible] to be introduced to facilitate notice of the Dramas. Another remarkable instance of this is seen only in the story of Bajrathkumar of Naqqiha's Bahkhrishtrakathas. In Phaedrokleia, an such indicated figures or Magicks is inserted to be belonging to the Aristotle. The effect of arriving events serves the purpose objectively well.

[illegible] quickly, from another [illegible] or from [illegible] or even from the very end of [illegible]? He is introduced as such and remains practically unchanged to the last. His great [illegible], brilliant horsemanship, is useless though it is indispensable to a conquered general and to get the land is [illegible] with blood and cold [illegible]. He is a [illegible] who [illegible] to run with all the [illegible], "with [illegible] hands being [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible]," "Blood [illegible] down to [illegible]" and "the [illegible] [illegible] from the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]" (*Fables*). There is no parallel in Indian literature for the bold [illegible] conception (in [illegible] [illegible]), in the story of [illegible] [illegible] Ruhiqan. The king of that [illegible] country, as soon as he [illegible] a [illegible] for [illegible], finds [illegible] [illegible] by Fate's [illegible], and the whole country round the place is completely devastated, with the result that his [illegible] are [illegible] to death and the king himself is at last killed (*Fables*). This is the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

In short, we [illegible] in his [illegible] [illegible] young Rumi's [illegible]. It is the picture of a youth, [illegible] with the joy of an [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] by faith in his [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] by a [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] [illegible] in love, adventure and military [illegible].

A friendship, [illegible] by other critics as [illegible], refers to Tilemsan in the Rumi [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]—Rhodes [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Vāgānandin shows a change

Vāgānandin strikes a very different note. It has been translated by Lüders as a drama with an alluring Buddhist legend. "King Śīlādityа," says he, "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana (Jīmūtavāhana), who offered himself in place of a Nāga."[1] The last title runs "not to mends and performed by a band of wandering accompanied by dancing and acting, and also popularized it in the time." This drama was evidently based on the Vīṇāvāsavadattā, which, we learn from the Pālāma-mata, compiled under his poet's own supervision.

The teachings of this drama are a love and fear to sacrifice oneself for others in the man's without mention. The poet has then chosen for his drama a serious theme, that of Śīlādityа Bhava, though considering with it, in the first act, the poet and self mentioned of Śīlādityа. Bhava is the name in a typical [illegible] which is defined by him as "[illegible] [illegible]." "The [illegible] [illegible]." It is also a significant fact that the young prince in his drama the two different stories of his name [illegible]. It is quite clear, therefore, that the [illegible] [illegible] and that the [illegible] were [illegible].

Further, as I have pointed out [illegible] that was [illegible] influenced by the [illegible] [illegible]. Why should he give to only Bhava the two different stories of the same king? The [illegible] of the fact is that the different [illegible] in which they [illegible] were [illegible]. Apparently the [illegible] were the kings contemporary [illegible] in Malwa and Mithilā. The [illegible] parallels to the [illegible] of the plays, as pointed out above, [illegible] to [illegible] to [illegible].

Another interesting fact. In the [illegible] is that Bhava [illegible] [illegible] (in [illegible] 1 and 2) of Act 1 and Vāgānandin speak in the same [illegible] of Prajāpatī, as well as in Ratnāvalī, Act IV, in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] the [illegible] of Bhava's [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the poet was bound to the difficult task of combining two distinct poetic lines into harmonious whole.

Kaya's mature conception of love

The first part of the drama contains the *Lovemony of Shilimukha Vaishnavilasa*, and is in *mélange* with many gay and comic scenes in the same way as we find in *Vikram Urvasi* (*Vikramorvasi* and *Pushpadatta*). On there, however, is shown decidedly a great improvement from the viewpoint of both art and morality.

The scene of the first meeting of the lovers is laid in the holy atmosphere of Gauri's temple amidst the lilly scenery of the south, "indeed up by the roaring wind and waves of the sea." Those glorious Bhagavatas is found at prayer, when Prince Chakravarkya appears before her (as the result of a "vision") to her from her palace. He is the very man shown in her last night in a happy dream, and is "enthroned in her heart." The prince has already been introduced to us as a moral hero, who shows, as a matter of principle, the pleasures of the senses, and has left a rich and rich kingdom to pursue of asceticism. He proves, however, not altogether insensible to the soft pleasures of love. Here, as pointed out by Prof. Bhaka, the tale which the king-poet was literally to, is similar the tale a very nearly, true to the soft pleasures of love through enchanted stages. The first lesson on love he happens to learn amidst the lovely lill-scenery on the Raichur coast in soul-stirring song of Gir ma. The grandeur of the night and the moral forces that with vagrant and moral passions and foreign situations—the best fruit of the incomprehensible and the most fascinating. Just at this moment he hears the low and sweet music of a woman at prayer. She is singing to the accompaniment of a lute. The hero, who is an expert on the science of music, pronounces the performance of the woman to be perfect by referring to the technicalities of the science of music. This music of the girl leaves a deep impression on his mind. But as he all his interest in the girl is simply sentimental. The next step is that of wonder when he is face to face with the charms of the girl which, in Bhaka, "would fully reveal Indra's thousand eyes and which, if they are in the nether-world, turn the gloom of the hell into perpetual moonlight."

Dost neither the horror of the earlier dream, he only felt an unclear want to get lost. Even when he is a mere lad, he is made to feel what has truth in life, he is enchanted, but not excited. He does simply claim the name of their meeting, so he doesn't. There he calmly confides on her beauty and excellent his meditation to yielding. The lovelies, who happens to be there, overhears his conversation with his friend about the lady of his dream, resembled herself behind a bush. But from what she can hear, she misinterprets the whole conversation.

The second meeting of the lovers takes place when the lady is in the grasp of death. She is going to hang herself in despair, due, of course, to their misunderstanding. What seemed at first to be a tragedy, turns out at last to be a free comedy of errors. It ends in their happy marriage. There ends the second date.

So far in the foreseeing, there is nothing important or out of harmony with the lofty sentiment which is characteristic of the Dostoyevsky to sentimental philosophers. Even the tangle of love has been untied in the usual manner, by chance (Dostoyevsky's friend). The scenes of the flight, by night, are all marked on him, he being made quite insensible to more by her strong hanging of him, for a stroke of her glance, the world totally lost sight of, and he feels himself now in a world "lit up by the bright and pure beams of her eyes."[1]

Act III varies, however, a different note. The marriage is over, and it is followed by a scene of reality among the citizens in the park. We have here, first, a good comic interlude, when which we see the loving couple walking along them, attended by their relatives. It is evidently amusing to Dostoyevsky's Romantics, that the aforementioned scenes are held here in the city-park and the witty speeches of the lame are blurred with many fine touches to brighten the bride's confusion. The poetic eye believes rather strongly under the lens of the mental world.

The lame has thus entirely changed and has lifted away for from his usual quiet and tranquil mood (there), on every, it seems, to the cause of Hamlet,[2] to defend which did Dostoyevsky and others

[1] Vide Dostoyevsky, IV, 31 with Dostoyevsky commentary, which states that the mentioned quotation is Dostoyevsky's quotation and hence that

[illegible] [illegible]. The poet has also his own explanation to which I shall come later on.

In this first part of the story, the scene of bewitching is yet so real to strike strongly by the contrast of Blitheness who comes with the given scene of Bishop's invasion of the lover's kingdom. His speech is quite worthy of Lily, in a good form.

Elmer's changed conception of heroism

The speech from the general, though heroic, breathes richness and dwells the prince. I've a vast model of a hero, he looks up to heaven and intimate the line, "Love is the all and above both as the world's one object of adoration." In the new light of God, he sees the life as noble as a 'tragedy.' The 'tragedy,' he thinks, follows from "The enthusiasm of the world's youth in the King's boundless treasure-house under the roof of the King Himself!" Perhaps Harm was the first man to fall out, in spite, yesterday to his feelings that this world, has enough 'resources' to fuel all his gigantism and that there should not be grievance and suffering in this world if its resources had not been misappropriated by greed. In defiance of his heart he hears the voice of God within, telling him "Up! break the seal from his treasure and throw it open to all, and "He should hasten the end of absolute, rendering all quarrels with the gifts." Harm is thus recorded as consulting in something God's all belonging his own life, he from taking the life or property of any man.

It is the sentiment ending from having engagement which demands sacrifice of life. With the Bhagavadgita, Tilakji III and Mahatmaji's interpretation on the same, the point that Bhola is the dominant sentiment here. Their belief of Karma is that the Birds and Knights are responsible to each other when working independently and actively. I **Recall Mahatmaji**. Are here in Gujarat. Don't see other sentiments, difficult in the first instance and This is the secret, avoiding the condition Does not be the Man, and which are compared to both Birds and Knights.

5. The last stanza of Act IX, as interpreted by Bhattacharya, has deep sentimental significance in the Vaishnavite Bhakti theory. "Wind sighing you sent it that without being aware of the terrestrial implications, he could have deep inner-lovers the chorus.

Dilemma.

The sentiments expressed here are quite worthy of Bilhana as the only Dilemma in the history of India who really kept his humanity open to his mental activity; and it is a striking fact that the lyric of his own creation' too, as his only historical parallel, Kanya Kubja and has become known as the only literary model of Dilemma, in all our ancient and medieval works on poetics. Those words noted, with great admiration, Horne's most beautiful expression of the supreme pleasure of self-sacrifice, by which lovers is critical of its variety. The dying prayer of the lover is that he may possess a body fit to be sacrificed for others in a repeated series of birth, which he wishes never to pass an end to. This clearly epitomizes the teachings of Mahâyâna, which enjoyes Bhâgya as not worth having, when the suffering world needs such services. An Indian has really remarked, by his choice the lines 'प्रपद्यन्तां' the noble Shanti of Buddhism, or in fact, of old India, specializing on the Jataka Tale, which is, after all, a mission.

1. A quite agreeable the first that solved the question of Harsa's theme, there is the Buddhist legend. At the same time I think that the name Buddhist legend changed Harsa's life, as might be the character of his drama.

On comparing the original legend with the play of Harsa, it is also apparent that he has not slavishly copied the original (vide Bunkim's Bibliotheca, Chapter VII). The story has not only been changed to suit the drama, but modified for him. I give here some of the important points of difference.

There are only a few things in the original concerning the brother of the hero, which have been expanded by Harsa into full three acts. The number of Act III is entirely his own. There is no Sibbaja in the drama in place of the whole lot of the wholesome lessons of the hero in the original. Nothing about the lessons of the hero's mother which is the incident that leads to the awakening of the love of Harsa to his love will is to be found in the original. Another marked difference between the two is the character of Ratnâ, who is without hesitation, in the interest of worldness and love for all, which is the point emphasized in Harsa's drama. The conscience follows the sacrifices of the hero while on the point of death, and it is a virtue in the self-denying Buddhist sense. It is interesting also to note in this connection the fact that the self-sacrifice of the hero and the high moral sentiments of Bodhisattva are the only two points emphasized in the original. The fact is quite clear from the question which is put at the end of the story.

यदि वा प्रयतन्ते किं नोपकारायैव ।

The speculative mind of India of the 6th century realised the truth that to fulfil the mission of life is to offer it as a sacrifice to "Him who hath manifested Himself for the creation."[1] This is in the very sacred Vedic of the dramas. The hero of Vajrasenaka, in his opening the 'Thoughtless-mind', makes: "What I experience now was signified unto by the pleasure I experienced on the lap of my mother in my childhood, nor by what I felt in the dwelling-mansion of the World-worked' (Bhagavati) in my youth.

In this indication of the hero, Vidula, is the poet's own explanation in regard to what means to be the Sacrifice. The explanation clearly is that the hero is being led from one kind of pleasure to another which is higher and nobler; from the pleasure of the senses to one in that of sacrificing the sensuous pleasures and even life. Rama is, therefore, not hedonistic, but, on the contrary, humanitarian. Therefore, too, it is beautiful to have quoted a verse in the same effect by vivekananda of the Sacrifice theory of the drama. The verse runs thus:—

[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]

In other words, the first part of the drama in which the hero is shown immersed in the pleasures of life, which makes, indeed, the life-worth living, claims a splendid background to the main picture of the hero, so he is sacrificing his life to save the life of a single Bird.

The latter part of the drama, an expression of Harsa's fullest religious sentiment

The latter part of the drama embodies the high religious sentiment which characterised Harsa's later life. By religion, he does understand clearly "[illegible]" by his own historic character—

[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] (Nellimoola inscription)

The same line has been even better expressed by Rama, adding to its excellency, the abhorrence of war in the following lines of *Nagananda*:

[illegible],—

> [illegible] :
> [illegible] :

It may be added in this connection that though professing a religion of delicacy, he continued the bloody warfare till at least 643 A.D., the year of his expedition to Kalinga.[1] It may be safely surmised that the idea, suggested in the form quoted above from *Ratnavali*, dawned upon him after his Kalinga war, because that, as has already been pointed out, was his last recorded campaign. Blest Bliss, Kalinga was the end of Harsha's war, as it did in the case of Asoka.

Evidently the question on him following the great war was that the violent conqueror of kings and wreckers became pledged to non-violence and left checked to an immense kingdom neighboured by the great of more powerful sway. Yet the Chinese travellers tells us[2] Harsha's love and sympathy "did not all, shall for those more virtuous of the savage tribes in turn." This is exactly the plot underlying the story of the latter part of the play.

Kanaka in the Charkaka of the play representing first savage tribes. The crucially and heavily [illegible] with Harsha's well-known [illegible]. It is the same [illegible] of this world. The story runs :—

The king is on the movement and is looking at the sun, [illegible] with [illegible] the first indication of which is a terrible sound, which has made "the mountain-caverns resounding." He is strolling along the mountain and contemplating the force of the blind

1 The conception of the late origin of the drama is strengthened by the fact that the name has not been mentioned in the memoirs of Hiuen Tsang, who left India in 643 A.D. Had it been written and staged before his left, he would not fail to mention that which produced a great impression on the Buddhist world, and which has been mentioned as early as Hiuen Tsang who visited India after the Emperor's death.

2 He adds, "The mountain-tribes the daughter of one Indra Bhiva to the son of Dhak through the two Indras' under pain of death." Bhiva also refers to the fact in his very peculiar way thus: "Were all the barbarous nations and their tribes conquerors to Harsha's kingdom" (Parbhavibha, 35).

Gorsja. And at first, time for happiness to me what for at first taken for a mere mountain, but when there and to be a mountain of bones of the Nāgas, whom, he knew, their king sacrificed to please Garuḍa and to buy his own safety. The heart of the Bodhisattva contains a rude shock at this sight, and he loses at that moment the clarion call of very within himself.

To one is such an atmosphere and in such a contemplative mood, Garuḍa, as I have said above, appears not at all legendary, but real with far greater reality and intensity than any legend can invest him with. A beautiful morality on the one-sided is changed by Garuḍa into "one vast terrible involves with the darkening swamps of religious flying over it, and blind and unseen flying thereto on one vast stream." In fact, the close description of Nāgas of the mountaintop, changed into a real calamity, reads like a real account of the after-effects of one of Garuḍa's devastating wars, such as that in Kalinga, which really halted the Asokan imperialism into one vast morality.

To some back to the story of the drama—which the hero in response to the call of duty to ready to sally at Lord and Nāgas at the sacrifice of his life, the dividing changes in the heart-rending scene of leave-taking between Bodhisattva, Mandala's wife of the day, and his mother. Suddenly we, the audience, appear the hero who offers himself to the place of Nāga as food for Garuḍa. The offer is heroic, thoroughly dedicated. At last, the hero escapes to substitute himself in the place of the victim of the day, though it is without the latter's knowledge. There then comes Garuḍa by whom he is at once borne away on the top of the mountain and is being devoured greedily. But as he is eating the hero's flesh, he is struck by his calm resignation and gleeful contentment, and stops to wonder about the identity of his victim. Just at this moment there comes Bodhisattva in search of the hero, followed by the weeping parents and wife of the prince. The entire scene from Garuḍa, who is asked with great reverence to leave that to be Bodhisattva (Gautamabuddha). Even the savage nature of Garuḍa is now horribly shocked by the sight of the mangled body of the hero. He tries to, when the hero is exhorting him to give up his heredity and to be good and loving to all. In this way, the Garuḍa, a great

company of kings and countries is too nearly like, most varies (as thought) to the company of the savage nations.

"Every [illegible] [illegible] talking Gin," said the hero to Barrels. "Slippery for the poor man. Or to [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible], [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

MISCELLANY

Meaning of 'Sangi' in the Upanishads

The purpose of this paper is to show that the term "Sangi" in the *Purāṇas* of the *Brahmanas* (II. 1) refers to neither the *Bhagavad Gita* nor the *Arjuniyas*.

It is generally inferred that the *Sāṅkhya* arguments found upon the Gītā are referred in this *gāthā*, but I do not think it is so, what I contend is that the author of the Sūtras gives here his own interpretation of the *Bhagavad Gita*.

Some of the reasons that have led me to the above conclusion are as follows:—

(1) We have no *pūrvāhāra* authority to interpret *Sangi* as *Sāṅkhya*.

(2) The *Vārttika* uses the term *Sangi* at its desired forms for about twenty times (I. 10,13,20; 1. 4,8,10,20; II. 1-1; 8-46,47; III. 1,3,13,20; IV. 3-11; III. 4,10,17,18; IV. 1,12,14; IV. 3,12; IV. 4-11). In all these places *sangi* uses (E.S.B) finding understands the term as referring to the *Gita*, for *Bādarāyaṇa* or any other similar work but never to the *Sāṅkhya*. And even in I. 3.19 [9 9 **[illegible]**] the term *sangi* really means, the lower **[illegible]** of the *Gita* (Ch. Ch., VIII. 10-20). Thus, on the evidence of the Bhāṣya Commentary the term *sāṅkhya* really a word like the *Gita* or the *Bādarāyaṇa*.

(3) If we look to what immediately precedes the *Purāṇas* we find that the *Vārttika* (*Sūtra*) the product of the *Gita* with *Dhāraṇa* [*sāṅkhya* **[illegible]**] (Bh. Sū. I. 1. 10-11). The *Gita* always takes the product as Different from Ordinary, e.g., Ch. 10, VII. 1 takes product as Lower than *Brahman*, pure product which is *sāṅkhya* or *Nirāmaya*, Ch. 10, VIII. 10 says that *sāṅkhya* or pure *upādāna* is higher than the lower *upādāna* which is the product. According to the Bhāṣya, Brahman is the object of meditation and also the product. (This is the sense of *sa* in Ch. Ch. I. 1.22).

(4) The above context shows that Br. Ch. II. 1.1 makes and

answer the objection of the followers of the Gītā (Yoga) to the identification of Brahman with prakṛti. The Bhāṣyakāra says that if he would follow (in Gītā Yoga), he would be blamed (so as) following the other (Yogas) (i.e. the other problems of the Kāṭhakāṣṭaka or the Parokṣa), and that for that reason he would not follow any Yoga at all.

(4) The fact that the Bhāṣyakāra has not followed the Gītā Yoga does not mean that he rejects it. The Bhāṣyakāra only explains the Gītā in his own way (i.e. in such a way that the Gītā does not go against the view of the other great Upaniṣads). He does not reject the prakṛti of the Gītā, but he says that this prakṛti is to be understood as identical with Brahman. The Bhāṣyakāra does not accept Sankhya and counts as pradhāna those the prakṛti and Puruṣa as different from the individual soul (Bh. Iv. II. 3.18). Similarly he does not accept some other doctrines of the Yoga (Bh. Aii. II. 1.4), but instead of rejecting them he preserves it (भक्तिमात्रेण) in his own way (Bh. Iv. II. 1.32 where Sankara's reading [illegible] seems to be correct. Instead of saying [illegible] "YOGA," he says [illegible] "explained" with reference to [illegible] aspects of the Yoga). And this also shows that 'yoga' here does not have Sankhya.

(5) If the word 'Yoga' actually Sankhya with the Brahmāṣṭra, it would as well have included (i.e. meaning the Yoga), and consequently the sūtra II. 1.1 would have sufficed for the refutation of both Sankhya and Yoga under the single term 'smṛti'. But the Brahmāṣṭra has given a separate sūtra (II. 1.2) for the refutation (not interpretation) of the Yoga view (as prakṛti). There is greater similarity between the Gītā and the Yoga than between the Sankhya and the Yoga. Both the Gītā and the Yoga accept prakṛti (the Matter) as different from the Lord as Power, and so by the Bhāṣyakāra's interpretation of the prakṛti of the Gītā the theory of prakṛti of the Yoga is also refuted.

(6) The fact that Sūtra 4 of this pāda (II. iii. II. 1) states that the followers of the Yoga whose views are referred to in this pāda (II.1) have the doctrine of adhyāpana as the Word (and not as Reflection, [illegible]), also proves that it is the Gītā or a similar text being the view entirely as the Upaniṣads, that is the topic of consideration in the Anyāyāṣṭāka.

(8) Śaṅkara's introduction to Sūtra 1 [illegible] and [illegible] clearly shows that having taken the term 'vastu' in Br. Sū. II. 1.1 to mean Skandha, he (Śaṅkara) was forced to give up even the vital distinction between the two poles of Br. Sū. II, which is expressed in their traditional Sūtra-cha, anuvādyāṅśa and anuvādyāṅśa. Such is not the case if we understand the anuvādyāṅśa as an exposition of Sayin like the Skandha and the anuvādyāṅśa as a rejection of the Skandhas and other pratītyaṅśa schools of India.

(9) In Sūtra II. 1.11 the Sūtrakāra does not object to anyādṛśyatva 'an inference by a different way', but simply says that even then there will be the contingency of an Āśraya (vastu) or anāśraya (nirāśraya) Smṛtis relaxes or Dhārāṇā (ness) the world can be led only through the knowledge that the world is directly produced from Brahman (cf. adhyāt in Br. Sū. I. 4.23 [illegible]) according to my interpretation to be connected with Br. Sū. II. 1.1. This reminder in the form of admitting the possibility of a 'different' inferencing on the part of the Sūtrakāra can be explained only if we take 'vastu' in refer to the Śāstra or a similar word, which would have the Śāstrakāra an inference authorised by the Śruti only.

(10) The sa in Br. Sū. II. 1 [illegible] sayin is to be explained as follows:—All the arguments which the Sūtrakāra has advanced against the organisation of pradhāna from Brahman taught by the Śruti are also applicable to the Skandhas. Commonly as the latter separates the Skandha from the Sayin and moreover the [illegible] is an additional argument against the Skandhas view. According to the Śruti the pradhāna or the material Karana is an effect of ākāśa, the conscious Karana and both Jīva Śaktis were controlled by the Lord or pranya in the act of sending the creation, as the nonengaged days did not arise in the Śāstra taught by the Śruti Sayin. But such was not the case with the Skandhas; and the Sūtrakāra mentions this deep in Br. Sū. II. 1. 1.

For these reasons and for others which I shall deal in another paper, I am of opinion that Brahmasūtra II. 1 refers to the Śruti and other similar works to be classified as Sayin and that it contains not a refutation of the views in these books, but only an interpretation

may would bring his *Śikṣā* into harmony with the other great *Upaniṣads* which are for the Śikṣākāra the sole authority for his doctrine.

What has been said above with regard to the Śikṣākāra's attitude towards the *prakṛti* or the lower Nature of the Self will appear as unusual if we restrict his attitude towards the Śikṣākāra made in the *Śāstra* between *ātmā* and *paramātmā*. The Śikṣākāra does not accept the twofold statements viz., from about the impersonal and the personal aspects of the Supreme Self, as referring to schematically 'Distinction of different states' in the Supreme Self **a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]** (Śā. Sū. III. 3.11) for this interpretation of this Sūtra see its explanation given by a predecessor of Śaṅkara and quoted by the latter in his Bhāṣya on Śā. Sū. III. 3.11, viz., **[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]** (Śāṅkara). The Śikṣākāra also subscribes a view that the Supreme Self is higher than the Paramātmā which is Brahman (**[illegible]**—Śā. Sū. III. 3.16). I have shown in my Book that both these views (Śā. Sū. III. 3.11 and III. 3.16) are identical with or similar to those of the Śikṣā. In the same way I have also shown by [illegible] Śā. Sū. III. 3 that the Śikṣākāra accepts *ātmā* and *paramātmā* not (Beyond) Śaṅkara of the Supreme Self but he does not take *ātmā* to be lower than *paramātmā*. In sum, both *ātmā* and *paramātmā* are and to be all-pervading (**[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]**—Śā. Sū. III. 3.3 and **[illegible] [illegible]**—Śā. Sū. III. 3.3; *[illegible]*). *A Propos* Chapter where I have offered an explanation of Śā. Sū. III. 3.11-17 and III. 3.16-18. The conclusions arrived at by me in my will, I hope, further support the interpretation that I have proposed for the same sūtra in the Footnote of Śā. Sū. III. 3.

(1) That the Śikṣākāra did not mean "Śāṇḍilya" by the term "Sneh" in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Śā. Sū. II. 1) is proved also by a comparison of some of the Sūtras of Śā. Sū. IV. 1 with those of Śā. Sū. II. 2.

Thus, Sūtra II. 1.1 should be compared with Sūtra II. 2.1 **[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]** and **[illegible] [illegible]** respectively. The topic of both these Sūtras is the question of allowing the opponent to assert to unpublished "at

inference in a different way." In Sūtra II. 1. 11 the argument or inference proposed to be drawn by the opponent is one which is consistent with the Word (cf. Sūtra II. 1.6), while in the case of Sūtra II. 2.3 we learn from the context that the inference proposed is an independent one. The reply in Sūtra II. 2.11 shows that the Pūrvapakṣin does not accept the possibility of finding evil an inference which would suit both the Smṛti and the Śruti (i.e. Śruti), but his objection is that "even then, there will be the contingency of 'involution' (with the bridge-construction, as Rāmānuja explains in his alternative interpretation). In Sūtra II. 2.9 the Pūrvapakṣin says that the inference would fall because "of the absence of the power of knowing" in the Nature of the Insentient Pradhāna, and thus he rejects the possibility of an involution in a different way. Thus the Pūrvapakṣin is not willing to make the same concession for the Sāṅkhya, as he has made in the case of the Smṛti. This difference of attitude based upon different grounds shows that the opponent in Sūtra II. 1.11 is a follower of a Smṛti like the Yoga Smṛti which, through accepting the sentiments of the Upaniṣads, (Śāṅkara Bhāṣya,) is working out the details of the system and that the pūrvapakṣin in Sūtra II. 2.9 is a follower of the Sāṅkhya system which is irreconcilable (Dr. Gh. 2. 6.1) and contrary (Dr. Ni. 2. 1.3). All one is not quite sure of a similar interpretation of these Sūtras (Dr. Gh. II. 1.11 and II. 2.3), one of the two Sūtras because a mere repetition of the other as is shown by the interpretation offered by the Jainas.

As is the case of the Sūtras discussed above, the Sūtra II. 1.28 (the 'Sarvāṅga' with variants) and Sūtra II. 2.17 **nirāyatanatvādhikaraṇa** show a substantial name found in the Sūtra literature. The explanation of these two Sūtras is the same according to the commentators. Though Śaṅkara does not notice this fact in his commentary to Sūtra II. 2.17, he tells us in his Bhāṣya on Sūtra II. 2.11 that the Sūtra II. 1.11 is a 'kind' statement of which Sūtras II. 2.14-17 give a detailed description. This is hardly a satisfactory explanation. Moreover, these Sūtras seem to have different meanings. In Sūtra II. 1.11 the intending non-accepted tenets of the Śruti Life (the Ātmā) are explained by stories by the Pūrvapakṣin, while in Sūtra II. 2.17 the Śruti of creation of the Vyāpa-Tattvas

is stated to denote [illegible] because no "good personal" [illegible] recognised. 3.

Thus, a comparison of Śūtra II. 1.11 with Śūtra II. 4.8 and that of Śūtra II. 1.10 with Śūtra II. 2.17 shows that in Pr. Sū. II. 1 an explanation of words like the Vṛtti is offered from the Bhāṣyakāra's own standpoint, while in Pr. Sū. II. 2 a refutation of the hostile schools like the Sāṃkhya, and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is given.

P. K. [illegible]

The Exact Date of Harivṛṭṭa and its Author

Prof. A. B. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* remarks on p. 128 :—"Apparently about 1000 Lokācārya wrote his Harivṛṭṭa."

On page 164 of the same book he says : "Later works are numerous and expansive; especially important are ——Lokācārya's Tattva-jñāna (1154 *circa*)."

These two statements of Prof. Keith naturally lead us to inquire (1) about the exact date of *Harivṛṭṭa* and (2) about the identity of the two Lokācāryas, the *author of Harivṛṭṭa* and the other as the *author of Tattvajñāna*.

The date of *Harivṛṭṭa* and its author can be independently found out with the help of the manuscript-material. There are two Mss. of *Harivṛṭṭa* in the Govt. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, which contain a verse having a chronogram. The verse is as follows :—

> [illegible]
> [illegible] ॥

In the above verse the words [illegible] (1) [illegible] (4) [illegible] (1) mean 1000. This figure 1000 is also given after the chronogram in Mss. No. 191 of 1886-92. The word [illegible] in the last line of the verse definitely shows that the work was composed in that year. Therefore,

1 Nos. [illegible] of 1879-80 and [illegible] of 1884-87. Mss. No. [illegible] of 1879-80 bears the date of the copy only, which is given as Saṃvat 1870 or Śaka 1734.

[illegible], was composed in Saka 1540 i.e., A.D. 1618, a date which is in [illegible] with the date 1550 given by Prof. Rath.

A [illegible] another second work is our Lalitalahari, out of which *Harivallabha* and *Vaidyajivana* are the two. The first, that is another name for the work in the same Lalitalahari, cannot be ignored. Again, in the printed edition of *Harivallabha*[1] the editor has given in the introduction a legend about Lalitalahari which was published by Pandit Rachanapana Sharma in *the Pandit*, vol. II, no. 10. There is a stanza :—

"[illegible]"[2]

From the passage quoted above and also from the reference given by Jadunath it appears probable that Lalitalahari, the author of *Harivallabha* and Lalitalahari, the author of *Vaidyajivana* were identical.

The date of *Harivallabha* viz., A.D. 1618 harmonises to a certain extent with the date 1701 century recorded by Prof. Rath to Lalitalahari, the author of *Vaidyajivana*, and if so, to the author of the two works mentioned above, he must have lived between A.D. 1600 and 1650.

H. M. Parikh

1 Gandhiya Gaikwadiya, 1, 1916.
2 *Pandit*, II, pp. 9-12.

A. Devotional Drama in Sanskrit

The majority of the Sanskrit dramas possess for Indian audiences the beautiful, and ever-delighting spectacle of our national region which are especially the perennial source of interest and inspiration to the people of this whole land. Still it is not a rare phenomenon to come across a drama in Sanskrit which treats of an abstract topic of absorbing interest. Bhakti which plays such an important role in the history of Indian religion has been recognised on all hands to be a worthy subject for dramatic representation, but such devotional dramas are hard to come by. A study of these dramas will show how Bhakti is regarded the best method for attaining the final bliss even by those who are by their philosophical studies inclined to a different personal and way of thinking.

The Author

The author of this drama, Śrīdāma Gōpāla Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭacārya, has no other pretension but to be a great devotee who has the highest recognition of being the Personal service of Bhagavān and Bhagavadbhaktas in the 19th century. As an author of great intellectual consciousness, he is the whole Bhāgavata Jana and the true Bhāgavatōttama Uttamaśrī, he is considered by all to be the most eminent representative of his time. His life and age are well known, and hence we shall mention only a few important facts required for properly understanding the originality of a drama dealing with the Bhakti of Rāma in the hands of a writer whose interests lay in a different line of study. He was the great-grandson of Śrīnātha who is, as attested by Rāmadāsa Upādhyāya in his Bhavanirṇaya, many other but the great Bhakta great-grandson of Śrīnātha who is, as attested by Rāmadāsa upādhyāyaka, one of the most important and popular manuals on the Bhāgavata philosophy. This genealogy sufficiently explains the interest of our author in the treatment of the Bhakti function. As he has studied from one who popularised and propagated by his life, teachings

1 ब्रह्मेन्द्रशिवसौभाग्यसिद्धिः ।
श्रीमद्भागवतस्यार्थसिद्धिः शुभा । श्रीगोपालतापनी, v. 18

and literary works the doctrine of Śiṣya Bhakti throughout the length and breadth of the wide Hinduism, it is but natural to suppose that he was a devotee of Śiṣya in his very own, a firm believer in the infallibility of the doctrine of the Revered Guru as the only way-path for the realisation of the highest divinity, although his studies were given to the different branches of Vedānta and Tantraśāstra.

Place of Composition

The place of composition of this hymn can be well right hand, though there is no internal evidence to show the actual date on which it was written. The great Vīrāgapādha Dhanyāśrīra who died about 1720 V.E. (1-600 A.D.) refers to and criticises the comments of our author in his Bhāṣāpāṭhāmṛtāra. On the other hand, Śrīdhara, the younger brother of this Gurudeva, quoted by his chronicleyogin, the well-known Vīrāgapādha written in 1811-12 A.D.[1] Hence it is but natural to conclude that Anandāśrīra flourished about the middle of the 17th century[2], and that is the probable age in which this hymn was composed.

Its Inner Composition

Anandāśrīra was a unique pioneer of his age. His forte was Bhakṭāṣṭa and Tantraśāstra in which he devoted all his energies and attention and in which he is claimed as a unique authority of supreme importance. His main contribution to the history of Bhakṭāṣṭa is his voluminous commentary called Bhāṣāpāṭhāmṛta on Bhāṣāvāṭṭāpāṭhāmṛta of his Guru. This important work which has fostered upon him a place of honour among the galaxy of Bhakṭāṣṭa writers in Sanskrit is his equally far-famed Śrīpādhāmṛtāra which, dealing as it does with several fundamental topics of Śrīpādhāmṛta, runs into several volumes of print.[3] But besides

1. Some says that he flourished in the third quarter of the 17th and 18th. See Bhāṣāpāṭhāmṛta, p. 100. But the collection of his works by Bhāṣāpāṭhāmṛta who himself belonged to the third quarter of that century makes it probable that he must have flourished a bit earlier. Hence the middle of the 17th century appears to be the latest time in which he should be adopted.

2. For some details about these Śrīpādhāmṛta works, vide Bhāṣāpāṭhāmṛta, pp. 89-100.

(an author already referred to in) the present drama, for she wrote a commentary upon *Bhagavatācārya-kaumudī* of Lakṣmīdhara[1] which explains in a truly Bhāskarī style the utility of reciting the name of Bhagavān as leading to the achievement of the highest aim of human life upon this earth. A Śrīvaiṣṇava Bhāskarīyā (Śrīpāda Śaṅkarācārya is, he does not hesitate in his commentary to criticising severely the fundamental doctrine of Bhāskara and, in supporting with only the same theme of Bhakti as subject which he dramatizes with great power in the drama we are writing.

The Present Drama

As mentioned by the author in his adaptation[2] the *Rāyabhārī*, particular to a village, the former type of Bhāskara (separate representations. But a careful study of the life of the work in the present author's possession reveals the latter's fate than it has, though obviously styled a drama, no divisions (*Dṛśyakāvya*) into acts, notwithstanding its having various subdivisions and scenes of action in the different parts of the play. During the present circumstances it cannot be asserted whether it is due to mere negligence in the life of it is a peculiarity of the work itself. If the second alternative happens to be correct, it appears to contain a series of religious Bhakti dialogues involving an a concrete theme of great religious interest. In any case the work, as it stands, is an evidence of the part of the author in giving beautiful expression to his cherished views about the supremacy of Bhakti.

In the *Prastāvanā* the author explains the aims of the play and points out the striking resemblance existing between Bhakti's direction and the name (*Jyāti*):

> [illegible]
> [illegible] (Stanza 2).

[1] It has been recently published in the [illegible].

[2] [illegible] "[illegible]"—vol. ii.

The chief aim of Kṛṣṇadāsa in writing this devotional drama has been to impress his first conviction that there is no real difference between Viṣṇu and Śiva and the apparent difference is only due to the narrow-mindedness of some of the so-called devotees of these deities. Nāgarāja the Śiṣya is the perfect incarnation (*Parākāṣṭhā*) of the supreme Godhead and the only path which will save the teaming millions from the fear doctrine of mimāṃsa, mantra and the like, and impart the highest bliss of the final emancipation with the supreme Brahman is none other but the path of loving devotion to the Lord. In a few words the supremacy of the Śiṣya is revealed—

> [illegible]
> [illegible] ।
> [illegible]
> [illegible] ॥
>
> (Act. III)

Many characters of different [illegible] governments come in, gather, and give their votes to their leaders about the worthiness and superiority of their ideals, views of life, but they are silenced in the end by the urgent and overbearing supremacy of Śiṣya's doctrine who defies with firm strength Śiva and Śākta, and leaves all with lying colours as we grasp the supreme saving power of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakti. A brief analysis of the play will show how the author has successfully developed his theme and proved his points in a very satisfactory way.

Synopsis of the play

The play opens with a conversation between the Vidūṣaka and Rāja on regards the excellence of Rāgaśāstra which is claimed to be superior to all the Vedic authors (Act. I), since all the other paths are attended with difficulty and trouble. Satyaśīla criticises certain classes of people who have no love for this way of life (Act. II).

After the prelude there appears a Śākta who complains a difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. He moves eloquent about the superiority of Śiva and when a Rāmānujī Vaiṣṇava comes on the stage he is ready to challenge him about his Godhead. The Śākta is very argumentative and Śiva is his supremacy and Jesus not hesitate to calling even bad names to his opponents. He praises Śiva for his drinking that itself prolongs

and the three strings the universe from a dire calamity, while the Vaiṣṇava extols the services of his own deity for his beneficiary benevolent in rescuing from the demons the nectar for the use of gods. Thus crops up a learned discussion about the interpretation of the Sanskrit maxim **aggaṃ tuṭṭi** : While they are thus waging a battle royal about the relative supremacy of their deities, a Mahā Vaiṣṇava, a supreme non-believer in the difference of Śiva and Viṣṇu, appears on the stage (fol. 8).

In this scene the Mahā Vaiṣṇava proclaims that the Lightest deity is one without a second, and that Śiva and Viṣṇu are only the different manifestations of the same entity due to the difference of the participating qualities at the moment. When questioned as to their differences described in various Purāṇas, he answers that it is only due to the ordinances of Tirumalai (*puṇyakṣetra*). Velayutha mediates Śiva and Viṣṇu to be mutual worshippers and this anomaly can be explained by supposing that both sets of signal merits and energy are identical positions. Thus appearance power effulges in allaying the opposing factions and the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava with their Will prize brought order silently from the stage in query in a rigorous propaganda in the course of their mutual relations of non-difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. For the Mahā Vaiṣṇava, one an AWM purport in interesting those who are stubborn in their attitude and pushes to pass his persuasion due to the exigency of the entity devotees in drinking the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's shrine.

This is followed by a highly interesting scene in which a pentecostal and a logician converse about the superiority of their own schools but their laughing discussion are happily interrupted by the unexpected arrival of a Mīmāṃsaka with a host of his pupils. He fights for the supremacy of his own philosophy because it has been recognized to be the correct method and the most useful helpmate for the correct interpretation of the Vedas. Thus begins a learned discussion about the relative merits of these different theories, in which many are to up with high encomiums for his own system and with down-right denunciations for that of the others. Fortunately the entrance of a Kṛṣṇa-Bhakta on the stage puts these proud rivals to a deadly stop. He takes them to task for quarrelling among themselves

for nothing. When requested to purchase oil from traders, for which a human being should devote his time and energy, he explains that Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the Highest Brahman and that life devoted to the greatest pursuit for leading beings to the final union with the supreme spirit. This explanation makes a deep impression upon the minds of the gopīs and the Śūdrās who, being converted to this new faith of loving devotion, leave the stage to pass their days in the worship of Kṛṣṇa.

The critique of a learned Vaiṣṇava towards the opening of a very interesting scene. The Vaiṣṇava attempts to demolish the arguments of Kṛṣṇa's devotee on the ground that not being supported by the Upaniṣads, they are wholly unhistorical and unauthoritative. A fight of repartee ensues between the Vaiṣṇava and the Bhaktānanda, the former maintaining the non-existence of everything in the world save the Highest Brahman, and the latter changing from with tenderness and dolorously since he knew (perhaps) the futility of words and thoughts in actual practice. At this stage Kṛṣṇa's devotee explains the superiority of Bhakti over all other religious ways (Śl. 38) and with a view to bring out the unmistakable qualities of the Divine Bliss and Love values in the life of Dhruva (Śl. 39) and Jayanta at length (at length the famous story of the elephant who was (Gajendra) saved by the Sole creator of the universe (Śl. 1010). The Bhaktānanda's mind undergoes a serious change and he adopts this new way of life and notice for devoting his time and energies to the propagation of the Bhakti cult. But the argumentative Vaiṣṇava is not fully satisfied, though he confesses that his life has been a complete failure, since being devoid of the primary qualities of a true Vaiṣṇava, it has been given only to degenerate the condition of the spiritual problem. He asks Kṛṣṇa-Bhakta whether the Bhagavān, besides being endowed with the supreme qualities of compassion and devotion towards his devotees, possesses the chief merit of generosity which marks the position of a deity and makes him an object of unqualified adoration. Then Kṛṣṇa's devotee explains and illustrates at some length the generous nature of Śrī Kṛṣṇa who not only saves those who are lovingly attached to Him but also those who are His bewildered enemies and backsliders. Further, identical backsliding worldly-minded temporal may yet lead a being to his heartfelt

devotion, but even such feelings (*bhava*) remain dear. Divine Grace pours a tone of all his evils and sorrows like to that celestial particles of eternal bliss (Ibid., III). This and the like expressions work wonders. The Vedanta now celebrates the superior excellence of the Rama as a principle and becomes a conditional lowness of the Bhagavata—a *Nitya Bhakta* of the supreme Lord. He gives vent to his own conviction that Vaishnava being only the powerful sky-drawn in this Kali age, the only sure path for the redemption of the suffering humanity is Bhakti and Bhakta alone. With a few also verses on Sripa's devotion the work comes to a close (Ibid., IX).

Merits of the Play

A study of the above synopsis will show to any discerning critic that the author is quite successful in achieving his aim of proving the superiority of Bhakti over all the other well-known paths of spiritual realisation. He has begun with showing that the difference between Siva and Vishnu, though wrongly assumed to exist by the so-called devotees of the deities, has yet no scriptural authority to stand upon, and is due only to the non-reconciliation of the philosophical theories of the Puranas which apparently contradict it. He further believes that the science of Grammar and Logic is not mere any true spiritual purpose, since they deal with an array of purely verbal jugglery and dry logical subtleties. The path of works (*Karmamarga*) lays down rankin, also which avoid hardships, daughter of incessant miseries and vain expenditure, and does to Effects of performance in this age of extreme poverty. The path of knowledge—the *Jnana-marga*—does not fare better in comparison with the path of devotion. The main reason for the frailty of this last method lies in the fact that human beings, fallen as they have been from their high ideals of truth, simplicity and innocence, do not possess even in a small degree all those qualities of head and heart required for the complete realisation through it. Naturally the most simple and at the same time the most direct method, could be the one of this age, is the sole path of the Loving Devotion—the Bhakti-marga—as described and Practised in the celebrated *Bhagavatapurana* and the *Bhagavata Purana*. This they

is a noble embodiment of the lofty sentiments of the author in the supremacy of the Bhakti religion.

The language is clear and simple; the verses are elegant and flowing. The dialogues between the different characters, though learned by all counts, are not dull and stiff but are vigorous and lively. The play does exhibit a literary excellence of no mean order and a charming simplicity too which becomes all the more praiseworthy when we come to realise the nature of its philosophical contents. Though based upon the well-known scriptures of the Vaiṣṇava religion, the work gives in a great part of it some novel examples to prove the old and famous tenets of this loving faith. Only a few examples are given here.

The worldly-minded man, never caring for the Divine Grace, do not prove the futility of this noble path—

[illegible] :
[illegible] ॥

A fine praise of Bhagavan is embodied in this elegant verse :

[illegible] :
[illegible] ॥

(Act. I)

The efficacy of devotion is thus described—

[illegible] :
[illegible] ॥

(Act. III)

Even Indra's servants Rupa destroys the worldly ends of the human beings:

[illegible] :
[illegible] ॥

(Act. II)

A few charming verses descriptive of the romantic life of that Divine Youthful will suffice to bring out the literary excellences of the work :

[illegible] :
[illegible] ॥

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

(Vol. [illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

(Vol. [illegible])

[illegible]

REVIEWS

THE KAVYAPRAKASA of Mammatabhatta with Govindaraja's commentary, edited with Foreword, Notes etc. by Bhagirathi Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil., Kavyatirtha, Sahityacharya, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta. The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, No. 86, Part I.

The *Kavyaprakasa* of Mammata Bhatta is an epoch-making work on Sanskrit Poetics and occupies a distinctive place in the field of Sanskrit Literature. It was written in Kashmir about the 10th century A.D. It is one of the few works, which have attracted the largest number of commentaries written by scholars of all ages and provinces of India. The merits of the work are many and various, and we may not be far wrong in attributing that its studied brevity and laconic style have contributed the wide popularity and study. The difficulty and in some places obscurity of this work have been so intensive to scholars of the scholars to devote their energies to their elucidation and illustration of our opinions of Mammata and remarkably difficult even to all, also, and to Pseudo problems. The publication of various commentaries with the relatively edited text of the *Kavyaprakasa* and of indigenous works on rhetoric of dates ranging from the oldest to the most recent has been helpful to the cause of researches in the field of Poetics. These have also been published in recent years several important monographs and theses on the subject, but for scope for intensive and detailed work is not yet exhausted. The task of bringing out scientific editions of texts and commentaries is still a desideratum. There is every reason, therefore, for extending a cordial welcome to this edition of Govindaraja's commentary on the *Kavyaprakasa*. The *Dipika*, which is the name of the commentary, was hitherto known to us from many references and fragmentary editions of later commentators. It is a scholarly work and the author gives evidence of first-hand knowledge of Nyaya and Mimamsa, which is still the indispensable equipment for a teacher and a student of the Kavyaprakasa or of Alankara Literature for that matter. On some analyses-

[illegible] commentary of Vajirabodhi, are found to have thrown valuable light. The philologically important problems have received elaborate treatment and though one may not see eye to eye with the commentator in all places, one cannot withhold one's admiration of ability for the ingenuity and boldness of the commentator in certain places. The publication of this commentary has thus removed a long felt want.

We had high hopes and expectations from the reputation of the editor, who is widely reported to be an expert on the subject of Pali, but we regret to say that the edition has not come up to our expectation. The editor has not taken advantage of the wealth of materials that are now at the disposal of a modern scholar. It is not possible here to point out all the mistakes, irrelevant comments and cases of unnecessary judgment on the editor's part. We propose to record only a few glaring instances to show that the editor did not feel the necessity of consulting proper authorities in the presentation of passages and where found by him unsatisfactory are chosen. We don't pass over the typographical mistakes, and we feel we would have done so deep if we succeed in inducing the editor to bestow greater care and attention upon this work [illegible] to be published. The list of mistakes mentioned below is by no [illegible] Illustrative. The corrections suggested certainly contribute to lessen the editor's privilege of access to the manuscripts. It will be highly gratifying to us if our corrections are found to be corroborated by manuscript evidence.

(1) P. 3, l. 11, [illegible]—Ch. seems to be more appropriate than [illegible].

(2) Ibid., l. 11. The sentence after [illegible] should be indented to make it continuous with [illegible]. This misprescription is responsible for the error in footnote (2).

(3) P. 7, l. 11, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] is a corrupt reading and is grammatically wrong. Our suggestion is [illegible] for [illegible] and [illegible] for [illegible] and [illegible] or [illegible] for [illegible].

(4) P. 8, l. 10, [illegible] is wrong. [illegible] is certainly the reading.

(5) Ibid., l. 13 et seq. to l. 4, p. 10, present a mass of confusion due to misprescription. The reading [illegible] is a mistake for [illegible].

The reading often [illegible] should be excepted and be placed after [illegible]. A heavy mistake is the assignation of an impossible meaning to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but [illegible]. The word occurs only in learned treatises and the editor confounds it with [illegible]. We refer the editor to the *Nirukta*-[illegible], p. 31, where the word occurs twice in the *Lokaprakāśa* of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, and to the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya*, chapter III., p. 99.

(5) P. 32, l. 15. [illegible] should be [illegible].

(7) Ibid., l. 18, we cannot explain to ourselves why [illegible] is placed within brackets after [illegible]. The editor was perhaps under the impression that [illegible] is not a synonym of [illegible] and [illegible]. In the text however it (and the context) [illegible] [illegible] but [illegible] does.

(8) P. 33, l. 6, [illegible] should be replaced by [illegible] or [illegible].

(9) P. 33, l. 6 to 10 are positively unintelligible. The editor may be referred to the [illegible] illustration in the *Bhāṣyapradīpa*. We propose to read [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible]. [illegible] should be comprehended and is [illegible] [illegible]. The expression [illegible] is to be pronounced as [illegible].

(10) P. 34, l. 8. [illegible] is to be replaced by [illegible] or [illegible].

(11) P. 35, ln. 1. The commentator on the *Prātiśākhya* and the *sūtra* is travelled for.

(12) P. 35, l. 21, [illegible] is to be corrected to [illegible].

(13) 35 l., l. 14, [illegible] is unpronounceable and gives a sense not germane to the context. [illegible] or [illegible] is the reading here.

(14) P. 36, l. 4, [illegible] is to be corrected into [illegible]. The ln. 1, is therefore unscalled for.

(15) P. 36, l. 20-21 is [illegible] only a [illegible] should be bracketed between [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] should be deleted from [illegible] etc.

(16) Ibid., l. 21, [illegible] should be corrected into [illegible]. A comment on this topic was necessary. It has revealed a very learned treatment in the *Bhāṣyapradīpa* and the *Uṇādivṛtti*.

(17) P. 37, ln. 2, shows the editor has not consulted the *Dhātupāṭha*, which gives a phrase, Bengali, not one of heroes, to [illegible] and if

the recognition of this is a fault; it is certainly not due to **Ramanuja**'s partiality for the old school or conflicting allegiance to the Bhatta School, as Sankaravilasa should alone the way.

(38) P. 89, l. 5, **[illegible]** should be substituted for **[illegible]**.

(39) P. 89, l. 8, **[illegible]** is to be replaced by **[illegible]**.

(40) P. 90, fn. 1, 1, omission is remarkable.

(41) P. 91, l. 13, **[illegible]** is a mistake for **[illegible]**.

(42) P. 93, l. 16, **[illegible]** is a mistake for **[illegible]**, and this mistake is responsible for the comment in fn. 8. Our translation makes this text plain.

(43) P. 93, fn. 14 (c), **[illegible]** should be amended into **[illegible]** and the following other **[illegible]** is to be done away with and **[illegible]** is to be shifted from the l. 31 to the l. 14 after **[illegible]** to make it yield a compressed meaning.

(44) P. 95, fn. 1, omits a point of the whole thing. The text is clear as it stands.

(45) The commentator above has a third insight in the best possible arrangement of the **[illegible]** but the other commentators have. The usual problem of **[illegible]** is here of **[illegible]** in Bhagavad Gita, and this is not brought in as one **[illegible]** is not a **[illegible]**. The correct reading would be **[illegible]** for **[illegible]**.

(46) P. 97, l. 11, fn. 1. The rejected reading is the correct one.

(47) Text, l. 14, **[illegible]** should be amended into **[illegible]**.

(48) P. 99, l. 17, **[illegible]** is to be replaced by **[illegible]**.

(49) P. 101, l. 12, **[illegible]** is a branch of the Prayaga rule and is **[illegible]** (6) (c) p. 77, l. 20.

(50) P. 102, fn. 1, **[illegible]** — **[illegible]**?

(51) P. 103, l. 22, **[illegible]** is to be substituted for **[illegible]** and **[illegible]** for **[illegible]**.

(52) P. 105, l. 5, **[illegible]** is a bad mistake.

(53) P. 105, l. 1, **[illegible]** should be modified as **[illegible]**.

(54) Text, l. 11, **[illegible]** is to be substituted for **[illegible]**. The editor should have consulted the Prabhya, which quotes this passage and criticises it.

(55) Pp. 49-50, (c) omission of (c) criticism of the view of Sankara.

[illegible] rather a difficulty, but the third form is not discussed in the text. Obviously something is dropped out.

(69) P. 85, l. 6. [illegible] is absurd. [illegible] is the correct reading.

(70) Ibid., l. 10. [illegible] does not yield any meaning. [illegible] is the correct reading.

(71) Ibid., l. 14. [illegible] is a bad slip for [illegible].

(72) P. 86, ll. 2. [illegible] Evidently the editor seems to say [illegible] (The mistake is in the editor's own language and the meaning is widely at variance with the fact.

(73) P. 90, l. 12, [illegible] should be corrected into [illegible].

The editor in a lengthy footnote on p. 100 discusses the difference of views between Bhaṭṭajayānda and Abhinavagupta on Śiva. He says that the difference is negligible and in spite of him a question of emphasis. According to the editor Bhaṭṭajayānda regards Paṭṭaśiva as the seat of Pashū, whereas Abhinava makes Śiva to be the seat and Śakti to be the limited product, the anuṣṭhānikī śakti, which results from Paṭṭaśiva. The fact is that Śiva is not an anuṣṭhānikī thing (anuṣṭhānikī), and is nothing but Paṭṭaśiva. The difference between the two authors are pointed out [illegible], which is not the place to discuss here.

Again on p. 108, in the footnote 1, the editor defines [illegible] as the identity of cognition and its object. But we only desire to emphasise that [illegible] is quite a distinct thing and already has obtained [illegible] as a case of [illegible]. It is, on the contrary, put forward by those (the Prābhākar Guruṣ) who deny the possibility of [illegible]. Again on p. 123, l. 24, the editor records a wrong reading, viz., [illegible] [illegible] which should be corrected into [illegible]. We fail to understand how [illegible] can be a [illegible] and still how [illegible] can be included in it. Again to compare [illegible] with Tulanādi [illegible] to describe it as an auxiliary condition of the emergence of [illegible] is proof positive that the editor has not got a clear conception of the [illegible] which is synonymous with [illegible].

THE MIRROR OF GESTURE, being the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* of Nandikeśvara translated into English by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY and Duggirāla Gopālakṛishṇayya with Introduction and Illustrations. E. Weyhe, New York 1936. Pp. 44 and 32 plates (9 in colour).

Students of the Hindu dance and drama are aware of the importance of *The Mirror of Gesture* (1917) by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy and Duggirāla Gopālakṛishṇayya. This work, as has been pointed out by me, is a partial translation of Nandikeśvara's *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* (see Introduction to the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, p. xiv) available to the translator in a form now lost (unfortunately. But the translation published with an illuminating introduction from Dr. Coomaraswamy's pen did a very valuable service to the study of Indian culture in its certain side drawing attention to the work and significance of Indian dance and drama. Hence it is rightly gratifying that the scholarly will hospitably admit that it was this work (not directly but indirectly in the original part of the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* as well) as the earliest report of Indian dance and drama. Now a fresh edition of *The Mirror of Gesture* which has long been out of print is quite welcome. In the present edition, additions have been made to the Introduction, and the translation has been lent and there revised in accordance with the original Sanskrit of the Telugu edition, and with the conclusions by the present reviewer. It goes without saying that the work in its present improved form (with its Bibliography, and additional plates making their number 32) will be received with much profit by the student of Indian dance and drama.

But in spite of the great merit of the work we find it difficult to agree with Dr. Coomaraswamy on the following points:—

(1) P. 8. The Sanskrit text of the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* edited by the present reviewer is not, as has been considered by Dr. Coomaraswamy, based on several Devanāgarī MSS. but on Telugu manuscripts of the MSS., Introduction, pp. xiv ff.

1. Epithets and sentiments of the text and tage have also been added from the edition and translation of the *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, see Introduction pp. 10 ff. Most portions were reading in the text (1916).

(p) P. 28. *Lokavartivivartana* is 'vacillation of minds of the world' and not 'hindering the movement of the world.'

(q) Ibid. *Kāma* translated as 'lust' in the passage quoted from the *Pāṭaṇjalayoga* seems to be wrong. It should be translated as 'desire' or rather 'legitimate desire.' We are to remember in this connection the Hindu theory of the four principal aims (*puruṣārthas*) of life, such as *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. Hinduism, unlike the monkish religions, does not only not go against the lawful pleasures of the senses but, also considers them to be necessary for the healthy development of manhood. Hence *Kāma* is the general non-evil term to be translated as 'lust' which normally means 'uncurbed appetite regarded as sinful.' *Kāma* will be considered 'sinful' only when it exceeds the limit.

(r) P. 35. Dr. Gnanasamaray says, "The Sacrifice is a direct survival of the old Indian religion." This statement appears to be misleading. The word *Yajñā* (sacrifice) comes from Pāli *ayāna* (Old *ayāna*). The Rev. Ānandajoti Thera says, *Ayāna* is not (Pāli, *ayāna*) available as much in the Rāṭhwal Dialect Dictionary.

(s) P. 34. In this note Dr. Gnanasamaray has been misled by Prof. Lanman. "The following 'Sutta' does not indicate 'Matching rain', but meaning can only be made by reading it more with the half-verse 'Sutta.' (N. *Aggiñña-vacca-gottasuttanta* *Majjhima-Nikāya* (Pali-text), Gnānavarabhiksu).

(t) P. 75. In connection with the footnote 6, Dr. Gnanasamaray seems to have overlooked the words which were given along with the first part of the *Abhidhaṇṇa Ruvapra*, edited by me. The reading in question is prepared and it has been printed out in the errata. But I am thankful to Dr. Gnanasamaray for his better reading of the *gnapatikkāgatta* (Sanskrit *jñapti*) and *ehitabbaka* (p. 78).

Dut in spite of our disagreement with Dr. Gnanasamaray on the above points it may be said that the second edition of the *History of Buddhism* will be considered valuable. The twenty-two excellent plates have added to its value. The Bibliography added to the work has been more of less exhaustive and will be of great use in furthering studies in the present line.

Kusumasiri Gunasena

THE TEXTS OF RAJPUTT TALES (with a foreword by Dr. G. H. Ral by H. R. Rashid. Third Production Bhavan. Rupees 1000. Pp. vi+300.

In this work the author has attempted to describe the nature of the types of Rajputt dress in their origin and development on the basis of Indian works dealing with iconology. Mr. Rashid is already known to Rajasthan for his impetus which connected with Rajputt dress. This present work has resulted in his extensive study and careful collection of model dress. It may be unhesitatingly said that the students of Rajputt dress will derive much profit from reading this work under review.

But we will have to see the book critically. In certain points the reader will have reasons to differ from the author, e.g.,

(1) P. 5: "This is not a Pitti, nor is it."

(2) P. 17: "Kharchchi has probably by convention with, but not to refer to the wooden gap. The peculiarity seems very also to an expert in weaving order" (Sept). Cf. view in the Bhagavadgita Interpretation.

In certain cases the author has overlooked facts, e.g. he has not discussed the evolution of certain given by Bhattacharya in his Grihaprabandhan (cf. pp. 90f.). And in Chapter 1 he has altogether ignored the Old Jaipur-Bhojpur which has dedicated his origin, nature and scope. If all the observations he has recorded in explain RRC. and second frame in course of the work.

Bhaskar Bhatt

SANT-BHOLANI BATEN with a Sylpal translation by S. H. Bhatia, Pt. I. Rajat Sahitya Sabha, Chandigarh, 1980.

In the present work Sri Bhatia has given the text of the well-known popular Jaipur poem on the love of Bhola and Mirti together with a prosical Gujarati version. It may be hoped that this version will bring the famous love story of Rajasthan within so easy reach of the speakers of modern Gujarati.

Bhaskar Bhatt

ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ, with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, vol. 1, Maṇḍala 1. Published by the Vaidika Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala (Vedic Research Institute), Poona. Rs. 30/-, and

ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ, Part VI. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1989. Rs. 125/-.

The Ṛgveda is undoubtedly the most ancient literary monument of the Indo-European language and as such it throws light on the early history of almost all the principal groups of Indo-European speakers. But its importance in the field of Indian studies is unique. Almost all the different branches of linguistics, in it linguistics, religion, philosophy and sociology or anything else, are dependent on it. Hence it is in the Doom of things that our scholars are giving fresh attention to the Ṛgveda by publishing a new edition of the well-known commentary as well as attempting a fresh translation of the text.

The monumental work of Max Müller giving a well-edited text of the Saṃhitā (Śākalya) together with the Nāṭ in Devanāgarī and Pāda forms has long been out of print and the demand of over Rs. as well as the publication of various texts provided scope for some improvement in the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary. In a fresh critical edition of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā has also been a desideratum we are to find that recently the publication of the Vedic Research Institute of Poona, associated with the name of Dāmodaram Tāṭī for their publication of the first Maṇḍala of the work. The Indian Research Institute of Calcutta is also giving along with their translation an edition of Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā but their attempt as Rs. material in contrast to the version of Vedic interpretation will not always be equally appreciated. In spite of the fact that the Ṛgveda has been more thoroughly studied by eminent western scholars this work has not yielded all its secrets. It is with an eye to this difficulty that Prof. Winternitz says, "Not a complete translation of it (Ṛgveda) must of necessity contain work that is incorrect." Though it is very difficult, nay impossible, to deny the truth contained in the remark of this eminent Indologist it will perhaps not be wrong to say that there may yet be broad means to improve the translation of particular passages. By reading a fresh study of the Ṛgveda and the vast amount of modern exegetical

literature in the light of latest researches in linguistics can bring about such improvement in the interpretation of the Ṛgveda.

The critical edition of the text of the Śāṅkhāyana published by the Vedic Research Institute will be considered as most important in its magnitude and worth. The text reaches at most due to different recipts of the Śāṅkhāyana which have been used, in its preparation and, apart, editorial cases which have been harmonised as it will mostly in its great value. A careful reading of the eight papers which follow is brief the various improvements the present edition has made upon the earlier ones will facilitate one to take it as a definitive text of the Śāṅkhāyana. Title of service cases on disparagement of the monumental work of Max Müller (about Sound Vivekānanda replied to an instruction of Śāṅkhāyana), however he did his work single handed and often Indian scholars were still in their infancy. The Vedic Research Institute of Poona has nearly celebrated a month in which Indians may feel some pride.

As for the translation of the Ṛgveda it cannot be said that we have too many of them. The very best (as yet) is a number of Ṛgveda hymns have well received whereas in substantially gives to contribution to solution any new solution of the Ṛgveda, prepared in possession of proper methods. Great scholars like Geldner, Ludwig, Max Müller, Bloomfield and Oldenberg have looked studied the work with the greatest care and thoroughness, but in spite of their great learning and critical acumen they could not possibly see things with the eyes of an Indian who naturally has a better acquaintance with the traditions of the society and the ways of thinking. Hence we are to offer our congratulations to the Indian Research Institute for undertaking the publication of a fresh translation of the Ṛgveda prepared by India by an Indian.

The preparation of an exhaustive work of this kind has, we are very glad to learn, been entrusted to one who is peculiarly fit to undertake it. Pro Dr. Manilal Patel has studied in the Vānaprastha in India under the veteran Indian scholar Prof. Vāsudevaśāstri Bhāṭṭacārya, and in Europe the late Prof. R. P. Gildner, the great authority in the Indo-Iranian philology and the Ṛgveda with him and initiated him into the mysteries of modern Vedic exegesis. Besides this he

[illegible] with other great scholars such as Professor Rudolf Otto and Anschauung. All this is indeed a sure guarantee of the excellent quality of Dr. Patel's work. We have very carefully read the greater portion of the Bijaka translation and have the most genuine pleasure in being able to say that our hope in this matter has been amply justified.

In this work every sentence has been provided by an introduction [illegible] which usually vanish the original and other relevant matters. Thus, comes a Bijaka in Sanskrit form, followed by a literal English translation of Bijaka's interpretation. Terms in the native [illegible] as well as important words are given afterwards. And then follows the new translation. This has indeed been a very good plan. Every translation of the Bijaka must take notice of Bhagat's work first of all and try to offer [illegible] improvements or modifications in case with the help of [illegible] anthropology, [illegible] etc. Unfortunately, most [illegible] scholarship [illegible] space to work a [illegible] on the most important feature of the present Bijaka translation. It is clear Dr. Patel has [illegible] opinions and conclusions of [illegible] Kalamashastra [illegible] scholars. This is not only [illegible] by Bhagat's book of his own translation but will also be helpful to the [illegible] scholarship. We would [illegible] and make their own conclusions. It is almost impossible to hope that we shall ever have anything like a definitive translation of the Bijaka. Hence the importance of Dr. Patel's Bijaka translation should be appreciated. This work [illegible] will bring within an easy reach of Indian scholars the new material of work that the western scholars have done on the most ancient documents of Indian culture.

The text of the Bijaka and the Bhagat-Vidya published in the present translation has been amply printed and the portion of the Bijaka's commentary in the Bijaka introduced anew to the present work has been done well. But in connection with this translation of Bhagat-Vidya we have one suggestion to give to the translator who has yet been unused. It is this. He should give a perfect literary translation adopting all explanatory matter in the footnotes. For example, his translation of "[illegible]" as "[illegible]" is at [illegible] the

[illegible] It may be that Bhojja has [illegible] by Pathak [illegible] Upadhyay [illegible] relationship of Upamiti [illegible] Vadibha may nevertheless [illegible].

Apart from his general Epistle publication (part VI) of the Indian Research Institute may be said to have been a success, and the editor Dr. Tulsi is to be congratulated on the publication.

Bhawanlal Indra

LINGUISTIC INTERPRETATION MAGHERIT by Dhirendra Dhaki, Dr. Phil. (Munich), B.Litt. (Paris), Lecturer in the University of Calcutta, 1937 - pp.158, Cloth, Price Rupees Five or Eight Shillings.

It is not always that a critical study appears with a book, particularly when it deals with a specialised subject in which the author has to create a style for himself and learn the language in which he is writing. Dr. Dhaki's Linguistic Interpretation of Sanskrit is a happy production in every sense. Firstly, its science is absolutely sound (pure?). As is the first book of its kind written in English, and, thirdly, it is the first outright contribution by an Indian scholar to the old Sanskrit-Greek Problem on the Linguistics of Sanskrit (Vedic) historically and comparatively which is a science in the creation of modern Western scholarship and to which unfortunately scholars so Indian to whom Sanskrit is a national inheritance had so far been practically oblivious—with the notable exception of the late Dr. Ghosh's book, which however is of an elementary nature. Dr. Dhaki, who studied Indo-European Linguistics and the historical grammar of Sanskrit under some of the most distinguished masters of the science in Germany and France, is to be congratulated on being the first Indian scholar to write a book in which the problems of Sanskrit in the light of the modern study of the subject are so ably set forth, and in which some of the fundamentals of Sanskrit as an Indo-European speech are so clearly stated, by the benefit of the advanced student—and of the teacher as well.

Dr. Dhaki's work consists of Seven Chapters, the titles of which are as follows: 1. Indo-European Origin of Sanskrit, pp. 1-13;

II. Verb and Accent, pp. 39–51; III. Vedic Orthography, pp. 52–68; IV. Sandhi (Phonology), pp. 69–80; V. Sandhi: Word-Formation, pp. 80–111; VI. Sandhi: Phrase-Definition, pp. 111–130; and VII. Sandhi: Vocal System, pp. 140–158.

In his Preface, Dr. Ghosh rightly deplores the medieval and scholastic methods that still set up a chasm on Vedic another in Sanskrit, and he stands for a divine unity of the entire vocabulary, based from the standpoint of the commentators. The fact (he continues) bears no value; but to study the text in itself, in itself and the accent and the implications (especially of the later Linguistics), the interpretive method has certainly a very great value—in our opinion a greater value than the scholastic one. Dr. Ghosh has his theory on the nature of language and on our methods of approach to it, but he has rightly abandoned hope of a too radical change in the line of approach in a work which is correct (pp. 1–2). But (about)

The title of the chapter indicates the range of his work. The problem of the Prātiśākhya Kālā-Philosophy speaks for itself, and the critique by [illegible] of relative examples [illegible] through Indo-European phonology are presented by Vedic. Dealing with the notions of Indo-Iranian and Sanskrit, we might wish for a little economy and exclusion from the general reviewer. Dr. Ghosh is against the transliteration of the long Aryabhaṭa ऌ and ॡ of Sanskrit by ri and the (with long r) instead of ra and ara (p. 12). The general reader among others is guilty of writing a and ā (with the long mark) for ऋ and ॠ and, ri and ra instead of ar and ara. In a work on Linguistics of Sanskrit, ri and ra are certainly more convenient than ar and ara when the objective is to trace the sequence from pre-Sanskrit to Sanskrit. Why give too much weight to a little point? Vedic tendency to pronounce ri and ra as ṛ and ṛra (in cases of ṛ and ṛra), and choose the centre of those long Aryabhaṭa? In the opinion of the present reviewer, to write a and ā instead of ri and ri for ऋ and ॠ in the face of the Greek and other Indo-European values of these symbols in their records, seems to obscure the relationships inappropriately. We need not write ra, ra, ri, ra, ra, ra for ṛ, ṛ, ṛra for Vedic ṛra and, and certainly for pre-Vedic, we shall not be on very strong if we write ri and ra instead of ṛ, ṛra. Wordsworth, in respect being

[illegible] words in a book on Greek or Indo-European linguistics, we should [illegible] and g. Nothing more of Attic than of Primitive Greek.

I need not set forth in detail all the topics discussed by Dr. Ghosh. I think the most important matters connected with the nature and origins of Vedic have been all touched upon. In the chapter on the Orthography of Vedic, Dr. Ghosh has introduced the necessary of our received texts in the matter of the exact representation of the Vedic language as it was—a living speech of some 3,000 years ago. This chapter should stimulate a desire to be on counter with modern methods among our students.

Chapters IV-VII indicate by their headings the subjects treated in them. The recent but sketchy the evidence and the inability with which Dr. Ghosh has explained the position for Sanskrit, viewed in the light of its Indo-European origins. Follow it to my fact in this work, with its separate [illegible] the English reader who is not familiar with German and French. Such for the first time an introduction to the Language of Sanskrit such as has been needed and his by [illegible] of the brightest intellects of the Whole during the last [illegible] years.

I have personally found the book [illegible] stimulating, and shall always regard it as a [illegible] guide. I am sure others engaged in the study or teaching of Sanskrit Linguistics will also agree with me. I have one criticism to offer. This work, because of its concise character—the author is forced to be brief and to take much for granted, owing to his anxiety not to produce a profit or the elementary a book—will be found difficult by an ordinary student, who will require a good teacher to help him through it. Dr. Ghosh has already made his original contribution to the science of which he has shown himself to be fully well fit to be such a scholarly and authoritative repository and possibly, the true scholar's importance with the drudgery of writing a work of an elementary nature is unpardonable for giving us a book which for average student must supplement by further notes and [illegible]—an elementary Treatise for the scholar, but an inventory for the learner.

Nevertheless, we have here a remarkable book, and students of Sanskrit Linguistics may well congratulate themselves that it has at

last course only). I fully agree with what Prof. Macdonnell of Bonn, who was his associate without Sahib, in his Allahabad Paper for the Language of the Gods, has said of Dr. Bakshi's work

"Our work brings connecting science now into India and inaugurates a scientific epoch.

The general getup of the work is very good: the printing is beautiful and characterisation are very, and a refreshing feature is the employment of proper Devanāgarī types, not the hideous travesties or the culpable substitutions which usually disfigure books of this kind in our country. I only wish that Dr. Bhandarkar had used Āl instead of ā for the Roman transliteration (as has very forcibly given Qasab made in a rigorous transliteration in the Roman script). This is however a small matter. I am glad that he has used a real ṭ and ṭ for the Greek upsilon.

Bishop Bruce College

Calcutta University Library

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

[illegible], vol. [illegible], part [illegible]

E. [illegible]—*The Buddha's Wisdom and Last Journey*: Buddhaghosa, [illegible] to [illegible]. As the latter half of Buddhaghosa's Buddhavamsa is not available in original Sanskrit, an English translation of the same is being done on the basis of its Tibetan and Chinese versions. This (unfinished) version covers [illegible] to [illegible].

[illegible], vol. [illegible], part [illegible] (July, [illegible])

[illegible]—*Countries and Peoples of India*. The paper confirms the information about the [illegible] of countries and tribes of peoples mentioned in the Purāṇas and similar literature.

A. [illegible]—*A Pre-Panchali in Jain and Buddhist Works*.

E. [illegible]—*The Astrophysics of Yoga*. The object of the paper is to show that Yoga of the Vedic purohas has gradually been transformed into the goddess of splendour and morality—Lakshmī of the later period.

F. A. [illegible]—*[illegible] and Pāṇini*. Prior to considering the spelling forms, conjuncts, methods of transcribed and styles of manuscripts, the author comes to the conclusion that the two works, the [illegible] and the Pāṇini-Śikṣāsūtra cannot be the productions of the same author. If one was King Bhoja of Dhārā, the other must have been some one else.

R. P. [illegible]—*Further Light on Bhoṣaṇī's Jaiḍī Journal in Central Asia from Valmīkī's Rāmāyaṇa*.

[illegible], vol. [illegible], part [illegible] ([illegible], [illegible])

P. [illegible]—*Rice Studies*: The Bhojas and the Bhojas. Myths and legends relating to the Bhojas according to the Rāja-Mālāvā have been presented in the paper to show what an important part the Bhojas played in the Rāja Epic. It is believed that the original poem of about 24,000 stanzas attributed to Vyāsa has evolved on the basis of the Bhojas work of its present shape.

[illegible] [illegible]—*On Analysis of Reduction* [illegible] *in the Krishnaflowerpickler*.

[illegible] Part, [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]—*The Mysticism of Tagalog Religion*.

[illegible] Series, [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]—*Revised Relics of the Kindes*.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]—*Sanskrit Numerals and the Kaykai*.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]—*[illegible] Inscription* [illegible] *Of the three lines of antiquity discovered by the Hilling* [illegible] *is a pillar inscription of King Sri Rudrasenapatiha of Sali* [illegible] *an expedition to Sakkasam. It is interesting that the Nandi portion of this inscription of the early 4th century A.C. is written in Old Tamasam script, which the Nali-Lankam gardens, Sri Lanka, Serendipal.*

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[illegible] [illegible]—*Sole Chief of Pandi-Sinhala-Tibetan Sources* [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible]—*Sept Plates of Pamaiya Sanaiya*—*Tibetan Report* [illegible]. *It is suggested that Sanaiya was a Pamaiya ruler of Jilin.*

[illegible] [illegible]—*Sinhalese Buddhist Inscription at Tagari Dhiliyana Pachchiyaiya Sanaiha mentioned in the award to Schwarl to have been a Sikyla tribe. The inscription suggests that both Sinhalese and Tibetans were once worshipped with royal devotion.*

[illegible] [illegible]—*A Chola Inscription from Tibetanum*.

[illegible] [illegible]—*An Unpublished Tibetan Plate from Dong*.

[illegible] [illegible]—*A List of the Inscriptions of Pandiya Indic written in Brahmi and in Sumatra Scripts from about [illegible]*.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]—*The Dancing of Ancient Cyprus*.

Indian Antiquary, vol. XL, for [illegible], 1911

G. R. Iyer.—The Theology and Philosophy of Nimbarka Tatpanchaya. The Sanscrit on Deva Sharma's well-known Vedantikas deals in his work (contained with the commentary of the Aitkiyamandakha), the object of which is to show that Kaya is the Biggest Ismaili published in unison with Shiva in His partial form.

R. Lorenz.—The Last Days of the Gandhaprabhu. The complete or most notice found in the beginning of both the Dhaga of Kandapada and the Tyag of Kidam in the Gandhaprabhu is considered by the writer of this note to have originally formed the opening lines of the Kandapada.

Vasudeva Ram Rao.—Hijaks. The theory that the Hijaks of India are of non-Aryan origin is opposed in this paper. Both the Sakas, Hoplites and the Yavas are shown to have descended from the Aryan, who originally in the north of India.

S. A. Khorsan.—The Abbasi Kingdom of Parvatta. Sources of foreign geographers, poetic and records of Magh, and the Chronicles of the Jaina Sanskrit are utilized for preparing the account of the Kingdom of Parvatta, the modern Kuyshan Hills.

Indian Notes.—The Debus of Tlaiq and an Inscription under Lucid IV, V. Shastrik.

G. R. Kaviraj.—Sikhism Made of Hindus (XIII-V).

Asiatic Quarterly, October, 1911

Ernest Fenno.—The Asian Theory of Salvation.

Journal of the Bombay University, October, 1911

T. A. Shankaran Sastri.—Was Shankara a Sankhya?

Journal Asiatique, tome XCIXTX, no. 1

Leo Lichtenstadt.—Prajnaloka (Pali), ou propagateur de l'Ancienne en Chine et au Cambodge à l'époque du Phnom-bong. The paper describes the activities of the Buddhist monk Prajnaloka who took with him a large collection of Sacred text, to China from 'Middle India' in 503 and left Chinese translations of two works called Sanlunjing-kuangmingjing-xuanyi-ji and Yuanjiaqingdaofu-xuanyangyinyuan.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, vol. IV, no. 2 (1916, 1918)

R. D. Vaze.—*Shankarachārya and Buddhism in Assam.* This article begins with a reference to the activities of Śaṅkara in Assam as mentioned in Rājśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and infers the existence of Buddhism in that country in old days (a point little of value, of which [illegible] are still available.

Bhagwan Ramchandra Dixit.—*Vāsuṇḍhara and Vasubandhu.* It is maintained that Vāsuṇḍhara was an independent ruler of Kāmarūpa and not a friend of Bīrvaṇḍha, the Bhoṭa king, and that Vasubandhu, a general of king Kanishṭha of Bhoṭa country. Vāsuṇḍhara's and Kanishṭha's eventually a full-fledged emperor of Kāmarūpa.

Sukumar Chandra Ghosh.—*Buddhism in Kāmarūpa and Sylhet.* Arguments are put forward against the view that Buddhism did not prevail in this district.

[illegible], vol. IV, no. 4 (1918, 1919)

Pandit Bhagwanlal.—*Identification of the Religious Sects of Phūlchamchāmbā of Nāmchipu.* The article maintains that the land granted by Chāmchamchāmbā belongs to Sādhus in the district of Rangpur with [illegible] [illegible], and that [illegible] of the grant.

Kumudchandra Bhattacharya.—*The Pāṇḍupūjā and its Place in Literature.* The Pāṇḍupūjā deals with in the guise of a Vaiṣṇava narrative by Bhāskaradeva, a disciple of Śaṅkaradeva, the celebrated religious reformer of Assam. It was written with a view to establishing the superiority of the Bhakti cult.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, vol. [illegible], no. [illegible] (September 1918)

K. P. Jayaswal.—*Chronology and History of Nepal.*

K. B. Rahi.—*An Account of Pīr-o-Dīn Paghāg.* It is a condensed of the English translation of a portion of the *Dabistān-i-Pīr-o-Dīn*, a contemporary Persian work of the reign of Tīrat Dhāl, the third Paghāg Rājas of Delhi.

Rajendra Shukla.—*Prophecy Vindicated or the Encyclopedia.* It is a rejoinder to Winternitz's opposition to the opinion of Gaṅgānāṭha Jhā with Encyclopedia of the Encyclopedia to [illegible] by Jayaswal.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XXIV, pt. 1.

Pe Maung Tin.—*Buddhism in Inscriptions of Pagan.*

Journal of the Indian Art Society, vol. III, no. 4 (July, 1910).

Wilhelm Geiger.—*Contributions from the Mahâvamsa to our Knowledge of the Medieval Culture of Ceylon.*

S. Ga. Shinnin.—*Kyôkwanbyôbôn of the Changal Inscription.* Kyôkwanbyôbôn mentioned in the stone inscription of King Sulpiya (Governor of Changal) in Central Asia is located on the digon of Sir Aguttyawadi along the river Thanpanpâ. It is mentioned that the people of that region went to Asia by the Silk or (in 9th century A.C.).

Kumaraswamy Coomaraswamy.—*Vaiṣṇava Images.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. IV, part 3.

Sri Pitchai Iyengar.—*Alwar Pattikas compared with Rajatarangini.*

A. Venkatasubbiah.—*Religious Inscriptions.* The connection of the series of Gâdi gifts in Tirut Religious Inscriptions (inscribed by others either as Gâdi recipient or grantees) in the Rajendra King Tachchi III was in Saka 1115 or 1193 A.D. (?).

Rao Bahadur Aiyangar and Kanakasabai Pillai.—*References to Rajendrachola in Tamilian Inscriptions in Northern India.*—A.D. 1021 or 1022.

M. Lynn Thorndike.—*Composite Drilling in the Region of Sylva Bhumesh of Delhi.*

———*Mechanical Drilling in Medieval India.*

Abdulaziz Bhatkali.—*Founders of Jamnagar in the Territory of Nadia.* In opposition to the view that the concession in the Partiyâl Subdivision of Delhi was regulated by royal mandatory, the writer holds that claim by the editor was the decisive factor.

A. H. Bytes.—*The Contemporary view of the Court of Proverbs Spec.* A document called Dodwinian Hebrew written in Persian by Mr. Dan of Lucknow, a court Khazâlî under Bâwâlî Syed, supplies valuable materials for the history of the Mughal court of that period.

Percival Thomas.—*Appointments in the East India Company's Service.*

[illegible] S. [illegible]—*Some Years Duff's Private Correspondence and Unknown Footprights of Sahara.*

[illegible] [illegible]—*The Educational Systems of Lord Wilson Dorland.*

F. [illegible]—*The Ghats Inscriptions of Rosalie.*

[illegible] [illegible]—*A Point on the Genealogy and Chronology of the Udaiyaka.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. X, pt. II (April–June 1936)

F. [illegible]—*The Pleasure of Sleep.* The position assigned to the Sleep Sura in the works of poetic lore [illegible] in this [illegible] of the article.

A. [illegible]—*Injury, Wrongfulness and Punishment.* The writer adduces evidence to show that Wrongfulness mentioned by Sleepers may differ [illegible] or Vedantic [illegible], the [illegible] of the Upanishads which is peculiar to Sleepers.

H. [illegible]—*[illegible] to the Tantrique Punishment.* The [illegible] of the meaning and nature of [illegible], a [illegible] [illegible] to the Tantrique Punishment and its [illegible].

H. [illegible]—*Constitutional Jurisprudence.* After the successful [illegible] of the Indonesian dominions, Sleepers-[illegible] of Nipponagara, placed Sultan Mahmud II upon the throne of Sidar and then helped to unite the Malayan kingdom. By virtue of this act, it is asserted, Sleepers became Tantrique-[illegible] [illegible] to the establishment of a Vedic kingdom.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, [illegible] 1936

R. S. [illegible]—*The Question of Dolmen.* It is a discussion of the meaning and nature of the ancient burial points.

M. [illegible]—*Real [illegible] in the Rigal Gana Jivaka.* The position held by the executive officers of the Rigalal Empire has been pointed out in the paper.

Journal of the Central Provinces Historical Society, vol. 13, part 4

T. S. Aiyangar—Sholapur Inscriptions.

Kumar Dutt—The 'French' Architecture of Lucknow.

Khandar Bibi—A Note on Dhabai and Ujhani Palace.

Kumar Dutt—Wajid Ali's Complaint against the English.

T. S. Aiyangar—A Jaina Inscription of the Reign of Chandra Deva Lodhi.

S. K. Bhide—Bidar and the Deccan.

Shyam Chem Law—Social Phase of the Jains.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. V, part 1 (July, 1936)

H. Rhys—The Religion of the Bhunja Jam People according to the Inscriptions. The writer of this article claims to have deciphered the Inscriptions found at Bhunja Dam, and gives, in the form of his readings, an outline of the principal tenets of the religion that he believes to have been prevailing among the people of the region.

Shankar T. Sandesara—The Great Temple of Dwaraka. While narrating the act of the good old Knight of Dwaraka, the writer believes that the temple formed a salient place of worship of the Lord whose footprints could be traced and that the art came under universal influence as the result of contact with foreign traders.

Man in India, vol. XVI, no. 3 & 4 (April & September, 1936)

H. E. Chaudhuri—Problem of the Social Composition of the Indian People.

N. Tripathi—A Few Tools, Fashioning and Shamanism in Orissa.

Ganga Sarasvati, November, 1936

S. Gopal Sharma—Dwaraka and Sudarshanam Inscription.

Philosophical Quarterly, Vol. XII, no. 4 (July, 1936)

T. M. P. Mahadevan—Figure of Indian Realism. In this instalment of the article on Realism in Indian philosophy the Nyaya-Vaisesika system has been discussed.

Poona Orientalist, vol. I, no. 1 (October, [illegible])

1. Dhana.—*The Pancatantra*. Some facts from collected from Dhikanaka, Buddhist and Jain literature to show what an important role the number 10 plays in every sphere of life in India.
2. J. Eggeling.—*General Activity Version of the Pratiśākhyas*; *Introductory Prose*.
3. K. Gaga.—*Notes on Indian Chronology*. *Date of Recognition by Hindu and its Contemporary Muhammadan Peoples*—*At quarter of the [illegible] century*.
4. W. Foster.—*Śrīkalaśikhā*, *a Commentary on the Rigvedaka by Rāghavendra Jaiha and Its Date* (*between [illegible] and [illegible] A.C.*).

Kumārasvāmī Śāstri.—*Nyāyapāda of Kaumāra with the Bhāṣya of Vācaspati*. *The edition of the text with Sanskrit commentaries*.

—.—*English Translation of same*.

Vienna Oriental Journal, [illegible]

E. Kuhnert.—*Religion and Tradition*.

Journal (Japan) of the Bihar Society, vol. XXVII, no. 1 & 2 (Feb & Sept, [illegible])

Jayanta K. Chakravarti.—*The Origin of 'Pathikas' and 'Vipanikas'*. The writer also tries to show that the distinction between 'vaṇika' (shop) and 'pathikā' (stall) and between 'Śālika' (Śāl) and 'Gandhī' (perfumer) Brahmins is really one of the word from the product.

W. A. Pannata Rao.—*The Notion of Reference in Logic*. The paper introduces from the treatises of Bodhi philosophy the arguments in defence of the idea of Reference repudiated by the Advaitins.

Bhanu Chaya Law.—*A Short Account of the Nemiṣa*. This account of the Nemiṣa (Tamil) has been supplied from Buddhist India.

V. R. Tamaramma Pathak.—*The Pathāla and the Kaya Pratāna of the Vajrayāna*. The contents of the two produce dealing with the contribution of the subjects are discussed.

L. V. Ramaswamy Aiyar.—*Dancing Amulet*.

S. Ramamurti.—*Translation of the Vilāpamāgara Prapāta and Vilāpamāgara's Pure Aksara*.

R. TAMPOHARA.—*The Hindu Approach to God: A Study in the Religious Pioneers in Hindu.*

R. E. VENKATAS.—*The Alvarmanda and the Mysticism.* The writer's thesis is that the mystic line of worship propagated in the Bhagavatas with the conception of intense (Ahdhyana) as the basis of upasana is an outgrowth of the Alvarmanda in the age between the time of composition of the Bhagavata and the Bhagavadgita.

SURAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*On the Forewedding Ceremony of the Daughter of Bihar.*

ASIATIC PUBLIC JOURNAL, vol. LIII, no. 1

DR. LAURENCE BINYON.—

(1) *Rise of the Rajputs.*

(2) *Ajanta.*

(3) *Causes of Buddhist History after Death.*

These papers which constituted the Adhyakshya Mukherji Lectures treat the history of the rise and decline of the Rajputs Power giving an estimate of the contributions towards it of Ajaji, Bhoji and Padmna. C.C.

BUDDHA WORLD, vol. XXIX, no. 10 (Jaunpur and Madras, 1931)

The Lotus of Dharm. The first chapter of the Dhammapada is being translated into English with comments and elucidations by the editors of the *Buddha of Wisdom.* They propose to complete the first chapter and a part of the last with a view to expounding "the essential meaning which underlies the book as a whole."

Young India, vol. V, no. 1 (Madras, 1931)

S. TAGORE.—*Gandhiji's Partner of Nobility.*

RAMANA LOKA SAMAJA.—*The Mind of the Reformer in Hindujism Buddhism.*

Printed and published by Sj. J. C. Bakshi, at the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd., 4, Dhurrumtolla Street Lane, Calcutta.

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3. [illegible]
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5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]

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5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]

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4 [illegible] ; [illegible]

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1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
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6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]

The Chinese version of Dharmapāla's colophon, the Indian [illegible] and the Tibetan translation of Bhavya's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

10. [illegible]

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२ [illegible]
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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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२ [illegible]
३ [illegible]
४ [illegible]
५ [illegible]

1. [illegible] ; cf. [illegible], [illegible], vol. [illegible], p. [illegible], [illegible] 1, 2, [illegible]
2. [illegible] 3. [illegible]
4. [illegible] 5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]
7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]
9. [illegible]
10. [illegible]

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4 [illegible]
5 [illegible]
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[illegible]

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4 [illegible]
5 [illegible]
6 [illegible]

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3 [illegible] 4 [illegible]
5 [illegible] 6 [illegible]
7 [illegible] 8 [illegible]
9 [illegible] 10 [illegible]

[illegible]

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१ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ।
२ [illegible] [illegible]
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५ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

१ [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] । [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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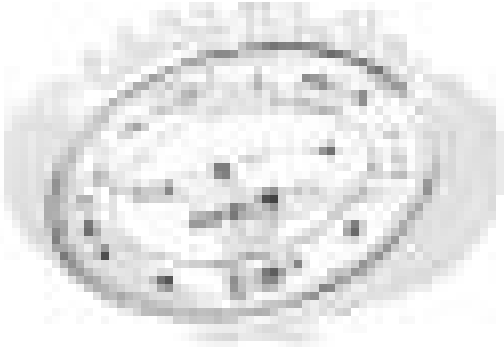
[illegible]